The Crimean Moment and Crucible:
Ideas of War and Peace, 1854-6



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Abstract

Disrupting an almost forty-year period of peace in Europe, the Crimean War (1854-6) led Victorians to the belief that they were living through an historic caesura. Besides intensifying extant moral and ideological divisions within Victorian society, this conflict also exposed the horrors of the battlefront in graphic detail, and so acquired an unprecedented degree of immediacy and visibility. 'Seeing' war in all its fearful reality gave rise to challenging moral questions. This thesis argues that the Crimean War thus became a crucible in which Victorians negotiated and contested ideas of war and peace. Within a wider 'war' of words and ideas, peace advocates and their critics fiercely debated the morality of wars in general, and the justice of the Crimean War in particular. At the same time, Victorians reflected seriously and more deeply than at any time over the previous decades on war's place in the life of a professedly Christian nation. Where many historians have studied the war intensively as an episode in diplomatic and military history, this thesis advances fresh perspectives on its unique impact on Victorian thought and culture, by tracing the complex ways in which the idea of 'just war' and the principles of the peace movement framed religious, intellectual, political, and cultural debates. It is distinctive in developing a wide contextual perspective, and in placing diverse commentators—churchmen, dissenters, historians, parliamentarians, poets, writers, artists, and others—within a common argumentative framework. Offering a close, critical, and analytical reading of an eclectic range of underused and hitherto untapped sources, it uncovers the remarkable cross-fertilization of various motifs between them, and illuminates the interactivity of debate. The result is an account that reconstructs a richer and more holistic picture of ideas and debates about a war which marked a defining moment in the Victorian era.

Long Abstract

This thesis argues that the Crimean War's unique circumstances forged a crucible where competing ideas of war and peace interacted in complex ways. These interactions generated vibrant debates—religious, intellectual, political, and cultural—between supporters of the war who comprised a majority, and a vocal minority of critics associated with the British peace movement, of which the Peace Society (founded in 1816) and members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) were an integral part. These highly interactive debates cut across Victorian society, and were framed by the principles of the peace movement and the idea of 'just war'. They were also mediated through religious, historical, cultural, and ideological categories that Victorians used to make sense of the world around them. Adopting a wide contextual perspective, the thesis builds a new story of the Crimean War as a crucial chapter in British intellectual and cultural history.

To understand what Victorians thought and felt about this conflict we must see it through their own distinctive lens. The Crimean War, which was fought between Britain, France, and the Ottoman Empire (later joined by Piedmont-Sardinia) on the one hand, and Russia on the other, marked a defining moment in the mid-nineteenth century. It was the first major war that Britain participated in after the Napoleonic Wars, and the only large-scale conflict Britain fought on European soil between 1815 and 1914. For Victorians the war marked an abrupt end to a period of peace of almost forty years in Europe; they accordingly found themselves standing on the threshold of a new and indeterminate era. The belief that they were living through an historic caesura, combined with the feeling that fighting against such a formidable power as Russia could prove to be an arduous undertaking with potentially devastating and—for many evangelicals of a premillennial attitude—apocalyptic consequences, freighted the war with a

sense of urgency and anxiety. Despite Britain's long sequence of imperial conflicts between the Vienna settlement and the Crimean War, for Victorians the year 1854 was the first time after around four decades that their country was engaged in actual war.

The Crimean War was also the first 'media war'. The graphic accounts of war correspondents, the visual reportage of the campaign by 'special artists', and the novel use of telegraphy and photography, invested the war with an unprecedented degree of immediacy and visibility, which engendered and sustained an intense public interest. 'Seeing' war in all its fearful reality compelled a redefinition of extant idealistic conceptions of it, and gave rise to challenging moral questions. The war also took place at a time of ideological tensions. The year 1851 marked the apogee of the peace movement, which originated in the mid-1790s during the French Wars, and of ideas of internationalism, non-interventionism, and free trade. The principles of the peace movement were physically manifested in the Crystal Palace. The same year saw the London Peace Congress which echoed the Great Exhibition's pacific ethos. Yet a spirit of militarism lurking behind this rhetoric of peace and liberal internationalism would erode the confidence of peace activists. This spirit was roused was by a crusading attitude on behalf of the 'oppressed' European nationalities; by the French invasion scare following Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* in December 1851; and by the Eastern Question's revival shortly after.

In breaking an almost forty-year period of peace in Europe; intensifying extant ideological divisions; and exposing people on the home front to its horrors, the Crimean War sparked debates over its justice and about the morality of wars in general. At the same time, various thinkers began to reflect seriously and more deeply than at any time over the previous decades on the place of war in the life of a professedly Christian nation. On the home front, the Crimean War became a 'war' of words and ideas.

This thesis presents the first scholarly attempt to examine these debates systematically. Where older historiography has studied this conflict intensively as an episode in diplomatic and military history, this thesis advances fresh perspectives on its unique impact on Victorian thought and culture. Despite the fact that the past decade or so has seen new scholarship that enriched our understanding of the war and its legacies in various contexts, scholars have written remarkably little on how Victorians debated the war and its justice, and on what grounds. Those few works that have alluded to this topic have done so in a perfunctory manner. Examining the complex ways in which the idea of 'just war' and the principles of the peace movement framed religious, intellectual, political, and cultural debates during the war, the thesis makes an original and substantial contribution not only to the historiography of this conflict, but also to general scholarship on Victorian religious, intellectual, and martial culture.

The findings of the thesis disrupt the commonplace interpretation that some historians and most scholars of international law have been regurgitating in an uncritical manner; namely that nineteenth-century religious, political, and intellectual thought witnessed the decline of just-war ideas—especially concerning the recourse to war—only to be revived in the twentieth century. Tracing the complex ways in which the language and idea of just war fed into various debates in Victorian Britain between 1854 and 1856, the thesis intervenes on this body of literature and challenges one of its major assumptions. It also brings into a more meaningful conversation secondary works on the war and scholarly literature on the peace movement, and reveals the unacknowledged contours of contemporary debates. Appreciating the complexity, vitality, and cultural significance of these debates imparts much-needed nuance in general scholarship on war in the nineteenth century which portrays British society, often in too unqualified a sense, as decidedly militaristic. Uncovering a multi-vocal discourse filtering into,

and shaping, various debates, this thesis presents a more nuanced account of how Victorians responded to the war and negotiated its meanings.

The thesis adds, furthermore, to recent scholarship on Turkey's place in the Victorian imagination and Britain's dealings with the Ottoman Middle East, by revealing a more complex picture of competing understandings of this empire, and exploring how these understandings informed wartime debates. It also challenges the historiographical assumption that Britons resorted to arms to check Russian expansionism in Central Asia, to protect trade routes, and—especially—to secure British India. This misleading supposition has obscured those crucial debates about Britons' motivations for going to war and fighting it, which had nothing to do with India's security.

The thesis places diverse commentators—churchmen, dissenters, historians, parliamentarians, poets, writers, artists, and others—within the appropriate religious, intellectual, and cultural context. Whilst recognising that vital differences existed between the historical actors it studies, its interpretive approach is primarily informed by recent assessments of Victorian culture that situate diverse thinkers in a common argumentative framework. It examines well-known figures such as John Henry Newman, Charles Kingsley, James Martineau and his sister Harriet Martineau, E. A. Freeman, John Bright, Richard Cobden, Alfred, Lord Tennyson, and John Ruskin, amongst others, alongside the responses of obscure clerics; forgotten intellectuals; and a host of overlooked commentators who shaped cultural discourse. The thesis therefore casts its net widely. Its points of focus are meant to be indicative rather than exhaustive, but they are nonetheless significant because they provide a new way of understanding Victorian wartime thought and culture.

Deploying an eclectic range of underused and hitherto untapped sources, the thesis offers a close, critical, and analytical reading of letters, diaries, tracts, pamphlets, parliamentary speeches, sermons, newspapers, periodicals, as well as poetry, images, and commemorative objects. Notwithstanding their internal variety, these sources hold together analytically by virtue of how competing ideas about the war cut across them. The thesis thus demonstrates the remarkable degree of cross-fertilization of various argumentative motifs between them, and illuminates the interactivity of debate.

The thesis is divided into two thematically and narratively connected parts, each comprising three chapters. Part I examines the centrality of religious argument in debates on war and peace. Chapter One reveals the importance of the idea of Britain fighting a just war in clerical understandings of the conflict with Russia. A religious 'war party' made up of clergymen of the established churches and of ministers of dissenting and other denominations, deployed this idea for apologetic and polemical purposes. In sermons they preached during the war and, especially, on its five occasions of special national worship, they invoked it not only morally to vindicate Britain's resort to arms against Russia, but also to challenge the principles of the peace movement. The pulpit became a primary site of religious debate. Dominant ideas about the war transcended denominational, religious, and even geographical boundaries, with Roman Catholics, Jews, and people in the colonies contributing to, and shaping, a wider conversation.

Chapter Two carries the previous chapter's line of enquiry beyond the pulpit, and demonstrates that religious newspapers and periodicals, tracts and pamphlets, and the religious platform also became major sites of polemic against the peace movement. These media sustained a more complex debate centring on the interface between religion, morality, and war. Whereas many religious newspapers and periodicals openly supported the war and its perceived moral and

regenerative benefits on national life, some were more ambivalent towards it. Religious newspapers and periodicals, moreover, often encouraged a critical discussion amongst their readers on the morality of war and war's relationship to Christianity. The religious press brimmed with vigorous responses from readers engaging with printed material, and participating in debates—mediated by editors—in correspondence columns. In their religious apologies for war expounded in tracts and pamphlets, some clerics also sought to impart an ethical standard and a Christian ethos to the conduct of war. At the same time, various religious media tapped into, and reinforced, the increasingly popular paradigm of the 'Christian soldier', epitomised by Captain Hedley Vicars of the 97th regiment whose popular biography by the evangelical philanthropist Catherine Marsh appeared in 1855, to demonstrate the compatibility of war, soldiering, and Christianity, and so to undermine the principles of peace advocates.

Examining the peace movement's critiques of war in general and of the Crimean War in particular, Chapter Three addresses the hitherto underappreciated centrality of religious argument to Victorian peace thinking. The perceived incongruity of war and the religion of the 'Prince of Peace' was central to the peace movement's case against the 'war party'. Peace advocates, the chapter also shows, set out to subvert the paradigm of the 'Christian soldier' through a critical reading of Marsh's biography of Vicars, alongside a critical engagement with contemporary theories of military obedience. Citing incidents of violence reported from the battlefront, they also sought to challenge the idea of 'Christian soldiers' fighting the war justly and according to Christian principles. The peace movement's religious case against the war was complemented by more context-specific arguments made by Richard Cobden. The filtration of Cobdenite argument into anti-war rhetoric provided the peace movement with the necessary intellectual ammunition to undercut various popular ideas feeding moralistic vindications of the Crimean War, which drew on the language of 'just war'.

Whereas Part I places more emphasis on clerical views and religious argument, Part II concentrates primarily on lay engagements with ideas of war and peace. Nonetheless, religion also played a role in the thought of most of the figures examined here. Chapter Four focuses on three thematically-connected case studies of vocal lay intellectuals whose views on war and peace have never been adequately examined. These are Harriet Martineau, one of the most prominent Victorian women of letters; the historian E. A. Freeman; and Leone Levi, a now forgotten cross-disciplinary thinker whom contemporaries acknowledged for his work on statistics, political economy, and commercial and international law. Each intellectual represents a specific strand of the spectrum of responses to the war: Martineau, that of the consistent apologist of war; Freeman, that of the ambivalent commentator who moved from a loosely pro- to a passionately anti-war stance; and Levi, that of the individual who spoke fluently the language of the peace movement in a pacifist accent. Offering a sustained examination of Martineau's ideological and historically-informed *Daily News* leaders, the chapter reconstructs her moralistic defence of the war and her invectives against the peace movement. It then concentrates on Freeman's letters in the *Spectator*, uncovering his initial support of the war and its justice, prior to his *volte-face* in the spring of 1855. Placing Freeman's thought on a more complex trajectory of definition and redefinition, the chapter serves as a corrective to historiography which has wrongly assumed that he opposed the war. Finally, it analyses Levi's writings on international law to elucidate his pacifist critique of war.

Chapter Five, which has a more political focus, offers new perspectives on the peace principles of John Bright and Richard Cobden, the radical parliamentarians and leaders of the Manchester School. Whilst historians have rightly noted that Cobden was not a pacifist but a 'pacificist' opposing war on various 'practical' grounds and seeking to eradicate it through non-intervention and free trade, their interpretation that Bright's peace thinking was also non-

pacifist rests on a selective reading of the material. The Quaker peace testimony was the ultimate source of Bright's opposition to warfare, even if Bright explicitly denied it to avoid criticism from his opponents that his views were 'extreme' and 'abstract'. The chapter also analyses systematically Bright's and Cobden's arguments against the Crimean War in the political milieux in which they operated, both inside and outside parliament.

Chapter Six concentrates on the war's literary, visual, and material culture. It focuses on the most controversial poem of the war, Alfred, Lord Tennyson's *Maud*, which is marked by a hostility towards the peace movement and an apparent exaltation of a just war as the sole means of revivifying the national spirit sapped by Mammon-worship and selfish materialism. Examining *Maud* and its reception, it shows that the poem's attitude towards war and peace was by no means eccentric, as is often assumed. It then demonstrates that Tennyson's own stance, which continues to mystify critics, was bellicose, and also considers how *Maud*'s faith in war's purifying effects influenced John Ruskin's artistic thought. In common with Tennyson, various other poets negotiated and contested ideas of war and peace, thereby transforming the poetic medium into a vehicle for debate. Ideas and motifs feeding into the dispute between peace advocates and their critics extended beyond poetry, informing the imagery of war and its visual documentation. *Punch*'s cartoons became the main driving force behind the visual 'war' of ideas. Other visual repertoires such as illustrations in pictorial newspapers and photographs of the ruins of Sebastopol served as a means for the negotiation of war's place in modern society. Commemorative medals and ceramics found in the collections of London's National Army Museum incorporated and communicated more widely ideas and cultural motifs about the war and its perceived justice. The rich synthesis of diverse sources allows for the reconstruction of a more vivid historical tapestry of a war that defined

the Victorian era, and the cultural legacies of which continued to resonate in twentieth-century Britain.

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Contents

List of Abbreviations *page* xiii

List of Illustrations xvi

Notes xx

Introduction 1

Part I: *Religion, War, and Peace*

1. The ‘God of Battles’: Special Worship and War Sermons 38

2. Religious Apologies for War beyond the Pulpit 80

3. The ‘Prince of Peace’: The Peace Movement’s Critiques of War 114

Part II: *Intellect, Politics, and Culture*

4. Intellectuals and Questions of War and Peace 153

5. ‘A CRIME’: Bright, Cobden, and the Politics of Peace 197

6. Literary, Visual, and Material Culture in Wartime Britain 237

Conclusion 304

Bibliography 310

List of Abbreviations

I. Libraries and archives

BC	Balliol College Archives & Manuscripts, Oxford
Bod.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BL	British Library, London
HMC	Harris Manchester College, Oxford
JRL	John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, Manchester
KC	Keble College, Oxford
LSF	Library of the Society of Friends, Friends House, London
MCL	Manchester Central Library, Manchester
NAM	National Army Museum, Templer Study Centre & Archives, London
PHL	Pusey House Library, Oxford
TNA	The National Archives, London
UCL	University College London Special Collections, London

II. Primary sources

AJA	*The Art-Journal Advertiser*
BerkC	*The Berkshire Chronicle*
BEM	*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*
BF	*The British Friend*
BG	*Birmingham Gazette*
BHC	*Bengal Hurkaru and Chronicle*
BM	*Bristol Mercury*
BQR	*British Quarterly Review*
CCC	*The Colonial Church Chronicle, and Missionary Journal*
CEM	*The Church of England Magazine*
CEQR	*Church of England Quarterly Review*
CIFP	*Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*
CJ	*Carlisle Journal*
CMag	*The Churchman's Magazine*
CM	*Caledonian Mercury*
CR	*The Contemporary Review*
CS	*The Catholic Standard*
CW	*The Christian Witness*
DN	*The Daily News*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EMMC	*The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*
ER	*Edinburgh Review*

FM	*Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*
FR	*Fortnightly Review*
GBM	*The General Baptist Magazine, Repository and Missionary Observer*
GM	*The Gentleman's Magazine*
HP	*The Herald of Peace*
ICJ	*Irish Church Journal*
IT	*Illustrated Times*
JC	*The Jewish Chronicle*
JRSS	*Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*
JSL	*Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record*
LDP	*Liverpool Daily Post*
LIN	*Lloyd's Illustrated Newspaper*
LMLR	*Law Magazine and Law Review or, Quarterly Journal of Jurisprudence*
LN	*The Lady's Newspaper and Pictorial Times*
MC	*The Morning Chronicle*
MCLGA	*Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser*
MM	*Macmillan's Magazine*
MNCM	*The Methodist New Connexion Magazine, and Evangelical Repository*
MS	*Morning Star*
MT	*Manchester Times*
NC	*The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*
NE	*Northern Echo*
NBR	*North British Review*
NR	*National Review*
NYDT	*New-York Daily Times*
Parl. Debs	[*Hansard*'s] *Parliamentary Debates*
PP	*The Penny Post*
PR	*Prospective Review*
PrR	*Princeton Review*
PT	*Picture Times*
RN	*Reynolds's Newspaper*
SAR	*South Australian Register*
SGM	*Scottish Geographical Magazine*
SH	*Sunday at Home*
SMH	*The Sydney Morning Herald*
ST	*The Sunday Times*
TEM	*Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*
WMM	*The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*
WR	*Westminster Review*

III. Journals and other secondary material

19: ISLNC	*19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*

BJIS	*British Journal of International Studies*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BYBIL	*British Year Book of International Law*
CH	*Church History*
CV&E	*Cahiers Victoriens & Édouardiens*
EHQ	*European History Quarterly*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EJIL	*European Journal of International Law*
ES	*English Studies*
FQE	*Friends' Quarterly Examiner*
GJ	*Gaskell Journal*
HJ	*The Historical Journal*
HEI	*History of European Ideas*
HR	*Historical Research*
HT	*History Today*
HW	*History Workshop*
IHR	*International History Review*
JBS	*Journal of British Studies*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JFHS	*Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*
JICH	*Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*
JMJS	*Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*
JVC	*Journal of Victorian Culture*
MRHR	*Manchester Region History Review*
N&Q	*Notes & Queries*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online edition; last accessed 30 June 2022]
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* [online edition; last accessed 30 June 2022]
P&P	*Past & Present*
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
QH	*Quaker History*
QS	*Quaker Studies*
SCH	*Studies in Church History*
SEER	*The Slavonic and East European Review*
SJ	*The Sculpture Journal*
SR	*Slavic Review*
TRB	*Tennyson Research Bulletin*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
UTQ	*University of Toronto Quarterly*
VP	*Victorian Poetry*
VPR	*Victorian Periodicals Review*
VS	*Victorian Studies*

List of Illustrations

0.1	'Publication of a War "Gazette" Extraordinary, at the Office, St. Martin's-Lane', *ILN*, 25/715 (2 Dec. 1854), p. 564	*page* 10
1.1	'War with Russia—The Lord Chancellor Reading the Queen's Message to the House of Lords', *ILN*, 24/676 (1 Apr. 1854), p. 304	38
1.2	'Fast-Day Sermons', *ILN*, 24/680 (29 Apr. 1854), p. 400	44
1.3	'Fast-Day Sermons', *ILN*, 24/680 (29 Apr. 1854), p. 401	45
1.4	'The "Te Deum" for Peace, at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Moorfields—Cardinal Wiseman Preaching before the Bishops', *ILN*, 28/802-3 (31 May 1856), p. 604	72
2.1	[Thomas Henry Nicholson], 'Death of Captain Vicars', *CIFP*, II/75 (London, 1855), p. 173	109
3.1	Title page, Robert Forster, *A Christian Appeal from the Society of Friends to their Fellow-Countrymen, on the Present War* (London, [1854?])	118
3.2	Title page, [Henry Richard?], *Soldiership and Christianity: Being a Review of the Memoirs of the Late Captain Hedley Vicars* (London, 1856)	139
4.1	Leone Levi. By Elliott & Fry. Albumen carte-de-visite, circa 1873. 3 5/8 in. x 2 3/8 in. (92 mm x 60 mm). Given by Adam Scott, 1922. Photographs Collection. National Portrait Gallery x20031 [https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw124157/Leone-Levi], Academic Licence	186
5.1	'The Guards' Memorial.—(Designed by John Bell)', *IT*, 12/318 (4 May 1861), p. 287	198
6.1	Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 'Tennyson Reading "Maud", 1855' [https://dams.birminghammuseums.org.uk/assetbank/action/viewAsset?id=21395&index=4&total=10&view=viewSearchItem]. Photo by Birmingham Museums Trust, licensed under CC0	245
6.2	'Turkey in Danger', *Punch*, XXIV (9 Apr. 1853), p. [145]	261
6.3	'A Consultation about the State of Turkey', *Punch*, XXV (17 Sept. 1853), p. [119]	262

6.4	[John Leech], ‘A Terrible Turk’, *Punch*, XXV/640 (15 Oct. 1853), p. [159]	263
6.5	[John Leech], ‘A Caution to Imperial Birds of Prey’, *Punch*, XXV/643 (5 Nov. 1853), p. [189]	263
6.6	[John Leech], ‘Te Deum!’, *Punch*, XXVI/655 (28 Jan. 1854), p. [35]	264
6.7	‘Saint Nicholas of Russia’, *Punch*, XXVI/662 (18 Mar. 1854), p. [111]	265
6.8	‘ “A little gale will soon disperse that cloud, / And blow it to the source from whence it came.”—*Shakspere* [sic]’, *Punch*, XXVI/667 (22 Apr. 1854), p. 170	266
6.9	[John Leech], ‘ “God Defend the Right” ’, *Punch*, XXVI/660 (4 Mar. 1854), p. [87]	267
6.10	[John Leech], ‘The “Montagne Russe.”—A Very Dangerous Game’, *Punch*, XXVI/665 (8 Apr. 1854), p. [141]	268
6.11	‘ “Right against Wrong.”, *Punch*, XXVI/665 (8 Apr. 1854), p. [142]	268
6.12	‘England’s War Vigil’, *Punch*, XXVI/669 (6 May. 1854), p. [185]	269
6.13	[John Leech], ‘Our Guards’, *Punch*, XXVI/659 (25 Feb. 1854), p. [77]	271
6.14	‘Victory of the Alma’, *Punch*, XXVII/692 (14 Oct. 1854), p. [148]	271
6.15	[John Leech], ‘Bursting of the Russian Bubble’, *Punch*, XXVII/692 (14 Oct. 1854), p. [149]	271
6.16	[John Leech], ‘ “Well Jack! Here’s good news from home. We’re to have a medal.” “That’s very kind. Maybe one of these days we’ll have a coat to stick it on?” ’, *Punch*, XXVIII/710 (17 Feb. 1855), p. 64	272
6.17	[John Leech], ‘Seeing the Old Year out and the New Year in’, *Punch*, XXVIII/704 (6 Jan. 1855), p. [5]	272
6.18	[John Leech], ‘Now for it!’, *Punch*, XXVIII/710 (17 Feb. 1855), p. [65]	273
6.19	[John Leech], ‘No Danger! (Very Disrespectfully Dedicated to the Peace Society.)’, *Punch*, XXIV (12 Feb. 1853), p. [65]	274
6.20	‘Peace and War. (Being a Duet Between Richard Cobden and the British Lion.)’, *Punch*, XXIV (19 Feb. 1853), p. 79	275

6.21	[John Leech], 'Strait Waistcoat. Worked by the Women of England for the Opponents of National Defences', *Punch*, XXIV (26 Feb. 1853), p. [85]	276
6.22	'The Royal Arms as Improved by the Peace Society', *Punch*, XXIV (29 Oct. 1853), p. [179]	277
6.23	'Pet of the Manchester School', *Punch*, XXVI/666 (15 Apr. 1854), p. [155]	278
6.24	'A Bright Idea', *Punch*, XXVI/667 (22 Apr. 1854), p. 162	279
6.25	'Defeat of the Russians at Home and Abroad', *Punch*, XXVIII/726 (9 June 1855), p. [227]	280
6.26	[John Leech], 'Evening Party at Sebastopol', *Punch*, XXVII/695 (4 Nov. 1854), p. 180	281
6.27	'Part of the Interior of the Mamelon', *ILN*, 27/751 (7 July 1855), p. 9	282
6.28	'Fall of Sebastopol—Interior of the Great Redan the Day after the Assault', *PT*, (6 Oct. 1855), p. 4	282
6.29	'Explosion of the French Magazine in the Mamelon', *IT*, XVI (22 Sept. 1855), p. [249]	283
6.30	'Sebastopol Fired by the Russians, on the Taking of the Malakoff by the Allied Forces', *CIFP*, II/101 (1 Dec. 1855), p. 381	283
6.31	'Advertisement [Exhibition of James Robertson's Photographs]', *AJA*, 212 (Feb. 1856), p. [i]	284
6.32	James Robertson, 'Interior of the White Buildings [of Sebastopol] 1855-1856'. Salted paper print. 23.4 x 28.5 cm. RCIN 2500661. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022	286
6.33	James Robertson, 'Theatre, Sevastopol 1855-1856'. Salted paper print. 22.1 x 29.0 cm. RCIN 2500666. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022	286
6.34	James Robertson, 'The Library [of Sebastopol] 1855-1856'. Salted paper print. 24.9 x 28.0 cm. RCIN 2500664. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022	287
6.35	'Peace and War', *ILN*, 28/792 (5 Apr. 1856), pp. 344-5	288
6.36	'The Horrors of War', *CIFP*, II/76 (9 June 1855), p. 184	289

6.37	‘The Blessings of Peace’, *CIFP*, II/77 (16 June 1855), p. 192	290
6.38	‘The United Service’, *Punch*, XXVI/660 (4 Mar. 1854), p. [89]	291
6.39	[Allen and Moore], Bronze Medal Commemorating the Alliance of Britain and France against Russia, 1854. 44 mm. NAM 1981-11-50-1. Images courtesy of the National Army Museum, London	292
6.40	Alliance Jug, Crimean War, 1856 (c). NAM 1961-03-25-1. Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London	293
6.41	‘Incident in the War—Sergeant Davies [*sic*] Defending the Colours’, *CIFP*, II/57 (27 Jan. 1855), p. [25]	294
6.42	Mug Commemorating ‘Sergeant Davies [*sic*] Defending the Colours at Inkermann’. NAM 1999-01-144-1. Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London	295
6.43	‘Deputation of the Religious Society of Friends to the Emperor of Russia, at St Petersburg’, *ILN*, 672/XXIV (11 Mar. 1854), p. [201]	296
6.44	[Griselda Fox Mason and family], ‘Delegation to the Czar 1854’. 533 mm x 635 mm. This image shows one of the 77 Quaker Tapestry embroideries made by 4,000 people from 15 countries. Quaker Tapestry Museum, Kendal, UK [https://www.quaker-tapestry.co.uk]. © Quaker Tapestry	296
6.45	[J. Pinches], Medal Commemorating the Fall of Sebastopol and the Treaty of Paris, 1856. White metal. 52 mm. NAM 1963-07-37-1. Images courtesy of the National Army Museum, London	297
6.46	Inauguration of the Peace Trophy and the Scutari Monument, at the Crystal Palace’, *ILN*, 28/800 (17 May 1856), p. 524	298
6.47	[Sir John Tenniel], ‘Justice’, *Punch*, XXXIII (12 Sept. 1855), p. [5]	299
6.48	Jug Commemorating the Crimean War, 1855. NAM 1962-11-181-1. Images courtesy of the National Army Museum, London	300
6.49	Sir John Tenniel (1820-1914), ‘The inauguration of the Scutari Monument and the Peace Trophy at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, 9 May 1856’. Drawn 1856. Pencil, Watercolour and Bodycolour. 47.7 x 33.6 cm (whole object). RCIN 916788. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022	301
7.1	[Anon.], *Cassell’s Illustrated History of England. Vol. 8*, revised edn (London, Paris, and New York, NY, [1865])	307

Notes

CITATION OF SERMONS, TRACTS & PAMPHLETS

Victorian sermons, as well as many tracts and pamphlets, often had long titles. For the reader's convenience, and to keep citations short, their titles are condensed in the footnotes. The bibliography lists them in their full titles.

DENOMINATIONAL IDENTITIES AND BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION OF CLERGYMEN

The title pages of sermons usually included some biographical information about their preachers: previously published works, academic titles, places of worship, institutional affiliations, etc. Where necessary, I used the following sources and resources to supplement this biographical information, and to identify or confirm preachers' denominational identities:

Boase, Frederic, *Modern English Biography: Containing Many Thousand Concise Memoirs of Persons Who Have Died during the Years 1851-1900* (6 vols, Truro, 1892-1921)

Gale Primary Sources: Newspapers, including *British Library Newspapers*; *The Illustrated London News Historical Archive, 1842-2003*; *The Sunday Times Historical Archive*; *The Times Digital Archive* [https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2201/ps/dispBasicSearch.do?userGroupName=oxford&prodId=GDCS; last accessed 30 June 2022]

Foster, Joseph, *Alumni Oxonienses: The members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886: their Parentage, Birthplace and Year of Birth, with a Record of their Degrees. Being the Matriculation Register of the University, Alphabetically Arranged, Revised and Annotated* (4 vols, London, 1887-8)

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2648; last accessed 30 June 2022]

Venn, J. and Venn, J. A. (eds), *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of all known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900* (6 vols, Cambridge, 1922-54)

Anglicans

Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1868: Being a Biographical and Statistical Book of Reference for Facts Relating to the Clergy and the Church (London, 1868)

Ecclesiastical Directory for Ireland 1848 [https://www.swilson.info/eccdir1848.php; last accessed 30 June 2022]

Evans, George Eyre, *Midland Churches: A History of the Congregations on the Roll of the Midland Christian Union* (Dudley, 1899)

Herring, George, 'Appendix Table of Tractarian Clergy from 1840 to 1870', in his *The Oxford Movement in Practice: The Tractarian Parochial Worlds from the 1830s to the 1870s* (Oxford, 2016)

The Clergy List for 1851, containing Alphabetical List of the Clergy in England and Wales; List of the Clergy of the Scottish Episcopal Church; Lists of the Clergy of Colonial Dioceses; Alphabetical List of Benefices, with Post Towns, &c.; Cathedral Establishments, and Collegiate Chapters; Benefices Arranged under their Ecclesiastical Divisions; Ecclesiastical Preferments in the Patronage of the Crown, the Bishops, Deans and Chapters, etc. (London 1851)

***Protestant Nonconformists* (*various denominations*)**

Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia, The Queen Mary Centre for Religion and Literature in English, [http://dissacad.english.qmul.ac.uk/; last accessed 30 June 2022]

Unitarians

Index to the Obituaries of Unitarian Ministers 1800 - 1899, Unitarian Historical Society, [https://www.unitarianhistory.org.uk/ministerobit18004.html; last accessed 30 June 2022]

Wesleyan Methodists and other Methodist groups

Index of Methodist Ministers, John Rylands Research Institute and Library, Manchester, [https://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/rylands/special-collections/exploring/guide-to-special-collections/methodist/using-the-collections/index-of-methodist-ministers/; last accessed 30 June 2022]

SPELLING

Throughout the thesis I used the old-fashioned, nineteenth-century spelling of Sevastopol ('Sebastopol') and tsar ('czar') for consistency with the primary material cited.

NEWSPAPERS & PERIODICALS

For various pieces of information about newspapers and periodicals such as editors, publishers, circulation, and orientation, I used the online edition of *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers & Periodicals: 1800-1900* [https://english.victorianperiodicals.com/series3/index.asp; last accessed 30 June 2022].

For the identification of anonymous authors of periodical articles, I used the online edition of *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900* [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:5428/home.do; last accessed 30 June 2022], as well as *The Curran Index* (eds) Lara Atkin and Emily Bell (2017-present) [curranindex.org; last accessed 30 June 2022]. The full names of authors are entered in square brackets.

The place of publication of newspapers and periodicals is London, unless otherwise specified in the footnotes.

The Crystal Palace

[...] we fondly thought
That full-grown Time unto the world had brought
Eternal sunshine and eternal smiles.
Blind! blind!

❃ Alexander Smith, *Sonnets on the War* (London, 1855), p. 11

INTRODUCTION

THE ARGUMENT: A 'WAR' OF WORDS AND IDEAS

Sometime around October 1854, John Bright, the Quaker and radical MP for Manchester, met in the streets of that city his friend and constituent Absalom Watkin, an intellectually ambitious cotton merchant who had stalwartly upheld the crusade of the Anti-Corn Law League. The all-absorbing topic of the war raging since March between Britain, France, and the Ottoman Empire on the one hand, and Russia on the other, naturally became the focus of the conversation between the two men. Watkin heard the Manchester-School champion of free trade, non-intervention, and peace denouncing the war as 'one of the wickedest things that this country had ever engaged in.' These words continued to ring loud in Watkin's ears as he took up the pen to write to Bright on 27 October, shortly after their exchange. In his letter, Watkin confessed that Bright's diatribe against the war led him to consult books on the law of nations, including the work of the eighteenth-century Swiss jurist, Emer de Vattel. This authority, explained Watkin, confirmed his own initial view about the justice of the ongoing war. Finishing off his letter, Watkin invited Bright to a Patriotic Fund meeting aiming to raise money for the families of fallen servicemen, where Bright could offer the people of Manchester his rationale for opposing the war. Two days later, on 29 October, Bright replied to Watkin. This letter was one of the most extraordinary of Bright's political career, marking, in the words of the editor of his diaries, 'an epoch-marking point in the War controversy.'[1]

[1] John Bright, *The Diaries of John Bright*, ed. R. A. J. Walling (London and Toronto, 1930), p. 178, n. 1. The letters exchanged between Watkin and Bright can be found in Absalom Watkin, *Absalom Watkin: Extracts from his Journal 1814-1856*, ed. A. E. Watkin (London, [1920]), pp. 303-20.

Bright started his letter by saying that this meeting 'would be a most improper occasion for a discussion as to the justice of the war'. 'Just or unjust, the war is a fact', Bright declared, before dismissing Watkin's invocation of Vattel to justify Britain's resort to arms against Russia, on the grounds that the law of nations was 'a code full of confusion and contradictions, having its foundation on custom, and not on a higher morality'. History provided instructive lessons about Britain's past wars. No one, Bright argued, would now claim that the American and French wars were 'just'. In denouncing the British government's botched diplomacy in the lead-up to the ongoing war, Bright appeared to exculpate Russia. He also exposed the illogicality of the popular claim that Britain was fighting for liberty, freedom, and civilization against Russian despotism and aggression. Britain's Eastern policy, he added, rested 'on a false foundation—namely, on the perpetual maintenance of the most immoral and filthy of all despotisms [i.e., the Ottoman]'. 'The danger of the Russian power', Bright explained,

> was a phantom; the necessity of permanently upholding the Mahometan rule in Europe is an absurdity. Our love for civilization, when we subject the Greeks and Christians to the Turks, is a sham; and our sacrifices for freedom, when working out the behests of the Emperor of the French and coaxing Austria to help us, is a pitiful imposture.

In the letter's closing lines Bright fashioned himself as an individual with dauntless bravery and a strong moral compass, who also had deep religious concerns about a war he believed to be wrong—though he carefully avoided making any explicit reference to the pacifist principles of his co-religionists: '[N]o fear of being deemed wanting in patriotism, shall influence me in favour of a policy which, in my conscience, I believe to be as criminal before God as it is destructive of the true interest of my country.'[2]

Bright's letter became a topic of heated discussion across the country. *The Times* of 4 November 1854 published it in full.[3] Metropolitan and provincial newspapers followed suit.

[2] Watkin, *Absalom Watkin*, pp. 312-19.
[3] John Bright, 'Mr. Bright upon the War', *The Times*, 21890 (4 Nov. 1854), p. 10.

The Peelite Chancellor of the Exchequer, William E. Gladstone, who had cut the letter out of *The Times*, thought it 'both an able and a manly one', even though he regarded the war as one 'in support of the public law of Europe.'[4] Similarly, the Conservative politician Benjamin Disraeli deemed Bright's letter as 'very powerful.'[5] Various commentators published replies to it.[6] Peace advocates found in the letter a litany of unimpeachable points, and sought to give it a wider circulation by producing an edition with detailed notes verifying its arguments.[7] *The Friend*, a London pacifist journal advocating the doctrine of non-resistance of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) holding that war was incompatible with the religion of the 'Prince of Peace', reprinted it in December 1854.[8] On the same month, a leader of the *Herald of Peace*, the Peace Society's periodical organ, heaped praise on the 'truer and braver' manifestation of patriotism epitomised by Bright, as well as by his friend and political partner, Richard Cobden, radical MP for the West Riding of Yorkshire.[9]

The letter raised a furore in Manchester, leading many shopkeepers and tradesmen to burn their MP in effigy. Topped by a wide broad-brimmed hat symbolising Bright's Quakerism—even though he had by this time cast off his Quaker garb—the seven-feet-six-inches high effigy bore a placard inscribed with the line "Bright, the friend of Nicholas", insinuating that the peace-loving politician harboured a traitorous sympathy towards the Russians and Czar Nicholas I. Underneath this line was a doggerel with a comical opening pun:

> To brighten up the Quaker's fame
> We'll put his body to the flame,
> And shout, in mighty England's name,
> 'Send him to old Nicholas!'[10]

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[4] London, BL, Gladstone Papers: Vol. CCCCXCIX.D. Add MSS 44584-5: 'Mr. Bright's Letter', fos. 28r-29r; John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone* (3 vols, London, 1903), i, p. 494.
[5] Benjamin Disraeli, *Benjamin Disraeli Letters: 1852-1856, Volume VI*, ed. M. G. Wiebe et al. (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1997), p. 380.
[6] John Alfred Langford, *The War with Russia; Its Origin and Cause: A Reply to the Letter of J. Bright, Esq., M.P.* (London, 1855); John Coleman, *A Reply to Mr. Bright's Letter on the War* (London, 1855).
[7] John Bright, *The Letter of John Bright, Esq., MP., on the War, Verified and Illustrated by Extracts from the Parliamentary Documents, &c.* (London, [1854]).
[8] [John Bright], 'John Bright upon the War', *The Friend*, XII/144 (Dec. 1854), pp. 217-19.
[9] [Anon.], 'The Test of Patriotism', *HP*, III/LIV (Dec. 1854), p. 141.
[10] [Anon.], 'Miscellaneous News', *The Examiner*, 2444 (2 Dec. 1854), p. 770.

Such was the magnitude of this controversy that it attracted international attention. Bright's letter appeared in the *New-York Daily Times* of 29 November 1854, as well as in the Russian Francophone *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg* and the Adelaide-based *South Australian Register*, whilst the Parisian *Le Charivari* commented on it on its front page on 2 December.[11] The world's eyes had momentarily turned away from the war in the Crimea to the 'war' of words and ideas embroiling Manchester.

An indignant Watkin penned a response to Bright on 15 November 1854, prefacing his letter with quotations from Vattel's *Le droit de gens* (*The Law of Nations*) to reassert his belief in the justice of Britain's war. Both the law of nations and the morality of the gospel, Watkin averred, 'enjoin[ed] upon [Britons] the duty of resisting oppression and restraining injustice'. A glance at history exposed a rapacious, domineering, and aggressive Russia flexing her despotic muscles in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. Turkey, on the other hand, did not pursue a policy of expansionism, but instead focused on reforming her institutions and ameliorating the condition of her Christian subjects. The kernel of Watkin's letter was that Britain fought for higher moral aims: to defend the weak against the strong, and for liberty, civilization, progress, justice, and truth. 'Our battle is for the welfare of the whole human race, and our trust is in the righteousness of our cause, and in His aid who has called us to this glorious work.'[12] Having learned that Bright's letter was translated and circulated in Russia, Watkin prepared a requisition to Manchester's Mayor, requesting him to call a public meeting 'in order to enable the citizens to declare that they do not concur in the opinions of Mr. Bright, but are fully convinced of the justice and necessity of the war'.[13] The meeting on 18 December in

[11] [Anon.], 'European Extracts. Mr. Bright upon the Causes of the War—Interesting Correspondence', *NYDT* [New York, NY], IV/998 (29 Nov. 1854), p. 2; [Anon.], 'Mr. Bright on the War', *SAR* [Adelaide], XIX/2640 (10 Mar. 1855), p. [2]; Taxile Delord, 'L'Ami du Czar', *Le Charivari* [Paris] (Samedi, 2 Décembre, 1854), pp. [1-2]. Gallica [ark:/12148/bpt6k3056592s]. Various British newspapers reported that *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg* published Bright's letter: e.g., [Anon.], 'Bright in Manchester—Bright in St. Petersburg', *LIN*, 629 (10 Dec. 1854), p. 6.
[12] Watkin, *Absalom Watkin*, pp. 303-11.
[13] [Anon.], 'Mr. Bright's Letter on the War. Meeting in the Town Hall', *MT* [Manchester], 640 (20 Dec. 1854), p. 2.

Manchester's town hall was a rowdy event, with the Mayor dissolving it after much excitement and confusion.[14] Less than a month later, Watkin introduced the question 'Is the war of the Allies against Russia, a just war [?]' for discussion by the Manchester Literary Society, of which he was a member. Adjourned for some weeks, the Society's discussion led to a decision in the affirmative by twenty to three.[15] Pamphlets addressed the same question.[16] At a later stage in the war, Bolsover Mechanics' Institute, attended by working-class men as was the case with most such Institutes, deliberated over the question: 'Is War Justifiable?'[17] This question also caused much angst to Lord Aberdeen, the Peelite prime minister until January 1855. Shortly before the war's outbreak, he declared in the House of Lords that 'it [was] the greatest proof of the depravity and corruption of human nature that anything so horrible as war should ever be just and lawful.'[18] The morality of war in general, and the justice of the Crimean War in particular, were at the heart of a wider conversation engrossing Victorian society.

The controversy between Bright and Watkin, and the passionate reactions to it from peace advocates and their critics, demonstrate how profoundly public understandings of, and debates about, the Crimean War were mediated through a moral paradigm, as well as through religious, historical, cultural, and ideological categories that Victorians used to make sense of the world around them, but which extant scholarship has either completely overlooked, or insufficiently appreciated. This thesis explains why, and on what grounds, Victorians conceptualized war as a moral question between 1854 and 1856, and shows how the discursive and cultural frameworks within which they operated shaped their multifaceted—and often critical—engagements with this question. In particular, the thesis reconstructs what it terms 'a "war" of

[14] Watkin, *Absalom Watkin*, pp. 288-91.
[15] Manchester, MCL, Manchester Literary Society. GB127.MS062M3. Minutes, Vol. 2: 1837-1859 (unnumbered pages).
[16] [Anon.], *Is the War Just? A Letter to the Right Honourable the Viscount Palmerston, M.P.* (London, 1855).
[17] [Anon.], 'Lectures against the War', *HP*, III/LXVII (Jan. 1856), p. 11.
[18] [*Hansard*'s], *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser., vol. 130, col. 87 (31 Jan. 1854). Later he wrote a memorandum discussing when war is 'just': London, BL, Aberdeen Papers (Printed Volume): Correspondence , &c. 1855-60: Memorandum written by Lord Aberdeen during the winter of 1855-6, pp. 143-5.

words and ideas' on the home front, of which the Bright-Watkin controversy is an illuminating episode. It argues that the Crimean War's unique circumstances and the significant historical juncture at which it occurred, forged a crucible where competing ideas of war and peace interacted in complex ways. These interactions generated vibrant debates—religious, intellectual, political, and cultural—between supporters of the war who comprised a majority, and a vocal minority of critics associated with the British peace movement, of which the nondenominational Peace Society (founded in 1816) and members of the Religious Society of Friends were an integral part. The thesis demonstrates that these debates cut across Victorian society, were highly interactive, and were framed by the principles of the peace movement and the idea of 'just war'. Adopting a wide contextual perspective, it builds a new story of the Crimean War as a crucial chapter in British intellectual and cultural history. This account fundamentally rethinks existing interpretations of how Victorians experienced the Crimean War.[19]

To understand what Victorians thought and felt about this conflict we must see it through their own distinctive lens. Before doing that, it is necessary to offer a brief account of its history. By the time the Bright-Watkin controversy took place, Britain had already been at war for about seven months. Scholars have traced its origins in the disputes during the early 1850s between Latin and Orthodox Christians concerning their rights over the Ottoman-controlled holy sites of Palestine, which caused political tension between France and Russia—the self-proclaimed protectors of these two Christian groups, respectively. Early in 1853 the czar sent

[19] The war extended beyond its well-known Black Sea theatre, covering parts of the Baltic, the White Sea, and the Pacific: see Andrew Lambert, *The Crimean War: British Grand Strategy against Russia, 1853-56*, 2nd edn (Farnham, 2011); and Andrew C. Rath, *The Crimean War in Imperial Context, 1854-1856* (Basingstoke, 2015). As it developed, Victorians almost invariably referred to this conflict as the 'Russian War' or the 'War in the East'. It is true that the name 'Crimean War' would become more common in the later nineteenth century. But the assumption of historians such as Lambert that it was not used at all between 1854 and 1856 is incorrect, since there is evidence to the contrary: Lambert, *Crimean War*, pp. 3, 26, [31]. See, for example, [Anon.], 'Monumental Remains of the Crimean War', *ILN*, 29/817 (23 Aug. 1856), pp. 199-200. Whilst this thesis recognises the issue surrounding the terminology of the conflict, it nonetheless uses the name 'Crimean War' because this is how is now generally known, and how historians have continued to label it.

Prince Menshikov to Constantinople to demand that the sultan guarantee not only the rights of Orthodox monks in the Holy Places, but also the czar's right to protect the Sublime Porte's Orthodox subjects in general: around two-fifths of the Ottoman Empire's total population.[20] Following the Porte's rejection of a Russian ultimatum, the czar's forces crossed the river Pruth in July and invaded the semi-autonomous Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, which the Ottoman Empire ostensibly controlled. Britain, France, Prussia, and Austria sought a diplomatic solution to the crisis, drawing up the 'Vienna Note' which contained 'a series of compromise proposals'; Russia accepted it, but the Turks did not.[21] The two powers found themselves at war in October 1853. The destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope in November intensified British anti-Russian sentiments, leading Britain and France to send their fleets into the Black Sea and to sign an alliance with the Porte. France declared war on 27 March 1854 and Lord Aberdeen's coalition government on the next day. The British declaration of war pronounced the importance of upholding Ottoman 'Integrity and Independence' and of 'sav[ing] Europe from the Preponderance of a Power which has violated the Faith of Treaties, and defies the Opinion of the civilized World'. It also cited Britons' 'Sympathies [...] with Right against Wrong'.[22] Less than a month later, the established churches and most dissenting denominations observed a day of solemn fast, humiliation, and prayer, seeking God's forgiveness and help in their undertaking. This would be the first of five occasions of special national worship, the last being a thanksgiving day for peace on 4 May 1856.

The allies first landed in Varna, but following Russia's withdrawal from the Principalities in June 1854 the war shifted to the Crimea in September. The goal was the destruction of the naval fortress and city of Sebastopol. Meanwhile, the British fleet was sent to the Baltic.

[20] M. S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923: A Study in International Relations* (London, 1966; repr. 1972), p. 122.
[21] A. L. Macfie, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923*, revised edn (Harlow, 1996), p. 30.
[22] 'Declaration of Her Majesty', in *Her Majesty's Declarations, Proclamations, and Orders in Council, &c.* (London, 1854), p. 6 (From *The Sessional Papers Printed by Order of the House of Lords* (*1854*)).

Conflicts also took place in the White Sea and the Kamchatka Peninsula in the Pacific. In the Crimea the allies fought a series of battles: Alma (20 September 1854), Balaklava (25 October), and Inkerman (9 November). Piedmont-Sardinia later joined the alliance. Between late 1854 and early 1855 the public mood in Britain shifted following revelations from war correspondents about various disasters that befell the forces, and about the mismanagement of war, logistical failures, and high casualty rates amongst servicemen due to diseases and privation. In Westminster this culminated in the motion of John Arthur Roebuck, radical MP for Sheffield, for the appointment of a Select Committee to enquire into the condition of the army. The Aberdeen coalition was heavily defeated in the Commons on 29 January 1855, precipitating Aberdeen's resignation and the formation of Lord Palmerston's first ministry. The czar then died unexpectedly on 2 March 1855 and was succeeded by his son Alexander II. The diplomacy of the Vienna Conference which opened two weeks later failed to terminate the war. Finally, the allies captured Sebastopol in September 1855. The war ended with the Treaty of Paris on 30 March 1856, neutralizing the Black Sea and leading to the destruction of Russia's naval power there.

The Crimean War marked a defining moment in the mid-nineteenth century. It was the first major war that Britain participated in after the Napoleonic Wars, and the only large-scale conflict Britain fought on European soil between 1815 and 1914. For Victorians the war marked an abrupt end to a period of peace of almost forty years in Europe; they accordingly found themselves standing on the threshold of a new and indeterminate era. The belief that they were living through an historic caesura, combined with the feeling that fighting against such a formidable power as Russia could prove to be an arduous undertaking with potentially devastating and—for many evangelicals of a premillennial attitude—apocalyptic consequences, freighted the war with a sense of urgency and anxiety. It was not, of course, the case that Britain had fought no wars between 1815 and 1854. Wars in China, Afghanistan,

South Asia, and the Cape formed part of a long sequence of Britain's imperial military engagements between the Vienna settlement and the Crimean War. But most Victorians felt that these were distant wars fought against weaker enemies, and so did not give them much consideration.[23] Echoing the views of many contemporaries, the Oxford-educated Anglican cleric Mayow Wynell Mayow determined that distance and scale placed colonial warfare 'in a totally different light' from the war against Russia.[24] These colonial wars did, however, attract some public attention when things went wrong, as in Afghanistan; peace-minded groups also kept a close eye on them for critical purposes.[25] Nonetheless, for Victorians the year 1854 was the first time after around four decades of peace that their country was engaged in actual war. It is only when we see the Crimean War in this context that we can make sense of William E. Gladstone's comment in a letter to his brother Robertson, one day after Britain's declaration of war against Russia, that '[w]ar has hitherto been to us Englishmen but a remote and abstract idea: and when we say we are going to war [...] we do not know what we mean.'[26]

The Crimean War was also the first 'media war', forging a powerful interconnection between home front and battlefront.[27] The graphic accounts of war correspondents—*The Times*'s W. H. Russell being the most famous example—carried in the press; the visual reportage of the campaign in wood-engravings and lithographs by 'special artists' commissioned by newspapers such as the *Illustrated London News*; and the novel use of telegraphy and photography, invested the war with a remarkable degree of immediacy and visibility which

[23] There is, then, some truth in Bernard Porter's thesis that Victorians were not 'imperially minded' as is often assumed. Their 'major concerns and priorities' during most of the nineteenth century 'before the coming of the "new" imperialism', Porter argues, had little or nothing to do with empire, but centred on 'the problems attendant on Britain's *progress*, the unprecedented domestic changes she was undergoing in this period, for ill as well as for good': *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford, 2004), p. 163.
[24] Mayow Wynell Mayow, *War. A Few Words to Soldiers and Sailors Called to Active Service* (London, 1854), p. [3].
[25] W. H. van der Linden, *The International Peace Movement 1815-1874* (Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 417-28.
[26] London, BL, Gladstone Papers: Vol. CCCCXLIV. Add MS 44529: Letter from W. E. Gladstone to Robertson Gladstone (29 Mar. 1854), pp. 72-3.
[27] Stefanie Markovits, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 3.

engendered and sustained an intense public interest.[28] People's appetite for news became insatiable. 'I only get a newspaper once a week', wrote the freethinking philosopher F. W. Newman to the Unitarian divine James Martineau, '& in such a crisis, feel hungry for news as the week goes on.'[29] ' "Who are the killed?" "Who are the wounded?', were questions asked by an anxious crowd gathered outside the *London Gazette*'s offices, a scene captured by the *Illustrated London News*'s artist on 2 December 1854 (Fig. 0.1).[30] Technology's transformative



Fig. 0.1. 'Publication of a War "Gazette" Extraordinary, at the Office, St. Martin's-Lane' *ILN*, 25/715 (2 Dec. 1854), p. 564.

power reduced the distance between Britain and the main theatre of the war three thousand miles away, allowing the public to consume—visually and textually—the campaign, and

[28] Ulrich Keller, *The Ultimate Spectacle: A Visual History of the Crimean War* (Australia, 2001); Matthew Paul Lalumia, *Realism and Politics in Victorian Art of the Crimean War* (Epping, 1984); Catherine Waters, *Special Correspondence and the Newspaper Press in Victorian Print Culture, 1850-1886* (Basingstoke, 2019), pp. 91-5.
[29] Oxford, HMC, MS J. Martineau 4: Letter from F. W. Newman to J. Martineau (31 July 1854), fos. 105r-106r.
[30] [Anon.], ' "The London Gazette" Office, St. Martin's-Lane', *ILN*, 25/715 (2 Dec. 1854), p. 562.

respond to it as it developed. The war had not been 'carried on in dim, dark, impenetrable remoteness, as it were, hidden from the eyes of men by its own smoke, dust, and tumult', Henry Hart Milman, dean of St Paul's, told his congregation on the day of thanksgiving for peace on 4 May 1856, 'but represented to us in all its horrible distinctness, in every scene and circumstance of misery, suffering, death'.[31] 'Seeing' war in all its fearful reality would compel a redefinition of extant idealistic conceptions of it, and give rise to challenging moral questions.

The war also took place at a time of ideological tensions. The year 1851 marked the apogee of the peace movement, which originated in the mid-1790s during the French Wars, and its ideas of internationalism, non-interventionism, and free trade. These were also propounded by the Manchester School and its leaders—especially Richard Cobden—who became associated with the peace movement.[32] As Martin Ceadel has shown, the peace movement comprised of pacifist and 'pacificist' contingents. Pacifists advocated an absolutist position rejecting all war, and upheld the principle of non-resistance. Quakers were the most vocal and intellectually active group of pacifists. On the contrary, 'pacificists' such as Cobden upheld a reformist position which sought to eradicate war through various 'practical reforms' such as non-intervention and free trade, but did not disclaim defensive or just war. The London Peace Society, which became 'the acknowledged leader of the world peace movement', accepted both pacifists and 'pacificists' within its ranks, although it was fundamentally pacifist and received much of its support from Quakers.[33] In 1851 the principles of the peace movement were physically manifested in Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, which housed the Great

[31] Henry Hart Milman, *War and Peace. A Sermon* (London, 1856), p. 7.
[32] Martin Ceadel, *Semi-Detached Idealists: The British Peace Movement and International Relations, 1854-1945* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 31-2.
[33] Idem, *The Origins of War Prevention: The British Peace Movement and International Relations, 1730-1854* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 2, 11-12, 35-44, 225-6, 237-59.

Exhibition. This age-defining occasion signified 'the triumph of peace & goodwill towards all', Queen Victoria wrote in her journals.[34] The same year saw the London Peace Congress in Exeter Hall, the fifth international congress of the peace movement, that gave 'a fitting expression in living speech to the sentiment of which the Crystal Palace and its contents were the significant material symbol.'[35] But a spirit of militarism lurking behind the rhetoric of peace and liberal internationalism would erode the confidence of peace activists. This spirit was roused by a crusading attitude on behalf of the 'oppressed' European nationalities (Poland, Hungary, Italy), promoted by the Hungarian patriot Lajos Kossuth and others; by the French invasion scare following Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* in December 1851, and the resultant Militia Act of 1852; and by the revival shortly after of the Eastern Question.[36] Amidst a resurgent 'popular militarism', the peace movement abandoned its plans for the next international congress, with its British followers limiting themselves to two national conferences in Manchester (January 1853) and Edinburgh (October 1853)—the latter marking the doleful end of a series of buoyant peace gatherings.[37]

Shortly before Britain's declaration of war, a remarkable event took place that provoked a strong public reaction. In January 1854 the Religious Society of Friends sent a deputation of three of its members to the czar to avert war between Britain and Russia.[38] Travelling through Berlin, Königsberg, and Riga, Joseph Sturge, Robert Charleton, and Henry Pease arrived at St Petersburg in February where they had an interview with the Russian Emperor at Winter Palace. A Christian pacifist ethos suffused their address: '[W]e have, as a Christian Church, uniformly upheld a testimony against war, on the simple ground that it is utterly condemned

[34] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 18 July 1851 (Princess Beatrice's copies). Retrieved 24 May 2013 [http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org] (1 May 2022).
[35] Henry Richard, *Memoirs of Joseph Sturge* (London, 1864), p. 456.
[36] Ceadel, *Origins of War Prevention*, pp. 470-504. See also, D. Nicholls, 'Richard Cobden and the International Peace Congress Movement, 1848-1853', *JBS*, 30/4 (1991), pp. 366-9.
[37] Vanessa Lincoln Lambert, 'The Dynamics of Transnational Activism: The International Peace Congresses, 1843-51', *IHR*, 38/1 (2016), [doi: 10.1080/07075332.2015.1006243], p. 142.
[38] See Stephen Frick, 'The Quaker Deputation to Russia: January-February 1854', *JFHS*, 52/2 (1969), pp. 78-96.

by the precepts of Christianity, as well as altogether incompatible with the Spirit of its Divine Founder, who is emphatically styled the "Prince of Peace".' Appealing to the czar as a Christian ruler, the address expressed the hope that he 'practically exhibit to the nations [...] the efficacy of the Gospel of Christ'.[39] Most of the British press was searing in its response. The popular satirical periodical *Punch, or the London Charivari* scorned the deputation's aim: 'The New Testament should be opened, and words of life and charity be read thereform in confutation of decrees of blood and death.'[40] Notwithstanding the vicious attacks it sustained, the deputation further provoked an already developing debate on whether Christianity and war were compatible.

In breaking an almost forty-year period of peace in Europe and creating a sense of anxiety about the future; intensifying extant ideological divisions; and exposing people on the home front to its horrors, the Crimean War sparked debates over its justice and about the morality of wars in general. At the same time, a variety of thinkers began to reflect seriously and more deeply than at any time over the previous decades on the place of war in the life of a professedly Christian nation. Given the unique circumstances of the Crimean War, these debates became particularly pressing and acquired a sharper edge.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

This thesis presents the first scholarly attempt to examine these debates systematically. Tracing the complex ways in which the idea of 'just war' and the principles of the peace movement framed religious, intellectual, political, and cultural debates during the Crimean War, the thesis makes an original and substantial contribution not only to the historiography of this conflict, but also to general scholarship on Victorian religious, intellectual, and martial culture. It breaks

[39] London, LSF, Temp MSS 11/10: [Anon.], *Some Account of a Deputation from the Religious Society of Friends to the Emperor of Russia* (London, 1854), p. 4.
[40] [Anon.], 'Doves of St. Petersburg', *Punch, or the London Charivari* XXVI (25 Feb. 1854), p. 75.

new ground in the historical study of war in modern Britain, and responds to recent calls for fresh investigations into its cultural meanings and how Victorians experienced it.[41]

Where older historiography has studied this conflict as an episode in diplomatic and military history, focusing especially on its origins and the foreign policies of European powers,[42] this thesis advances fresh perspectives on its unique impact on Victorian thought and culture. It therefore adds to a developing research context which attests to the war's cultural significance and continuing importance as an historical topic. The past decade or so has seen new scholarship that has enriched our understanding of the war in various contexts. Candan Badem's *The Ottoman Crimean War* (2010), Orlando Figes's *Crimea: The Last Crusade* (2011), and Mara Kozelsky's Russia-focused *Crimea in War and Transformation* (2018), have shed light on how Britain's allies and enemy responded to the war.[43] Paul Huddie has studied the war in an Irish rather than its usual Anglo-centric context.[44] *Hearing the Crimean War* (2019), an interdisciplinary collection of essays by musicologists and historians, has examined the war's aurality.[45] The same year saw the publication of Trudi Tate's *A Short History of the Crimean War* that has retold a familiar story about the war, but also offered new perspectives on how people on the home front and battlefront experienced it.[46] In the last couple of years historians have also revisited the role of women in the war, with the Jamaican-born nurse Mary Seacole receiving new attention.[47] Literary scholars such as Holly Furneaux have considered

[41] M. Tusan, 'War and the Victorians: Response', *VS*, 58/2 (2016), [doi: 10.2979/victorianstudies.58.2.13], p. 329.
[42] Paul W. Schroeder, *Austria, Great Britain, and the Crimean War: The Destruction of the European Concert* (Ithaca, NY, and London, 1972); Ann Pottinger Saab, *The Origins of the Crimean Alliance* (Charlottesville, VA, 1977); J. B. Conacher, *Britain and the Crimea, 1855-56: Problems of War and Peace* (Basingstoke, 1987); D. M. Goldfrank, *The Origins of the Crimean War* (London, 1994); W. Baumgart, *The Crimean War, 1853-1856* (London, 1999).
[43] Candan Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War* (*1853-1856*) (Leiden, 2010); Orlando Figes, *Crimea: The Last Crusade* (London, 2011); Mara Kozelsky, *Crimea in War and Transformation* (New York, NY, 2018).
[44] Paul Huddie, *The Crimean War and Irish Society* (Liverpool, 2015).
[45] Gavin Williams (ed.), *Hearing the Crimean War: Wartime Sound and the Unmaking of Sense* (New York, NY, 2019).
[46] Trudi Tate, *A Short History of the Crimean War* (London and New York, NY, 2019).
[47] Paul Crawford et al., *Florence Nightingale at Home* (Basingstoke, 2020), pp. [143]-77; Helen Rappaport, *In Search of Mary Seacole: The Making of a Cultural Icon* (London, 2022); Jennine Hurl-Eamon and Lynn

the place of emotion, touch, and masculinity in cultural constructions of the British soldier, and Tai-Chun Ho's *The Crimean War in Victorian Poetry* (2021) has investigated the impact of the war on poetry.[48] The contributors of *The Routledge Handbook of the Crimean War* (2021) have provided insights into diplomatic, military, and regional perspectives, as well as into social, economic, and cultural issues relating to the war.[49] Latterly, Lara Kriegel's *The Crimean War and its Afterlife* (2022) has demonstrated how the war shaped modern Britain, whilst the author of this thesis has examined in a *Journal of Victorian Culture* article the complex interface between religion, morality, war, and peace rhetoric using the case study of a Crimean officer's biography.[50]

A survey of the historiography reveals that scholars have written remarkably little on how Victorians debated the war and its justice, and on what grounds. Those few works that have alluded to this topic did so in a perfunctory manner. Olive Anderson's seminal, albeit dated, article in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* on religious reactions to the war, has noted that churchmen earnestly sought to establish whether it met certain criteria to be considered 'just'.[51] Yet the language of just war was much more widespread than Anderson has recognised, informing not only the responses of the established churches, but also of dissenting and other denominations. Also, Victorian society more generally grappled with the question of whether Britain's war was 'just', but Anderson made almost no effort to reveal argumentative motifs shared amongst clerical and lay commentators. These criticisms also apply to more recent

MacKay (eds), *Women, Families and the British Army 1700-1880. Volume V: The Crimean War* (*1854-56*) (London, 2020).

[48] Holly Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling: Emotion, Touch, and Masculinity in the Crimean War* (Oxford, 2016); Tai-Chun Ho, *The Crimean War in Victorian Poetry* (Oxford, 2021).

[49] Candan Badem (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of the Crimean War* (London, 2021).

[50] Lara Kriegel, *The Crimean War and its Afterlife: Making Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2022); Petros Spanou, 'Soldiership, Christianity, and the Crimean War: The Reception of Catherine Marsh's *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars*', *JVC*, 27/1 (Jan. 2022), [doi: 10.1093/jvcult/vcab059], pp. 46-62.

[51] Olive Anderson, 'The Reactions of Church and Dissent towards the Crimean War', *JEH*, 16/2 (1965), [doi:10.1017/S0022046900054026], p. 211. See also idem, *A Liberal State at War: English Politics and Economics during the Crimean War* (Aldershot, 1994) p. 20 (first published 1967).

scholarship.[52] Literary scholars of the war have traced just-war ideas in Victorian public and literary discourse, but failed to engage with the topic in a sustained way.[53] General books on British religious culture such as John Wolffe's *God and Greater Britain* have rightly recognised 'the diffused application of Christian Just War ideas' during the Crimean War and 'later conflicts in which Britain saw itself as a guardian of international morality'.[54] Regrettably, Wolffe's point lacks a detailed analysis. Other general works such as the edited collection *Justifying War: Propaganda, Politics and the Modern Age* have overlooked the Crimean War. This neglect has led one of this collection's editors, David Welch, to reach the untenable conclusion that prior to the First World War—which he curiously sees as the first war Britain fought in Europe after a century—'[t]he need to justify war had not [...] been a major factor in British international relations'.[55] Nothing could be further from the truth.

Of course, the idea of fighting a just war belonged to a broader 'tradition' with a complex intellectual lineage spanning centuries of development since at least ancient Rome, so a short digression here is necessary to set in context Victorians' intersections with, and selective appropriations of, this older tradition. As James Turner Johnson has defined it, '[t]he just war tradition represents the coalescence of the major effort Western culture has made to regulate and restrain violence.'[56] It has usually centred on two main theoretical branches, the conditions according to which resort to armed force can be justified, and the limits in the conduct of war; these became known in the twentieth century as *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello*.[57] The beginnings of just war in Christian thought can be traced to St Augustine of Hippo (354-430), if not to

[52] Figes, *Crimea*, pp. 162-4; Huddie, *Crimean War*, pp. 95-7.
[53] Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling*, pp. 71-4; Markovits, *Crimean War*, p. 93; Cynthia Dereli, *A War Culture in Action: A Study of the Literature of the Crimean War Period* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 13-15, 111-15.
[54] John Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945* (London and New York, NY, 1994), pp. 119-20.
[55] David Welch, 'War Aims and the "Big Ideas" of 1914', in David Welch and Jo Fox (eds), *Justifying War: Propaganda, Politics and the Modern Age* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 74-5.
[56] James Turner Johnson, *Just War Tradition and the Restraint of War: A Moral and Historical Inquiry* (Princeton, NJ, 1981), p. [41].
[57] C. O'Driscoll, 'The Historical Just War Tradition', in C. Brown and R. Eckersley (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of International Political Theory* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 209, 215.

earlier Church fathers such as Athanasius (296-373) and bishop Ambrose of Milan (339-397).[58] St Augustine judged that Christianity did not prohibit the profession of the soldier, and that wars could be compatible with God's will.[59] Though Augustine's writings on the subject were not methodical, medieval theology provided a more systematic formulation of just war. In *Summa Theologica*, the scholastic theologian Thomas Aquinas (1225-74) identified three criteria for the just resort to arms that distilled the just war tradition in its 'classic form': a war ought to rest on 'the authority of the sovereign by whose command the war is to be waged'; fought for a 'just cause [...] namely that those who are attacked, should be attacked because they deserve it on an account of some fault'; and 'have a rightful intention, so that [belligerents] intend the advancement of good, or the avoidance of evil.'[60] To illustrate the latter condition, Aquinas cited the following quotation, which he wrongly attributed to St Augustine: ' "True religion looks upon as peaceful those wars that are waged not for motives of aggrandizement, or cruelty, but with the object of securing peace, of punishing evil-doers, and of uplifting the good".' Although influential in the just war tradition, Aquinas's set of conditions did not remain unchanged. Future thinkers would make modifications, and offer their own interpretations. Particular emphasis would be placed on the stipulation that states ought to fight wars as a 'last resort'. Just-war thinking continued to develop into the early modern period, with the publication of *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625) by the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius marking an important moment in this development. Grotius identified four just causes for war: fighting for defensive purposes, recovering 'things wrongly taken', for the 'exaction of outstanding debts', and punishing wrong.[61] An important just war thinker after Grotius was Emer de Vattel,

[58] G. M. Reichberg et al. (eds), *The Ethics of War: Classic and Contemporary Readings* (Malden, MA, and Oxford, 2006), pp. 62, 66-9.
[59] Saint Augustine of Hippo, *Political Writings*, trans. M. W. Tkacz and D. Kries, ed. E. L. Fortin and D. Kries (Indianapolis, IN, and Cambridge, 1994), pp. 218-29.
[60] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica: Translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province* (Boston, MA, 2010), pp. 4229-30; James Turner Johnson, *Ethics and the Use of Force: Just War in Historical Perspective* (Farnham, 2011), p. 17.
[61] Reichberg et al., *Ethics of War*, p. 400.

whose authority Watkin cited to challenge Bright's views. Within the framework of the 'law of nations', Vattel's influential *Le droit de gens* (1758) laid down the conditions of just war, and discussed the limits of justified use of force.[62] Around three decades later, the Anglican cleric and utilitarian philosopher William Paley, who remains a neglected figure in scholarship on the just war tradition, attempted to do the same. In *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785), Paley resorted to the Bible to establish the lawfulness of war for Christians, before examining what rendered recourse to war 'just'. Paley also specified that 'the licence of war authorises no acts of hostility but what are necessary or conducive to the end and object of the war.'[63]

Evidence of just-war thinking, mainly in regard to the lawfulness of war for Christians and the circumstances under which recourse to arms is morally justifiable, can be found throughout the nineteenth century in various works—especially clerical.[64] Tracing the complex ways in which the language and idea of just war fed into debates in Britain between 1854 and 1856, the thesis disrupts the assumption of some historians and most scholars of international law that nineteenth-century religious, political, legal, and intellectual thought witnessed the decline of just-war ideas—especially concerning the recourse to war—only to be revived in the twentieth century.[65] The thesis thus makes an important intervention on this specific body of literature, and contests one of its major interpretations.

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[62] Emer de Vattel, *The Law of Nations, or, Principles of the Law of Nature, Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns*, ed. J. Chitty, new edn (London, 1834), pp. 301-14, 346-70.
[63] William Paley, *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* ([1785]; Indianapolis, IN, 2002), pp. 456-71, at p. 465.
[64] E.g., Robert Hall, 'Reflections on War: A Sermon' [1802], in Olinthus Gregory (ed.), *The Works of Robert Hall, A. M.*, 4th edn (6 vols, London, 1834), i, pp. 84-98; J. B. Mozley, *War: A Sermon Preached before the University of Oxford* [1871] (London, 1915); Benjamin Jowett, 'War' (1885), in his *Sermons Biographical & Miscellaneous*, ed. W. H. Fremantle (London, 1899), pp. [299]-319; H. I. D. Ryder, 'The Ethics of War', *NC*, 45/267, (May 1899), pp. 716-28.
[65] Philip Towle, *Going to War: British Debates from Wilberforce to Blair* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 24-8, 37; James Turner Johnson, 'War', in J. D. S. Rasmussen et al. (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Nineteenth-Century Christian Thought* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 393-410; Michael Howard, 'Constraints on Warfare', in idem et al. (eds), *The Laws of War: Constraints on Warfare in the Western World* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1994), p. 3; Stephen C. Neff, *War and the Law of Nations: A General History* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 161-8, 285-316; Christine Chinkin and Mary Kaldor, *International Law and New Wars* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 131-3. Cf. Mary Ellen O'Connell, *The Power and Purpose of International Law: Insights from the Theory and Practice of*

At the same time, it challenges the existing historiography of the Crimean War for failing to pay serious attention to wider patterns of Victorian cultural life. Standing on their specific disciplinary and methodological viewpoints, most scholars have been unable properly to recognise the complex textures of this culture: its holistic nature and interconnectedness have yet to be fully appreciated, thereby leaving gaps in our understanding of responses to the war. Scholars have not situated these responses within a common discursive and cultural context, so as to reveal the richness and interactivity of a broader debate between the peace movement and apologists of the war. As a matter of fact, the historiography of the war has engaged with scholarship on the nineteenth-century British peace movement only tangentially. The present study brings into a more meaningful conversation secondary works on the war and scholarly literature on the peace movement, and adds to them by revealing the unacknowledged contours of contemporary debates.

Appreciating the complexity, vitality, and cultural significance of these debates imparts much-needed nuance in general scholarship on war in the nineteenth century which portrays British society, often in too unqualified a sense, as decidedly militaristic.[66] It is true that Victorians retained an enduring interest in the phenomenon of war.[67] But this does not mean that we can reduce the nineteenth century into a simplistic narrative. Recent revisionist works on public reactions to the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and to the outbreak of the First World War have replaced monolithic interpretations, based on assumptions that British society was driven

Enforcement (Oxford, 2008), pp. 38-9; Randall Lesaffer, 'Too Much History: From War as Sanction to the Sanctioning of War', in Marc Weller (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Use of Force in International Law* (Oxford, 2015), p. 36; Hendrik Simon, 'The Myth of *Liberum Ius ad Bellum*: Justifying War in 19th-Century Legal Theory and Political Practice', *EJIL*, 29/1 (2018), pp. [113]-36.

[66] Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London, 2000); Gautam Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 1-3; J. M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Popular Imperialism and the Military 1850-1950* (Manchester, 1992).

[67] E. M. Spiers, 'War', in F. O'Gorman (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. [80]-100; John R. Reed, 'The Victorians and War', in C. M. McLoughlin (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to War Writing* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 135-47; John Gooch, 'Attitudes to War in Late Victorian and Edwardian England', in Brian Bond and Ian Roy (eds), *War and Society: A Yearbook of Military History* (2 vols, London, 1975-7), p. 88.

by jingoism, with more complex accounts.[68] The older view that public opinion during Britain's conflict with Russia exemplified signs of 'war fever', or that it was suffused by jingoistic sentiments, is untenable.[69] Uncovering a multi-vocal discourse which filtered into, and shaped, various debates, this thesis paints a more nuanced picture of how Victorians responded to the war.

Revealing competing understandings of Turkey and exploring how these understandings informed debates about the war and its justice, the thesis adds to recent scholarship on Turkey's place in the Victorian imagination and Britain's dealings with the Ottoman Middle East.[70] In common with Watkin, many commentators during the Crimean War had a relatively positive attitude towards Britain's Muslim ally, something which belies Martin Pugh's crude generalisation that the Victorian period saw the worsening of British views of the Muslim world.[71] A vocal minority comprised primarily of peace advocates offered alternative and highly critical 'readings' of Turkish society. Victorian attitudes towards the Ottoman Empire during the war were thus diverse. This variegation accordingly reinforces scholarly critiques directed against Edward Said's schematic conception of 'Orientalism' as an 'internally consistent' discourse assuming a 'supposed uniformity of western attitudes and intentions towards the East'.[72] The thesis also explores perceptions of Russia in wartime discourses,

[68] Christopher Herbert, *War of no Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma* (Princeton, NJ, 2008), pp. 6-16; Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 227-9.
[69] Kingsley Martin, *The Triumph of Lord Palmerston: A Study of Public Opinion in England before the Crimean War*, new edn (London, 1963), p. 20; T. Royle, *Crimea: The Great Crimean War 1854-1856* (London, 1999), p. 121.
[70] David S. Katz, *The Shaping of Turkey in the British Imagination, 1776-1923* (Cham, 2016); Jonathan Parry, *Promised Lands: The British and the Ottoman Middle East* (Princeton, NJ, 2022).
[71] Martin Pugh, *Britain & Islam: A History from 622 to the Present Day* (New Haven, CT, 2019), p. 109.
[72] Aslı Çırakman, *From the "Terror of the World" to the "Sick Man of Europe": European Images of Ottoman Empire and Society from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth* (New York, NY, and Oxford, 2002), pp. 8-13, 183, 214.

thereby contributing to the limited historiography of British imaginings of, and encounters with, this 'Eastern' imperial power.[73]

The findings of the thesis also revise our understanding of Britons' motivations for going to war. In classic studies of Britain's interactions with Europe and the world, and Britain's history of warfare, as well as in many recent works on the Crimean War, scholars have argued that Britons had fought this conflict for imperial reasons: for checking Russian expansionism in Central Asia, for protecting trade routes, and—especially—for securing India.[74] This is an erroneous view. During the war, cabinet ministers and Lord Dalhousie, India's colonial administrator, affirmed that a successful Russian invasion of British India was impossible.[75] Writing from St Petersburg in January 1854 to the Foreign Secretary Lord Clarendon, Sir George Hamilton Seymour, British Ambassador to Russia, expressed the same view, whilst calculating that out of one hundred thousand men Russia would need to attempt an invasion, at least half would starve to death prior to reaching the British frontier.[76] British India rarely played any part in Russian designs for the conquest of Central Asia; this was even though the First and Second Anglo-Afghan Wars (1839-42, 1878-80) aggravated Britain's fears of a Russian advance towards India, and Russia's fears of British encroachments in Central Asia.[77] India's security neither played any part in policymakers' motivations for going to war against Russia, nor occupied a significant place in public debates. It is also worth remembering that the Suez Canal had not yet been built.[78] The assumption that Britons resorted to arms with

[73] Anthony Cross (ed.), *A People Passing Rude: British Responses to Russian Culture* (Cambridge, 2012); J. H. Gleason, *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain: A Study of the Interaction of Policy and Opinion* (Cambridge, MA, 1950).
[74] Bernard Porter, *Britain, Europe and the World 1850-1982: Delusions of Grandeur* (London, 1983), p. 26; David French, *The British Way in Warfare 1688-2000* (London, 1990), p. 123; Huddie, *Crimean War*, pp. 1-2; Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling*, pp. 3-4.
[75] Garry J. Alder, 'India and the Crimean War', *JICH*, 2/1 (1973), pp. 23-31.
[76] Oxford, Bod., Clarendon Papers. MS. Clar. Dep. c. 210: Letter from Sir Hamilton Seymour to Lord Clarendon (24 Jan. [1854]), fo. 66v.
[77] Alexander Morrison, *The Russian Conquest of Central Asia: A Study in Imperial Expansion, 1814-1914* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 12-13.
[78] A. J. P. Taylor, 'Crimea: The War that would not Boil', in idem, *From Napoleon to the Second International: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Chris Wrigley (London, 1995), pp. 216-17.

imperial considerations in mind and for defending India has painted a misleading picture. Though there were some alarmists who raised concerns about India, these formed a marginal group, and their views were dismissed in the press.[79] Popular understandings of, and important debates about, the war had nothing to do with India's security. Most elite politicians and public commentators understood the war to be one of justice against Russia's aggression which threatened Turkish independence and European liberties more broadly. Moreover, the majority of advocates of the war who adverted to the so-called 'balance of power' and arguments for its necessity and preservation, almost invariably did so according to a moral paradigm. Morality and considerations of justice rather than utility took centre stage in public support for the war.

FRAMEWORKS, METHOLODOGY, AND SOURCES

Victorians' responses to the war were inextricable from the discursive and cultural frameworks within which they made sense of the world around them. An understanding of these frameworks is necessary to contextualise wartime debates. As Jonathan Parry has shown, in Victorian Britain '[f]oreign tensions were very frequently presented in ideological terms: between a Britain which stood for constitutionalism, law, inclusiveness, conscience and humanitarianism, and various continental regimes—usually autocratic, sometimes republican—which were threatening and "un-English".'[80] In a more general sense, Victorians' critiques of powers such as Austria and Russia rested not so much on foreignness, but on ideas of "backwardness" and 'illiberalism' defined against a seemingly universally applicable British gospel of "progress" and of 'economic and political liberalism'.[81] Peter Mandler concurs,

[79] [W. R. Mansfield], 'The Russian War of 1854', *ER*, 100/203 (July 1854), p. 301; [Anon.], 'London, Wednesday, May 31, 1854', *The Times*, 21755 (31 May 1854), p. 8.
[80] Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830-1886* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 4.
[81] Bernard Porter, ' "Bureau and Barrack": Early Victorian Attitudes Towards the Continent', *VS*, 27/4 (1984), pp. 426-7.

arguing that many mid-Victorian works about Europe focused on 'the deleterious effects of bad government more than on any deep-dyed flaws in other people's national characters.'[82] Also crucial in shaping Victorian attitudes to the Continent was what Mandler has called the 'civilisational perspective'. 'The ladder of civilisation, rather than the branching tree of peoples and nations', he explains, 'remained the dominant metaphor.'[83] As the Bright-Watkin controversy intimates, Victorians debated the war, and understood their country's place in the world, from this perspective.

The ideological struggle between Britain, as the self-proclaimed upholder and propagator of liberalism and constitutionalism, and Russia, which appeared as the continental archetype of despotic government, coupled with understandings of 'civilization' and the notion of Britain as a providentially blessed power bearing distinctive moral duties on the international stage, shaped responses to the Crimean War.[84] Yet the war created an awkward landscape of alliances: Britain was fighting against Russian despotism, whilst being allied with Emperor Napoleon III, Sultan Abdulmejid I, and also courting Austria's cooperation. The despotic regimes of these powers by no means fitted the British narrative of a war of liberty against despotism.[85] Nonetheless, most commentators vindicated the war and its justice according to a schematic juxtaposition between a civilized, liberal, and constitutional Britain fighting a despotic, aggressive, and barbaric Russia. In a wider sense, most Britons thought that their war was also

[82] Peter Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2006), p. 64.
[83] Idem, ' "Race" and "Nation" in Mid-Victorian Thought', in Richard Whatmore et al. (eds), *History, Religion, and Culture: British Intellectual History 1750-1950* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 226-33.
[84] J. P. Parry, 'Liberalism and Liberty', in Peter Mandler (ed.), *Liberty and Authority in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 78-80.
[85] A treaty of alliance between Britain, France and Austria was signed on 2 December 1854. On mid-Victorian attitudes to Austria, see Alex Middleton, 'Mid-Victorian Liberalism and the Austrian State, 1848-1867', *HEI*, 46/5 (2020), [doi: 10.1080/01916599.2020.1746080], pp. 582-600. On Napoleon III, see J. P. Parry, 'The Impact of Napoleon III on British Politics, 1851-1880', *TRHS*, 11 (2001), pp. 147-75. Alex Middleton has more accurately described the French Second Empire's political system as a 'plebiscitary despotism': 'European Colonial Empires and Victorian Imperial Exceptionalism', in W. Steinmetz (ed.), *The Force of Comparison: A New Perspective on Modern European History and the Contemporary World* (New York, NY, 2019), p. 166. The description of Ottoman rulers as 'despots' by Western political thinkers began in the early modern period: Noel Malcolm, *Useful Enemies: Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450-1750* (Oxford, 2019), p. 202.

a fight for European liberties and civilization. Feeding this idea was the eagerness with which some commentators—especially radical—called for a war for the reconstitution of the oppressed nationalities, a call amplified through such influential figures as Kossuth whom Victorians had hailed as a hero following Russia's suppression of the Hungarian revolution in 1849.[86] When Charlotte Brontë wrote in private that hers and her father's sympathies were 'all with Justice and Europe against Tyranny and Russia', she spoke for most advocates of the war.[87] However, the majority of these advocates failed to think comparatively about Britain's allies and foe.[88] What made, for example, Russian despotism worse than Ottoman despotism, or more menacing than the French imperial government? And how could calls for the liberation of the oppressed nationalities from the continental yoke be squared with Britain's cooperation with Austria, when Austria was oppressing the Hungarians and Italians? Peace advocates would readily capitalize on the lack of critical reflection on these questions to challenge their opponents' arguments.

History was also crucial in framing wartime discourse. Bright and Watkin, as we have seen, turned to history to buttress their views. That the past was central to Victorian culture no historian can dispute. On the one hand, this was a society valorising progress whilst being self-conscious of its ever-changing circumstances. J. S. Mill's dictum of 1831 that 'the times are pregnant with change' would be echoed a quarter of a century later in J. A. Froude's *History of England*, whose opening paragraph announced that '[s]o absolutely has change become the law of our present condition'.[89] On the other hand, this was an age in which the past was

[86] Miles Taylor, *The Decline of British Radicalism, 1847-1860* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 239-41; Zsuzsanna Lada, 'The Invention of a Hero: Lajos Kossuth in England (1851)', *EHQ*, 43/1 (2013), [doi: 10.1177/0265691412468309], pp. 5-26.
[87] '[Letter from Charlotte Brontë] To Laetitia Wheelwright (8 March 1854)', in Charlotte Brontë, *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë: With a Selection of Letters by Family and Friends*, ed. Margaret Smith (3 vols, Oxford, 1995-2004), iii (2004), p. 233
[88] A notable exception was E. A. Freeman: see Chapter Four, pp. 178-9.
[89] J. S. Mill, *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill. Vol. XXII—Newspaper Writings December 1822-July 1831 Part I*, ed. Ann P. Robson and John M. Robson (Toronto, 1986), pp. 228; J. A. Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth* (12 vols, 1856-70), i (1856), p. [1]. On Froude's historical work, see Jane Garnett, 'Protestant Histories: James Anthony Froude, Partisanship and National Identity', in

pervasive. History also reached its apogee during this time, becoming central in religious and intellectual debate.[90] Victorians were thus Janus-faced, and history aided them in making sense of an accelerating present.[91] Britain's recent history of interactions with the Ottoman Empire and Russia informed understandings of the Eastern Question and the wider geopolitical context during the Crimean War. At the same time, history provided apologetic and polemical material that opponents and critics of the war deployed against each another.

Of course, the study of Victorian thought and culture presents considerable methodological challenges to historians. The nineteenth century does not lend itself easily to historical enquiry. Probing it from a twenty-first-century vantage point only makes matters more complicated. As Colin Matthew has pointed out, 'in terms of its mind-set, [the nineteenth century] is in fact one of the centuries most alien to the modern mind.'[92] This is not least because Victorians formulated and challenged intellectual argument within a complex yet discursively connected context. 'Specialists' and 'experts' did not preside over intellectual debate. Instead, intellectual debate belonged to a wider—and shared—discursive space nurtured primarily by periodical literature which abounded with erudite reviews of scientific, religious, political, philosophical, and other works.[93] Historians operate in an increasingly specialized milieu that Victorians would not have recognised, given that their discourses and 'spheres of knowledge' were characterised less by demarcation and more by interpenetration.[94]

Peter Ghosh and Lawrence Goldman (eds), *Politics and Culture in Victorian Britain: Essays in Memory of Colin Matthew* (Oxford, 2006), pp. [171]-91.

[90] Joshua Bennett, *God and Progress: Religion and History in British Intellectual Culture, 1845-1914* (Oxford, 2019); James Kirby, *Historians and the Church of England: Religion and Historical Scholarship, 1870-1920* (Oxford, 2016).

[91] Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 1.

[92] Colin Matthew, 'Introduction: The United Kingdom and the Victorian Century, 1815-1901', in Colin Matthew (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century: The British Isles: 1815-1901* (Oxford, 2000; repr. 2009), p. 36.

[93] Robin Gilmour, *The Victorian Period: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature, 1830-1890* (London, 1993), pp. 7-8.

[94] Jane Garnett, 'Religious and Intellectual Life', in Matthew, *Nineteenth Century*, p. 196.

It is also important to remember that religion permeated all areas of Victorian life and culture, so the application of a secular interpretive framework that elides religion's central role would be misleading. As Frank M. Turner has noted: 'That secularization of English and British culture occurred is true, but the occurrence was anything but inevitable, unproblematic, or systematically steady.'[95] The publication in January 1854 of Horace Mann's report of the religious census of 1851 showing that around half the population of England and Wales was not attending places of worship, exacerbated anxieties about moral decline provoked by what seemed to be an increasingly secularizing, urbanizing, and industrializing society.[96] But the results of the census were, historically speaking, 'anything but low.'[97] Additionally, the census's reliance on church attendance of a single Sunday (30 March 1851) by no means provided a full or accurate picture of Victorian religiosity—a richer phenomenon than statistical evidence allowed for. It has also been a commonplace that Victorians experienced a 'crisis of faith' fuelled by German intellectual currents, biblical criticism, and the publication of such sceptical texts as George Eliot's translation of David Friedrich Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu* in 1846.[98] Yet these crises of faith occurred, paradoxically, at a time of 'intensified religiosity', and the personal reasons of those individuals who renounced the Christian faith—Eliot's repudiation of her evangelical upbringing being a famous example—were incited more by an aversion towards a dogmatic evangelical orthodoxy, and less by subversive literature.[99] Also, however vocal secularist, agnostic, and other freethinking groups were, they comprised

[95] Frank M. Turner, *Contesting Cultural Authority: Essays in Victorian Intellectual Life* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 35.
[96] For an analysis of the results of the census, see K. D. M. Snell and P. S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 23-53.
[97] K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation: 1846-1886* (Oxford, 1998; repr. 2008), p. 431.
[98] Timothy Larsen, *Contested Christianity: The Political and Social Context of Victorian Theology* (Waco, TX, 2004), pp. 43-58.
[99] Frank M. Turner, 'The Victorian Crisis of Faith and the Faith that was Lost', in R. J. Helmstadter and B. V. Lightman (eds), *Victorian Faith in Crisis: Essays on Continuity and Change in Nineteenth-Century Religious Belief* (Basingstoke, 1990), pp. 11-15; Boyd Hilton, 'Moral Disciplines', in Mandler, *Liberty and Authority*, p. 236.

a minority.[100] And notwithstanding overconfident assertions by agnostics such as Harriet Martineau 'that church influence has declined',[101] Christianity retained its vitality, suffusing most fields of learned inquiry, and even political debate.[102] At the same time, church- and chapel-building exploded. 'By the 1860s', writes William Whyte, 'a brand-new Anglican church was consecrated every four or five days, whilst the number of Nonconformist chapels increased at an even more dizzying pace.'[103] The Bible was also ubiquitous. Between 1848 and 1850 more than four and a half million copies of the Bible and the New Testament were printed.[104] The Bible's impact was pervasive, and the extent to which biblical allusions and anecdotes irrigated cultural discourse was remarkable.[105]

These circumstances nurtured an eclectic and lively culture of debate. Any serious study of Victorian thought and culture must, then, provide a contextual account which is attentive to this era's 'peculiarities'.[106] This thesis situates historical actors within the appropriate religious, intellectual, and cultural context to illuminate debates on war and peace. Whilst recognising that vital differences existed between the various commentators it studies—churchmen, dissenters, historians, parliamentarians, poets, writers, artists, and others—its interpretive approach is primarily informed by a recent assessment of Victorian culture which places diverse thinkers within 'a common argumentative field.'[107] The fact that crucial points of reference and contention relating to war and peace were interrogated in a shared language,

[100] Jeffrey Cox, 'Worlds of Victorian Religion', in M. Hewitt (ed.), *The Victorian World* (Abingdon and New York, NY, 2012), p. 446.
[101] [Harriet Martineau], 'The Crystal Palace', *WR*, 62/122 (Oct. 1854), p. 535.
[102] Cox, 'Worlds of Victorian Religion', p. 446; Simon Skinner, 'Religion', in D. M. Craig and J. Thompson (eds), *Languages of Politics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp. 93-117.
[103] William Whyte, *Unlocking the Church: The Lost Secrets of Victorian Sacred Space* (Oxford, 2017), p. 1.
[104] Philip Davis, *The Oxford English Literary History. Vol. 8. 1830-1880: The Victorians* (Oxford, 2002), p. 203.
[105] Timothy Larsen, *A People of One Book*: *The Bible and the Victorians* (Oxford, 2011); Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 106-8; Frances Knight, *The Nineteenth-Century Church and English Society* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 37-40.
[106] On the importance of studying Victorian culture on its own terms, see Angus Hawkins, *Modernity and the Victorians* (Oxford, 2022).
[107] Bennett, *God and Progress*, p. 11.

reveals the discursive interconnectedness of Victorian culture. Examining points of argumentative contact between various historical actors, the thesis thus uncovers 'the plurality of vantage points which existed within a common discursive framework.'[108]

The question of whose voice merits the historian's attention is, of course, notoriously vexed. In his study of imaginings of empire, Duncan Bell has argued that to gain a fuller understanding of Victorian views we must turn the headlights of historical enquiry not only to 'canonical figures', but also to what Anthony Howe felicitously termed the "murky shallows" of debate.[109] Adopting this approach, this thesis examines the thought of well-known figures such as John Henry Newman, Charles Kingsley, James Martineau and his sister Harriet Martineau, E. A. Freeman, John Bright, Richard Cobden, Alfred, Lord Tennyson, and John Ruskin, amongst others, alongside the responses of obscure clerics; forgotten intellectuals who could otherwise fit Stefan Collini's category of 'public moralists';[110] and a host of overlooked commentators who shaped cultural discourse. The national framework of the thesis encompasses primarily 'British' perspectives, but also incorporates Anglo-Irish and colonial responses. The thesis therefore casts its net widely. Its points of focus are meant to be indicative rather than exhaustive, but are nonetheless significant because they provide a new way of understanding wartime thought and culture.

The thesis deploys an eclectic range of underused or hitherto untapped sources. Offering a close, critical, and analytical reading of letters, diaries, tracts, pamphlets, parliamentary speeches, sermons, newspapers, periodicals, as well as poetry, images, and commemorative objects, the thesis paints a richer picture of wartime debates. Notwithstanding their internal variety, these sources hold together analytically by virtue of how competing ideas about the

[108] Garnett, 'Religious and Intellectual Life', in Matthew, *Nineteenth Century*, p. 198.
[109] Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton, NJ, 2009), pp. 22-3.
[110] Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850-1930* (Oxford, 1991).

war cut across them. The thesis demonstrates the remarkable degree of cross-fertilization of various argumentative motifs between them, and so illuminates the interactivity of debate.

Whereas private correspondence and diaries offer a window into the minds of educated Victorians, tracts, pamphlets, and parliamentary speeches allow us to uncover those points of contention which their authors deemed important. Sermons, too, are invaluable sources because they provide unique insights into clerical understandings of the war. The study of sermons has emerged as a lively area of research in recent decades.[111] Sermons were a central component of the liturgy of the established churches and of dissenting denominations. They had a 'catechetical purpose', and were also 'a major part of the output of the print industry' during the period 1689-1901—the "golden age" of sermons in Britain.[112] Even into the middle of the nineteenth century 'sermons were the most popular form of reading.'[113] Clerics were conscious of the great influence of the sermon. Writing to John Keble in 1855, E. B. Pusey professed that sermons were one of 'the best ways of getting at the English cultivated mind.'[114] Reminiscing about the Victorian era, G. M. Young noted the bearing of the sermon—'the standard vehicle of serious truth'—on oratory and literature.[115] Preaching also had an affective impact on worshippers. Matthew Arnold vividly recalled Newman's homiletic power decades after attending his sermons at the University Church as an undergraduate at Balliol College, Oxford:

> Who could resist the charm of that spiritual apparition, gliding in the dim afternoon light through the aisles of St. Mary's, rising into the pulpit, and

[111] Keith A. Francis and W. Gibson (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon, 1689-1901* (Oxford, 2012); Robert H. Ellison, *The Victorian Pulpit: Spoken and Written Sermons in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Selinsgrove, PA, and London, 1998); idem (ed.), *A New History of the Sermon: The Nineteenth Century* (Leiden, 2010); J. N. Ian Dickson, *Beyond Religious Discourse: Sermons, Preaching and Evangelical Protestantism in Nineteenth-Century Irish Society* (Milton Keynes, 2007). Works on war sermons include, Gilles Teulié and Laurence Lux-Sterritt (eds), *War Sermons* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2009); and W. Johnston, *National Thanksgivings and Ideas of Britain, 1689-1816* (Woodbridge, 2020), pp. [151]-204.
[112] William Gibson, 'The British Sermon 1689-1901: Quantities, Performance, and Culture', in Francis and Gibson, *Oxford Handbook*, pp. 3-12.
[113] Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England. Volume IV: From Newman to Martineau, 1850-1900* (Princeton, NJ, 1962), p. 286.
[114] Oxford, PHL, Liddon Bound Volumes 104. Vol. IV. 1851-1856: Letter from E. B. Pusey to J. Keble ([?] June 1855) (unnumbered pages).
[115] G. M. Young, *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1973) (first published 1936), pp. 14-15.

> then, in the most entrancing of voices, breaking the silence with words and thoughts which were a religious music,—subtle, sweet, mournful?[116]

The structure of the Victorian sermon remained little changed from the early modern period: in common with their predecessors, Victorian preachers typically chose a biblical text, explicated it, 'applied it' by showing its relevance to worshippers' lives, and ended with moral exhortation.[117] Although sermons were primarily meant to be heard, they were also widely read. This was the case during the Crimean War, which saw a staggering number of sermons in pamphlet form, in religious and secular newspapers and periodicals, and in homiletic publications such as *The Pulpit*. In their published form sermons often included footnotes. This is one of the ways we can discover which biblical texts and sources informed preachers' views. Nonetheless, sermons present various challenges. First, they require detailed contextual work for their meaning to be elucidated. Second, they tell us little or nothing about how congregations received them. Scholars have paid little attention to this issue.[118] In its study of sermons, the thesis overcomes this problem by locating evidence of reception not only in letters and diaries, but also in reviews. Critical engagement with sermons was both rigorous and widespread. The sermons of the Crimean War were reviewed in the press, especially in the Peace Society's *Herald of Peace*. By examining these reviews, the thesis is able to capture what readers thought of sermons and how they responded to their message.

The thesis also draws extensively on newspapers and periodicals. The Victorian press became 'the context within which people lived and worked and thought, and from which they derived their (in most cases quite new) sense of the outside world.'[119] Besides the gradual removal of the so-called taxes on knowledge, technological developments reduced the price of

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[116] Matthew Arnold, *Discourses in America* (London, 1896), pp. 139-40.
[117] Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558-1642* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 50-7.
[118] One exception is John Craig, 'Sermon Reception', in Peter McCullough et al. (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 178-94.
[119] Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff, 'Introduction', in idem (eds), *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings* (Leicester, 1982), pp. xiv-xv.

'the printed word', thereby expanding the reading public.[120] 'Journalism', declared the writer W. R. Greg in the Whig *Edinburgh Review* in 1855, 'is now truly an estate of the realm'.[121] The press provided an intellectual space for serious debate. It was mainly in periodicals that intellectuals 'chiefly obtained their renown', Edward Bulwer-Lytton affirmed as early as 1833.[122] Works such as Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* (1867-8) and Ruskin's *Unto this Last* (1860) were first published in periodicals.[123] What the constitutionalist Walter Bagehot termed in the Unitarian *National Review* 'the review-like essay and the essay-like review' became a thoroughly 'modern' genre of writing and a defining feature of Victorian 'higher journalism'.[124] These intellectually hefty pieces were eminently analytical, synthesising, advancing, and even challenging existing knowledge; they are therefore worthy of examination. The thesis evades the typical 'over-reliance' on *The Times* which has led scholars to overdraw their conclusions based on the assumption of its representativeness of Victorian newspapers; instead, the thesis seeks what Andrew Hobbs has called 'a more geographically and culturally nuanced approach'.[125] Bringing together leaders, articles, and other material from a large number of metropolitan and provincial newspapers, journals, and magazines, the thesis constructs a more variegated account of diverse and competing voices within a common discursive landscape. It examines not only the secular, but also the religious press which extant scholarship on the war has overlooked. Mark Knight has noted that religious periodicals 'offered one of the most important sites for recording and shaping religious discourse.'[126] Their numbers and wide circulations placed them at the heart of Victorian print and reading culture. Josef L. Altholz has estimated that out of twenty to twenty-five thousand periodicals in the

[120] Richard D. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas* (London, 1974), pp. 64-5.
[121] [W. R. Greg], 'The Newspaper Press', *ER*, 102/208 (Oct. 1855), p. 477.
[122] Edward Lytton Bulwer, *England and the English* (2 vols, London, 1833), ii, p. 61.
[123] Matthew Rubery, 'Journalism', in O'Gorman, *Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*, p. 180.
[124] [Walter Bagehot], 'The First Edinburgh Reviewers', *NR*, 1/2 (Oct. 1855), p. 256.
[125] Andrew Hobbs, 'The Deleterious Dominance of *The Times* in Nineteenth-Century Scholarship', *JVC*, 18/4 (2013), [doi: 10.1080/13555502.2013.854519], p. [472].
[126] Mark Knight, 'Periodicals and Religion', in Andrew King et al. (eds), *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers* (London, 2016), pp. 363.

period 1824-1900, around three thousand were religious.[127] By examining newspapers and periodicals which catered to the established churches, to dissenting denominations, or which had a nondenominational identity, the thesis is able to reconstruct the rich religious debate.

The thesis also examines poetry as a crucial medium of debate and a forum for the negotiation of ideas of war and peace. Situating poetry and its reception within a cultural and intellectual context, the thesis gains a point of entry into the profound moral and ideological divisions within Victorian society. Finally, the thesis studies various visual repertoires—cartoons, wood-engravings, photographs, and other images—as well as material culture, to uncover the ways in which images and objects communicated dominant ideas of war and peace. The thesis thus aspires to what Ludmilla Jordanova has termed 'an integrative form of history' which seeks an holistic understanding of the past using different pieces of evidence.[128]

OUTLINE OF THESIS

The thesis is divided into two thematically and narratively connected parts, each comprising three chapters. Part I examines the centrality of religious argument in debates on war and peace. Chapter One reveals the importance of the idea of Britain fighting a just war in clerical understandings of the conflict with Russia. A religious 'war party' made up of clergymen of the established churches and of ministers of dissenting and other denominations, deployed this idea for apologetic and polemical purposes. In sermons they preached during the war and, especially, on its five occasions of special national worship, they invoked it not only morally to vindicate Britain's resort to arms against Russia, but also to challenge the principles of the peace movement. The pulpit became a primary site of religious debate. Popular ideas about the

[127] Josef L. Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain, 1760-1900* (New York, NY, and London, 1989), p. 2.
[128] Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 4.

war transcended denominational, religious, and even geographical boundaries, with Roman Catholics, Jews, and people in the colonies contributing to, and shaping, a wider conversation.

Chapter Two carries the previous chapter's line of enquiry beyond the pulpit, and demonstrates that religious newspapers and periodicals, tracts and pamphlets, and the religious platform also became major sites of polemic against the peace movement. These media sustained a more complex debate centring on the interface between religion, morality, and war. Whereas many religious newspapers and periodicals openly supported the war and its perceived moral and regenerative benefits on national life, some were more ambivalent towards it. Religious newspapers and periodicals often encouraged a critical discussion amongst their readers on the morality of war and war's relationship to Christianity. The religious press brimmed with vigorous responses from readers engaging with printed material and participating in debates—mediated by editors—in correspondence columns. In their religious apologies for war expounded in tracts and pamphlets, some clerics also sought to impart an ethical standard and a Christian ethos to the conduct of war. At the same time, various religious media tapped into, and reinforced, the increasingly popular paradigm of the 'Christian soldier', epitomised by Captain Hedley Vicars of the 97th regiment whose popular biography by the evangelical philanthropist Catherine Marsh appeared in 1855, to demonstrate the compatibility of war, soldiering, and Christianity, and so to undermine the principles of peace advocates.

Examining the peace movement's critiques of war in general and of the Crimean War in particular, Chapter Three addresses the hitherto underappreciated centrality of religious argument in Victorian peace thinking. The perceived incongruity of war and the religion of the 'Prince of Peace' was central to the peace movement's case against the 'war party'. Peace advocates, the chapter also shows, set out to subvert the paradigm of the 'Christian soldier' through a critical reading of Marsh's biography of Vicars, alongside a critical engagement with contemporary theories of military obedience. Citing incidents of violence reported from the

battlefront, they also sought to challenge the idea of 'Christian soldiers' fighting the war justly and according to Christian principles. The peace movement's religious case against the war was complemented by more context-specific arguments made by Richard Cobden. The filtration of Cobdenite argument into anti-war rhetoric provided the peace movement with the necessary intellectual ammunition to undercut various popular ideas feeding moralistic vindications of the Crimean War, which drew on the language of just war.

Whereas Part I places more emphasis on clerical views and religious argument, Part II focuses primarily on lay engagements with ideas of war and peace. Nonetheless, religion also played a role in the thought of most of the figures examined here. Chapter Four focuses on three thematically-connected case studies of vocal lay intellectuals whose views on war and peace have never been adequately examined. These are Harriet Martineau, one of the most prominent Victorian women of letters; the historian E. A. Freeman; and Leone Levi, a now forgotten cross-disciplinary thinker whom contemporaries acknowledged for his work on statistics, political economy, and commercial and international law. Each intellectual represents a specific strand of the spectrum of responses to the war: Martineau, that of the consistent apologist of war; Freeman, that of the ambivalent commentator who moved from a loosely pro- to a passionately anti-war stance; and Levi, that of the individual who spoke fluently the language of the peace movement in a pacifist accent. Offering a sustained examination of Martineau's ideological and historically informed leaders in the *Daily News*, the chapter reconstructs her moralistic defence of the war and her invectives against the peace movement. It then concentrates on Freeman's letters in the *Spectator*, and uncovers his initial support of the war and its justice, prior to his *volte-face* in the spring of 1855. Placing Freeman's thought on a more complex trajectory of definition and redefinition, the chapter serves as a corrective to historiography which has wrongly assumed that he opposed the

Crimean War. Finally, it analyses Levi's writings on international law to elucidate his pacifist critique of war.

Chapter Five, which has a more political focus, offers new perspectives on the peace principles of John Bright and Richard Cobden, the radical parliamentarians and leaders of the Manchester School. Whilst historians have rightly noted that Cobden was not a pacifist but a 'pacificist' opposing war on various 'practical' grounds, their interpretation that Bright's peace thinking was also non-pacifist rests on a selective reading of the material. The Quaker peace testimony was the ultimate source of Bright's opposition to warfare, even if Bright explicitly denied it to avoid criticism from his opponents that his views, like those his co-religionists, were 'extreme' and 'abstract'. It is only by engaging with the complexities of Bright's peace thinking that we can better understand why he framed his opposition to the Crimean War the way he did. The chapter also analyses systematically Bright's and Cobden's arguments against the Crimean War in the political milieux in which they operated, both inside and outside parliament.

Chapter Six concentrates on the war's literary, visual, and material culture. It first focuses on the most controversial poem of the war, Alfred, Lord Tennyson's *Maud*, which is marked by a hostility towards the peace movement, and an apparent exaltation of a just war as the sole means of revivifying the national spirit sapped by Mammon-worship and selfish materialism. Examining *Maud* and its reception, it shows that the poem's attitude towards war and peace was by no means eccentric, as is often assumed. It then demonstrates that Tennyson's own stance, which continues to mystify critics, was bellicose, and also considers how *Maud*'s faith in war's purifying effects influenced John Ruskin's artistic thought. In common with Tennyson, various other poets negotiated and contested ideas of war and peace, thereby transforming the poetic medium into a vehicle for debate. Ideas and motifs feeding into the dispute between peace advocates and their critics extended beyond poetry, informing the

imagery of war and its visual documentation. *Punch*'s cartoons became the main driving force behind the visual 'war' of ideas. Other visual repertoires such as illustrations in pictorial newspapers and photographs of the ruins of Sebastopol served as a means for the negotiation of war's place in modern society. Commemorative medals and ceramics found in London's National Army Museum incorporated and communicated more widely ideas and cultural motifs about the war and its perceived justice. The rich synthesis of diverse sources allows for the reconstruction of a more vivid historical tapestry of a war that defined the Victorian era, and the cultural legacies of which continued to resonate in twentieth-century Britain.

PART I

Religion, War, and Peace

CHAPTER ONE

The 'God of Battles': Special Worship and War Sermons

The crowd gathered at the Palace of Westminster on Friday afternoon, 31 March 1854, waited to attend the debates in the Houses of Commons and Lords with great anxiety. This was the fourth day Britain had been officially at war with Russia. The galleries in both Houses were packed, with hundreds more awaiting admission. Inside the House of Lords (Fig. 1.1), Aberdeen and some of his cabinet ministers; Lord Derby, leader of the Conservatives, and others on the opposition bench; and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York accompanied by

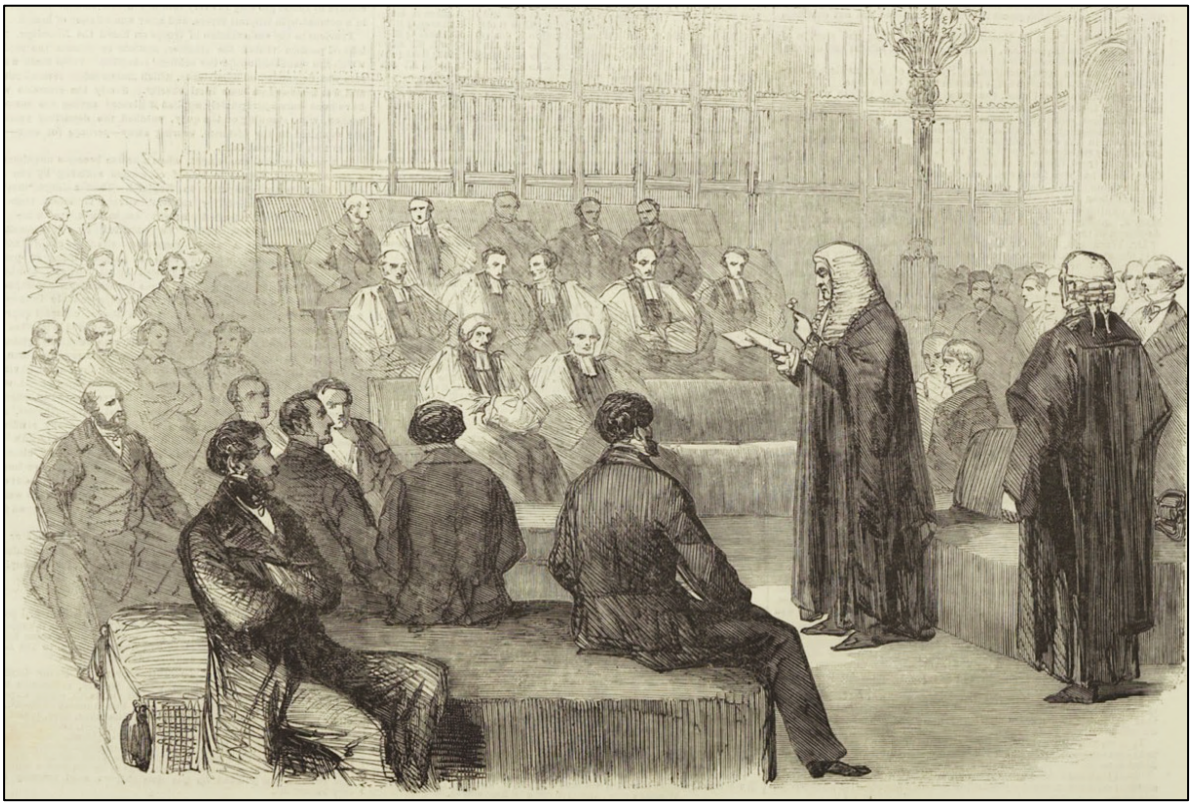


Fig. 1.1. 'War with Russia—The Lord Chancellor Reading the Queen's Message to the House of Lords', *ILN*, 24/676 (1 Apr. 1854), p. 304.

other prelates on the episcopal bench, took their seats.[1] Before the House turned to the queen's message on the war which served as the subject for the day's parliamentary business, the Earl of Roden, an Anglo-Irish evangelical and Conservative peer, asked Aberdeen whether his government planned to 'advise Her Majesty to command a day to be set apart for national humiliation and prayer to Almighty God for his protection and his blessing'. The prime minister gave Roden an affirmative answer. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the evangelical John Bird Sumner, then rose to voice his satisfaction at the government's plan, and concluded his speech with the following remark:

> There never was an occasion when we could more justly and with a safer conscience invoke the blessing of God upon Her Majesty's arms than in a war which has not been provoked by any aggression or ambition on our part, but which has been undertaken solely for the purpose of protecting those interests of justice that ought not to be laid aside; and in which, I trust, we shall receive a blessing from Him whom we desire to honour.[2]

The archbishop thus declared that the war Britain had recently embarked upon was one not began for any aim other than safeguarding the principles of justice. That this was a war for justice was what enabled the nation to turn to God with clear conscience, and seek His blessing.

This idea of Britain fighting a just war was central to how many clerics across the Protestant denominational spectrum understood the conflict with Russia. It was also fundamental in their attempts to answer complex moral questions to which the war gave rise. This idea also went to the heart of debates on war and its place in the life of a professedly Christian nation. A religious 'war party' made up of clergymen of the established churches, Wesleyan Methodists, and Protestant Nonconformists invoked it for apologetic and polemical purposes.[3] In sermons they preached during the war, they drew on this idea not only morally to vindicate Britain's resort to arms against Russia, but also to challenge the principles of the peace movement—

[1] [Anon.], 'House of Lords, Friday, March 31', *The Times*, APRIL11854 (1 Apr. 1854), p. 5.
[2] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 132, cols. 138-40 (31 Mar. 1854).
[3] In making this distinction between Protestant Nonconformists and *Wesleyan* Methodists (who refused to be classified under the terms 'Churchman' or 'Dissenter'), I follow Timothy Larsen, *Friends of Religious Equality: Nonconformist Politics in Mid-Victorian England* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 17-18.

particularly those of Quakers and other pacifists who believed that war and the religion of the 'Prince of Peace' were fundamentally incompatible.

Focusing on pro-war sermons preached during the war and especially on its five special occasions of national worship—two days of solemn fast, humiliation, and prayer; two days of thanksgiving prayer; and one thanksgiving day for peace—the chapter argues that the pulpit became a primary site of religious debate. It demonstrates how central the question of the lawfulness of war for Christians was for established, dissenting, and other preachers, and how the cross-denominational conceptualization of Britain's war against Russia as 'just' was mediated through various religious, historical, cultural, and ideological categories. Some clerics were ambivalent about the horrors of the war, but the general belief in its justice remained undiminished until its conclusion. The chapter complements this discussion with an account of Roman Catholic, Jewish, and colonial religious responses, to show how dominant ideas about the war transcended denominational, religious, and even geographical boundaries. In its exploration of the responses of Roman Catholics, the chapter reveals their internal disagreements: although most supported the war, one of their leaders, John Henry Newman, did not due to a complex set of reasons—the most significant being his hatred of the 'infidel' and 'barbarous' Turks. The chapter's holistic account illuminates the interface between religion, morality, and war in Victorian thought and culture, and provides a point of entry into the 'war' of words and ideas which played out on the home front.

SPECIAL WORSHIP

To understand religious ideas of, and debates about, war we must place the sermons of the Crimean War in the context of special worship. Philip Williamson has shown that 'special acts of national worship', which originated in the mid-sixteenth century, fell into two main categories: new prayers used in places of worship over a period of time, or entire days

appointed for worship.[4] The appointment of these acts took place at important moments in national life, whether to plead God for forgiveness and to seek His help at times of trouble and danger, or to offer God thanks at times of collective joy and relief.[5] State orders which appointed acts of special worship during wars, abundant or poor harvests, epidemics, royal events, and other occasions extended beyond the established churches to different religious communities; days of special worship were thus national events.[6] But Protestant Nonconformist responses varied. In some cases dissenting denominations held services on official days of special worship—without accepting state orders because they saw them as violations of 'liberty of conscience'—whilst in other cases they held their own services on different days.[7] Nonetheless, the coming together of different religious groups at significant moments in national life renders these occasions 'revealing events, rich in meaning, purpose and consequence.'[8]

On Wednesday 26 April 1854, almost one month after Britain's declaration of war against Russia, the religious public observed a day of solemn fast, humiliation, and prayer. The process leading to the ordering of this day which involved evangelical peers such as the Earl of Roden and Earl of Shaftesbury, Whitehall, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the queen, has been well examined.[9] This occasion of special worship would be followed by a day of thanksgiving prayer for the abundant harvest (1 October 1854); a second day of solemn fast, humiliation, and prayer observed shortly after a period of widespread public criticism concerning the

[4] Philip Williamson, 'State Prayers, Fasts and Thanksgivings: Public Worship in Britain 1830-1897', *P&P*, 200/1 (2008), p. [121].
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., pp. [121-2], 161.
[7] Ibid., pp. 161-2.
[8] Natalie Mears et al. (eds), *National Prayers: Special Worship Since the Reformation* (3 vols, Woodbridge, 2013-20), i (2013), p. l.
[9] Williamson, 'State Prayers', pp. 144-5, 154-5; Philip Williamson et al. (eds), *National Prayers: Special Worship Since the Reformation* (3 vols, Woodbridge, 2013-20), ii (2017), pp. 884-7. No other conflict fought by Britain after the Crimean War would have at its commencement a nationally-observed fast day. Acts of special worship in future wars would take the form of national days of prayer, with some variations in how these were designated: Philip Williamson, 'National Days of Prayer: The Churches, the State and Public Worship in Britain, 1899-1957', *EHR*, 128/531 (2013), [doi: 10.1093/ehr/ces182], pp. 331, 364-[6].

mismanagement of the war (21 March 1855); a day of thanksgiving prayer for successes of the British forces and the fall of Sebastopol (30 September 1855); and a thanksgiving day for peace (4 May 1856), following the Treaty of Paris.[10]

The royal proclamation for the first day of humiliation and prayer was issued in mid-April 1854, with the term 'solemn fast' being added a few days later (henceforth referred to here as 'day of humiliation').[11] The proclamation expounded the reasoning behind the observance of this day, whilst declaring the perceived justice of Britain's war:

> VICTORIA R.,
>
> > We, taking into our most serious consideration the just and necessary war in which we are engaged [...] hereby command that a public day of solemn fast, humiliation, and prayer be observed throughout those parts of our United Kingdom called England and Ireland [...] that so both we and our people may humble ourselves before Almighty God, in order to obtain pardon of our sins, and in the most devout and solemn manner send up our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty, for imploring his blessing and assistance on our arms for the restoration of peace to us and our dominions. [...][12]

A separate and almost identical proclamation was issued for Scotland, and a 'form of prayer' was printed for use in Anglican services in England, Wales, and Ireland—the exception being the Presbyterian Church of Scotland which did not use such prayers.[13] The morning and evening prayers in the Anglican 'form of prayer' asked God that He assist and safeguard Britons in a war fought 'in defence of the rights and independence of nations' threatened by 'unprovoked aggression'.[14]

According to the *Examiner,* all accounts agreed that the day of humiliation was widely observed by the public.[15] Even Jews partook in special worship. Unlike most Protestant

[10] In Ireland the two days of thanksgiving prayer were observed on 8 October 1854 and 7 October 1855: Williamson, 'State Prayers', Appendix.
[11] Williamson et al., *National Prayers*, ii, pp. 887.
[12] [Anon.], 'The Day of Humiliation', *DN*, 2474 (25 Apr. 1854), p. 4. On Queen Victoria's views on special national worship, see Michael Ledger-Lomas, *Queen Victoria: This Thorny Crown* (Oxford, 2021), pp. 94-5.
[13] Williamson et al., *National Prayers*, ii, pp. xxxii.
[14] *A Form of Prayer to be Used in All Churches and Chapels ... on Wednesday the Twenty-sixth Day of April 1854* (London, 1854), pp. 6, 14.
[15] [Anon.], 'The Day of Humiliation', *The Examiner*, 2413 (29 Apr. 1854), p. 264.

dissenting denominations, the Religious Society of Friends did not observe the day, nor subsequent occasions of special worship. Quakers traditionally refused to observe these occasions because they considered them superstitious, and because they believed that they infringed liberty of conscience.[16] This day was also a *wartime* occasion of special worship, so Quakers, whose Christian pacifist doctrine of non-resistance opposed all forms of violence, had another crucial reason for not observing it. Birmingham's Quakers kept their businesses open and displayed placards on their windows condemning the war.[17] The London Quaker journal, *The Friend*, later joined the anti-war chorus by likening the Archbishop of Canterbury to a "Muezzin" calling the nation to prayer from 'the Minaret of Lambeth'.[18] Most secularists and freethinkers also opposed this day. As reported in George J. Holyoake's secularist *Reasoner*, a public meeting in the John Street Institution, a hotbed of metropolitan freethought and radicalism, adopted the view that observing a day of humiliation for securing success in war was "absurd, irrational, and useless."[19]

The religious public which observed this first special occasion of national worship heard sermons from pulpits of ministers of established, dissenting, and other denominations, many of which were later published in the homiletic and religious press, as well as in pamphlet form. Excerpts of sermons also saturated the secular metropolitan and provincial press, so much so that the evangelical Anglican newspaper, *The Record*, noted approvingly of how *The Times* had allocated twenty-three columns to sermons.[20] The *Illustrated London News* complemented extracts of sermons with twenty-one engraved portraits (Figs. 1.2 and 1.3) of metropolitan preachers, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, thereby offering readers a visual complement to their reading of sermons. Sermons thus gained a wide circulation outside places

[16] Philip Williamson, 'Introduction: 1689-1870', in idem et al., *National Prayers*, ii, p. lxxxviii.
[17] [Anon.], 'The Fast Day', *BG* [Birmingham], 113/5867 (1 May 1854), p. [2].
[18] [Anon.], 'London, Fifth Month 1st, 1854', *The Friend*, XII/137 (May 1854), p. 86.
[19] [Anon.], 'The Humiliation Day', *The Reasoner*, XVI/19 (London, 1854), p. 315.
[20] [Anon.], 'London: Thursday Evening, April 27', *The Record*, 2814 (27 Apr. 1854), p. [2].

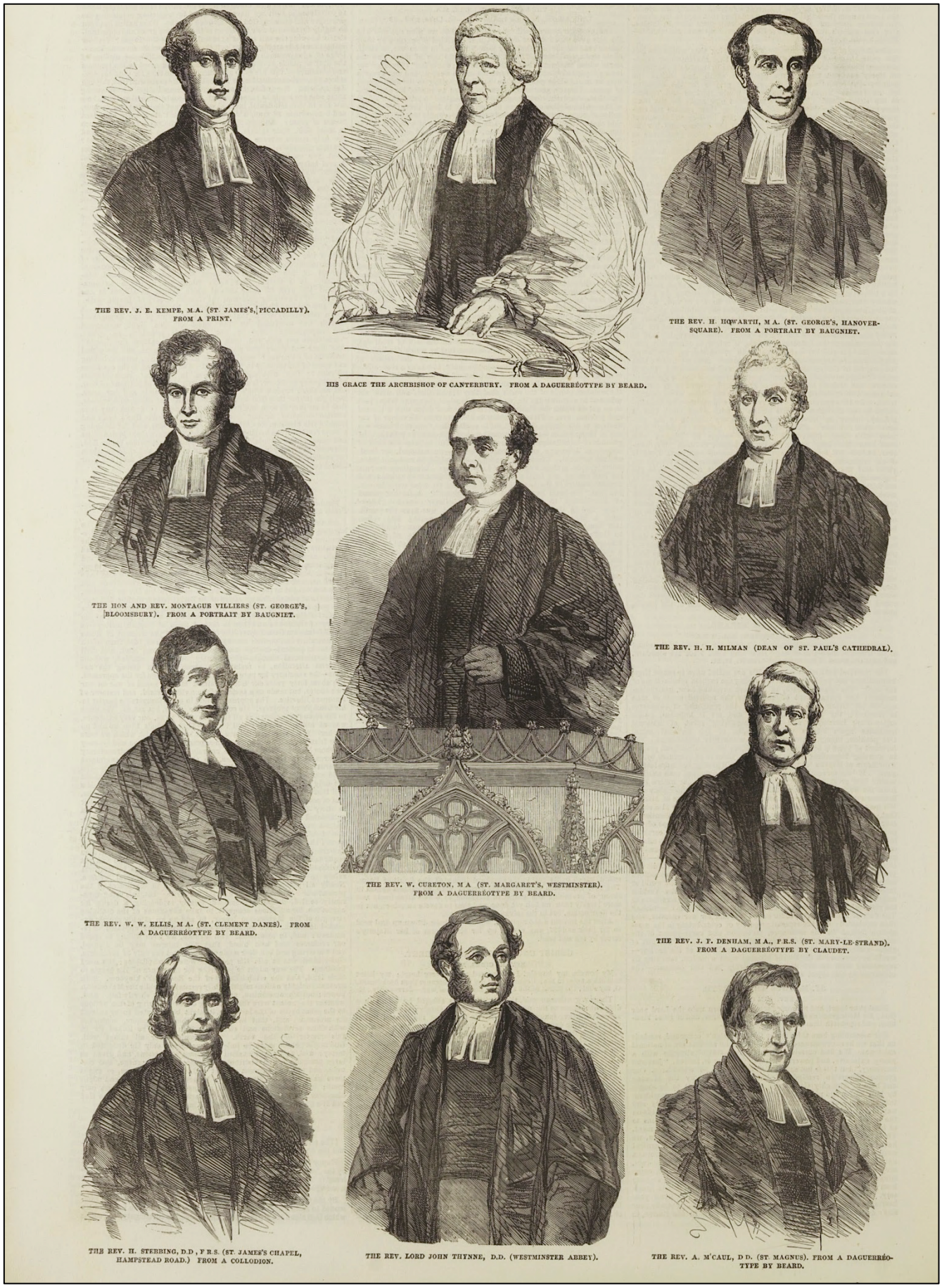


Fig. 1.2. 'Fast-Day Sermons', *ILN*, 24/680 (29 Apr. 1854), p. 400.

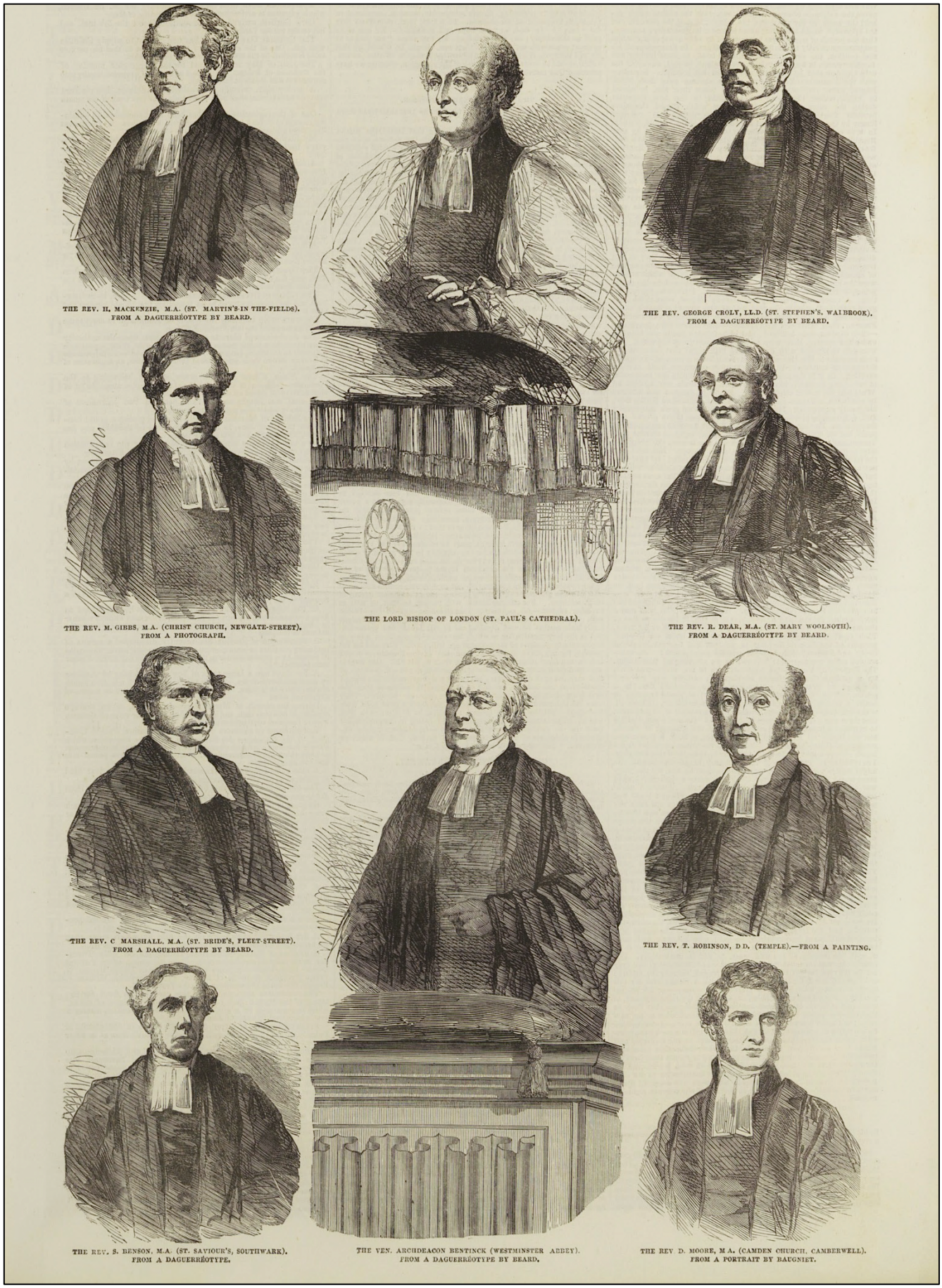


Fig. 1.3. 'Fast-Day Sermons', *ILN*, 24/680 (29 Apr. 1854), p. 401.

of worship. The overwhelming majority were openly pro-war. Most had a specific apologetic and polemical motive: reconciling war with Christianity, and so challenging pacifist views; and morally justifying the Crimean War on Britain's part.

THE LAWFULNESS OF WAR

Sermons addressed a fundamental question that historians have completely overlooked: was it was lawful—according to divine law—for Christians to fight wars? A typical homiletic engagement with this question came in the sermon of the Revd James Wood, Anglican minister of Christ Church, Bath, on 26 March 1854, a month before the day of humiliation and two days prior to Britain's declaration of war. Wood spoke for most preachers when he warned that Britain stood 'on the imminent brink of an apparently tremendous war with one of the greatest powers of the earth.' The coming war, he explained, 'naturally' prompted 'every reflecting Christian [...] to examine whether War be lawful in the sight of God.'[21] Wood advocated the lawfulness of war: in the Old Testament God allowed and even approved of wars; the New Testament neither prohibited nor condemned war and soldiering.[22] The underlying assumption in Wood's sermon was that Christians could lawfully engage in war, if the war in question was one of justice. Wood thus drew a link between lawful recourse to arms and just war.

This question concerning the lawfulness of war underlay many sermons of the day of humiliation on 26 April. Clergymen regularly cited episodes of Israel's military campaigns from the Old Testament.[23] For the Anglican incumbent of St James's, Holloway, W. B. Mackenzie, whose sermon went into a third edition, Quakers and other pacifists were wrong to

[21] James Wood, *War; The Subject Considered with Reference to the Present Crisis: A Sermon*, 2nd edn (London and Bath, [1854]), p. 11.
[22] Ibid., pp. 9-11.
[23] William Robertson, *Sermon Preached ... on Wednesday, April 26, 1854* (Edinburgh, 1854), p. 11; Sanderson Robins, *War in its Relation to Christianity* (London, [1854]), pp. 9-10; Alfred Cooper, *Victory by Prayer. A Sermon* (Ryde, [1854]), pp. 10-11.

'condemn recourse to arms under any circumstances.' The sixth commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill', did not prohibit all wars. Citing the Book of Deuteronomy, he reminded his congregation that 'among the Divine directions to Moses, the priest is instructed how to address the army on their going to battle; and who are to be exempt from military service'. Also, several 'of God's most faithful servants' including Joshua, Gideon, David, and Josiah, 'were especially raised up to fight the battles of the Lord.'[24] Such biblical exegesis presented God in the Old Testament as a 'God of Battles'.

Two days before the day of humiliation, the peace-minded and radical parliamentarian, Richard Cobden, wrote to the Birmingham Quaker and energetic peace activist, Joseph Sturge, saying that he expected that on the day of humiliation '10,000 pulpits will resound in favor [*sic*] of the war!'. 'I should like to know', Cobden added, 'how many of the preachers will find a text in the *New* Testament.'[25] Cobden would have been horrified to learn that most preachers across the Protestant denominational spectrum did find texts in the New Testament to buttress the argument that war was lawful for Christians. Their aim was to disprove pacifist readings of the gospel. Sermons typically cited three episodes in particular. First, the soldiers who went to listen to the teachings of John the Baptist were *not* told by him to quit their profession.[26] Second, the Apostle Peter did not tell Cornelius the Roman centurion to abandon his profession for him to be baptized. Third, Jesus gave no indication that the profession of another centurion who asked him to heal his servant was sinful; instead, Jesus praised this centurion's great faith.[27] For centuries these biblical episodes have been at the heart of Christian debates about war. They were part of St Augustine's just-war thinking;[28] English theologians used them

[24] W. B. Mackenzie, *The Trumpet Sounded on the Alarm of War!*, 3rd edn (London, 1854), p. [3].
[25] London, BL, Sturge Papers: Vol. I. Add MS 43722: Letter of Richard Cobden to Joseph Sturge (24 Apr. 1854), fo. 23v (Cobden's emphasis).
[26] John the Baptist told the soldiers: 'Do violence to no man, neither accuse *any* falsely; and be content with your wages.': Luke 3:14
[27] Sermons that cited these episodes include, Henry Howarth, *Will God be for Us? A Sermon* (London, 1854), pp. 10-11; H. Newland, *The Two-Edged Sword of God. A Sermon* (London, 1854), p. 4; Mackenzie, *Trumpet*, p. [3]; Robertson, *Sermon*, p. 11; Robins, *War*, pp. 10-11.
[28] Augustine, *Political Writings*, pp. 219, 222.

during the civil war of the 1640s;[29] and they formed the basis upon which Paley formulated his views on the ethics of war.[30] A remarkable continuity thus existed in the deployment of these episodes by thinkers seeking to reconcile Christianity and war.

Nor was the pacifist interpretation of the Beatitudes and Jesus's teachings—upon which the principle of non-resistance rested—left uncontested. For Arthur S. Latter, late senior curate of Henley-on-Thames, the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount could not really be seen 'as expressing the mind of God with regard to the question of whether resistance be justifiable, or whether we be bound passively to submit to fraud and injustice, to violence and wrong, as individuals, or as nations.' When Jesus was hit by a palm, he reacted by saying: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou Me? [John 18:23]". Jesus, argued Latter, thus turned 'to the ordinary rules of human justice, which were being violated in His case'.[31] The New Testament did not, then, forbid Christians to defend themselves when facing injustice, or to punish wrongdoing.

To establish the lawfulness of war, Anglicans often cited the concluding clause of the Thirty-Seventh Article of the Church of England: 'It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.'[32] Anglicans considered only 'just wars' as lawful for Christians. The Article's Latin version, '*Christianis licet, ex mandato magistratus, arma portare, et justa bella administrare*', indicated this in the phrase '*justa bella*'. This interpretation was also reflected in contemporary publications expositing the Thirty-Nine Articles.[33] However, other Churches shared this view. Chapter XXIII of the

[29] Mark Robert Bell, 'The Theology of Violence: Just War, Regicide and the End of Time in the English Revolution', (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2002), pp. 72-3.
[30] Paley, *Principles*, pp. 456-7. These episodes continue to be part of modern theological debates: see Nigel Biggar, *In Defence of War* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 38-42, 55-8.
[31] Arthur S. Latter, *Is War Justifiable on the Principles of the New Testament? A Sermon* (Oxford and London, [1854]), pp. 4-5.
[32] Robins, *War*, p. 8; Mackenzie, *Trumpet*, pp. 3-4.
[33] In his exposition of the Thirty-Seventh Article, Edward Harold Browne, future bishop of Winchester, wrote that God, who 'repeatedly calls Himself "the Lord of Hosts, the God of the armies of Israel" ' in the Old Testament, 'can hardly have altogether forbidden just war': *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles, Historical and Doctrinal* (2 vols, London, 1850-3), ii, p. 640.

Westminster Confession of Faith to which Scottish Presbyterian Churches subscribed, maintained that war could be lawfully resorted to 'upon just and necessary occasion [*sic*].'[34] Protestants in general thus believed that Christians could lawfully fight wars, provided these were 'just'. The questions which logically follow are: what did clergymen in their sermons believe rendered recourse to war 'just'? And on what grounds did they base their claims that Britain's war against Russia could be regarded as such?

JUST WAR

Most preachers identified three main conditions as constitutive of, and necessary for, a 'just war'. First, fighting for a 'just cause'; in other words, fighting for justice and right against wrong, or for defensive purposes.[35] Second, resorting to arms as a last resort—after all other peaceful measures to resolve the conflict fail.[36] And third, waging war to uphold right and justice, and to establish peace, but never to pursue selfish interests such as territorial aggrandizement.[37] Preachers paid little or no attention to the condition of a sovereign authority declaring war, which had been central to early Christian just-war thinking. It is important to note that the level of emphasis Victorian preachers gave to these conditions, and the way in which they interpreted them, sometimes varied. But this does not mean that there was no common ground amongst them as to what rendered recourse to war 'just'. These conditions were at the heart of many sermons preached by churchmen, dissenting ministers, and others.

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[34] Philip Schaff, *The Creeds the Evangelical Protestant Churches* (London, 1877), p. 652.
[35] Various commentators referred to wars fought for defence as 'defensive wars', a term which they associated to 'just war'. Writing during the Crimean War, H. T. Buckle argued the following: 'That defensive wars are just, and that offensive wars are unjust, are the only two principles which [...] moralists are able to teach. These two principles were as clearly laid down, as well understood, and as universally admitted, in the Middle Ages [...] as they are at the present moment': *History of Civilization in England: Vol. 1* (London, 1857), pp. 173, 177 n. 32.
[36] One sermon of 1854 used the term 'last extremity': Thomas Guthrie, *The War in Some of its Social, Political, and Religious Aspects* (Edinburgh, 1854), p. 27.
[37] Aquinas believed that wars of aggrandizement and cruelty were unacceptable, and therefore unjust: *Summa Theologica*, p. 4230.

The question of what rendered recourse to war 'just' flared up shortly before Britain's resort to arms. The increasing prospect of a new European conflict after four decades became a source of uneasiness for most ministers of the gospel of the 'Prince of Peace', prompting them to re-examine their assumptions concerning orthodox teachings on war. The likelihood of war led James Shergold Boone, the high-church Anglican incumbent of St John's, Paddington, who had served from 1834 to 1837 as editor of the Hackney-Phalanx-controlled *British Critic* prior to being taken over by the Tractarians,[38] to engage in two sermons between January and February 1854 with war as a religious and moral question. In common with most pro-war clergymen, he condemned unprovoked and aggressive wars waged for ambition and private interests, but believed that necessary and defensive wars were morally justifiable.[39] Boone was careful, however, to make it clear that 'war is the last measure to be adopted [...] only when all other means of adjustment have been tried in vain.'[40] He specified that Christians should always acknowledge the evil of war, and that whenever resorting to arms, should be able to say that the war they were called to fight is one

> which our foes provoke, enforce, necessitate, which Christian rectitude approves and commands. This is a war for a just cause [...] where I can commend the beginning, the course, the issue, to the favour and blessing of the Most High God [...] [and] take part in it with an unreproaching conscience.[41]

For Boone these considerations amounted to a 'test by which war must be tried.' This was reflected in the biblical verse he chose for exposition in his second sermon: 'With good advice make war' (Prov. 20:18). Here Boone explained that Solomon intimated that war 'is not to be made unadvisedly', but 'only after weighing it in a just and righteous balance, upon careful deliberation, for valid and sufficient reasons.'[42] Boone's reliance on the Bible was typical of

[38] S. A. Skinner, *Tractarians and the 'Condition of England': The Social and Political Thought of the Oxford Movement* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 33-42.
[39] James Shergold Boone, *Two Sermons on the Prospect of a General War* (London, 1854), pp. 4, 28-9, 40.
[40] Ibid., p. 19.
[41] Ibid., pp. 44-5.
[42] Ibid., pp. 23, 26.

homiletic responses to the war. Later, John Cumming, the popular Scottish Presbyterian ministering in Covent Garden's Crown Court's church, would explain that the authority he relied on was neither Vattel—to whom Watkin had appealed in challenging Bright's views—nor any other human authority, 'but that authority which settles with few arguments, and determines in few words'.[43] Drawing on the Bible was thus a standard homiletic practice of interrogating the place of war in Christian faith and morality.[44]

Shortly after the outbreak of war, the renowned Anglican preacher Francis F. Statham, incumbent of St Peter's, Walworth and fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, examined in his sermon those 'conditions' or 'necessary rules'—to use his own revealing terminology—which were 'absolutely necessary to justify a Christian nation at any time in waging war'. Christians, he argued, had to be fighting for a 'righteous' cause which they could 'fairly commend to the protection of the God of battles'. The war, he added, also had to be waged due to the impossibility of vindicating right in any other way.[45] The dissenting pulpit generally agreed. Thomas Archer, an eminent London minister in the United Presbyterian Church, sought to ascertain those 'laws and circumstances' justifying war, before considering the war with Russia, and asking: '[H]ave all means short of the sword been exhausted? and, is the cause for which the sword is drawn, just—adequate?'[46]

The day of humiliation of 26 April 1854 saw a more focused attempt to determine the circumstances under which recourse to war could be 'just'. Preaching in Lincoln Cathedral, John Jackson, the low-church bishop of that city, declared that even though war was lawful for Christians, it was an evil 'only to be justified as the sole preventative of greater evils.' Rulers

[43] John Cumming, *The War and its Issues, in its Religious Aspect*, new edn (London, 1855), pp. 31-2.
[44] This was what preachers had been doing in earlier centuries: Bell, 'Theology of Violence', pp. 68-9; Michael Rotenberg-Schwartz, 'Sinners in War, Sinners in Victory: English War Sermons, 1701-84', in Teulié and Lux-Sterritt (eds), *War Sermons*, p. 91.
[45] [Francis F. Statham], 'Britain's Plea of Justification in Declaring War Against Russia. A Sermon', *The Pulpit,* LXV (London, 1854), p. 359.
[46] Thomas Archer, *The War: A Few Thoughts on it* (London, 1854), pp. 7-9, 13.

were thus responsible 'to engage in no war but one which [...] appears necessary to the security, well-being, and ultimately the peace of our own country, or to the obligations of justice and charity towards others'. The bishop added that they should not resort to war 'till every means has been tried, all allowable expedients exhausted, to avert it.' A war for selfish interests, he specified, could never be justified.[47] These ideas cut across the different wings of the Church of England. Even someone like Henry Hart Milman, the liberal Anglican dean of St Paul's who more than a decade previously had confessed his preference for Quaker pacifism,[48] now argued that war could be justified only if strictly necessary. Milman also praised his country for fighting without any selfish interests, and for considering military hostilities only as a last resort.[49]

Sermons of less well-known preachers did not fall far from those of prelates and eminent clerics. An example is the Anglican Thomas Griffith, minister of Ram's Episcopal Chapel, Homerton. In common with most preachers, Griffith applied his understanding of the conditions which rendered recourse to war 'just' to the ongoing conflict. Citing Grotius's proposition that war begins after all efforts to avert it fail, and recalling the earlier efforts of Britain and France to resolve the conflict diplomatically, Griffith asked whether there ever was 'more patience to wait for every possibility, by which the final rupture might be avoided?'[50] He also announced that Britain had a 'just cause' in resorting to arms: 'If ever the doctrine of [St]Augustine holds true, that "the injustice of an adverse party make [*sic*] a just war," it holds true here.'[51] Both allied powers, he argued, had rejected 'private ends', and made provisions for the only proper end of war: 'a safe and comprehensive peace'. This was not a war of

[47] John [Jackson], Bishop of Lincoln, *War: Its Evils and Duties. A Sermon* (London and Lincoln, 1854), pp. 14-15.
[48] In 1841 Milman admitted that he was 'inclined to Quaker opinions about war': Arthur Milman, *Henry Hart Milman, D.D. Dean of St. Paul's: A Biographical Sketch* (New York, NY, and London, 1900), p. 152.
[49] [Anon.], 'The Day of Humiliation', *The Times*, 21726 (27 Apr. 1854), p. 7.
[50] Thomas Griffith, *The Duty of Defence of Ourselves and Others. A Sermon* (London, 1854), pp. 12-14.
[51] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

aggression, but one to 'throwback' the invasion of Turkey by Russia—'the most morally unscrupulous of any power in the world.'[52]

In common with Griffith, most preachers believed that Britain was fighting for justice and for Turkey's integrity and independence against Russian aggression. The so-called 'secret correspondence' brought before parliament and published in the press in March 1854 disclosing the conversations held in 1853 between the czar and the British ambassador to Russia, Sir George Hamilton Seymour, seemed to confirm Russia's design to partition the Ottoman Empire.[53] Clergymen also understood the war as one for the defence of liberty and civilization against despotic Russia, a power believed to be lacking and seeking to crush them.[54] The Russian suppression of Polish and Hungarian liberties in 1830-1 and 1849 respectively, amounted to a case in point which continued to linger in Britons' minds. In this context, they saw their country as donning the mantle of international justice, and assuming the position of protector of European liberties, as in the wars against France. Some preachers also considered 'the balance of power' according to this moral paradigm.[55] Sifting through history, others came to believe that the war aimed to check Russia's long-term policy of aggrandizement. One preacher cited the forged testament of Peter the Great, which supposedly outlined plans for the establishment of a universal empire, thereby historicizing—however spuriously—the Russian threat in Europe.[56]

The ideological struggle between liberalism and constitutionalism, with Britain standing as their upholder and propagator, and despotism, with Russia being its continental archetype, together with understandings of 'civilization' and the notion of Britain as a power bearing

[52] Ibid., pp. 14-16.
[53] John G. Manly, *The War and the Fast. A Discourse* (London, 1854), pp. 15-16.
[54] Cooper, *Victory by Prayer*, pp. 5-6.
[55] E.g., John Martin, *War a Chastisement. A Sermon* (Exeter and London, 1854), p. 4.
[56] H. W. Kemp, *Religion Versus Positive Philosophy; or, The Fitness and Reality of the Fast. A Sermon* (London and Hull, 1854), p. 13; O. Subtelny, ' "Peter I's Testament": A Reassessment', *SR*, 33/4 (1974), p. [663].

distinctive moral duties on the international stage, framed responses to the war. A typical sermon of the first day of humiliation was the one by Robert Lee, Scottish Presbyterian minister and Edinburgh Professor of Biblical Criticism. The Scottish press praised Lee's sermon, but the Peace Society's *Herald of Peace* attacked it.[57] The framework of global competing ideologies shaped Lee's interpretation of the war as 'just'. 'I solemnly believe', he declared,

> that this war is one of those which are just, necessary, and inevitable [...]. It is a war of great ideas and interests—the conflict of barbarism and civilization—of liberty and constitutional government with despotism and superstition—the old contest repeated—light and darkness struggling together in the womb of Time. May God prosper the righteous cause.[58]

Lee employed the term 'superstition' in his discussion of the Russian Orthodox faith, which he severely criticised.[59] Only the Tractarians appeared more sympathetic towards Orthodoxy.[60] Tractarian sermons such as Charles Marriott's which commented on the common Christian faith of Britons and Russians, would have raised the eyebrows of some critics—not least those of the liberal Anglican Charles Kingsley who, embittered by E. B. Pusey's earlier judgement that his anti-Catholic novel *Hypatia* of 1853 was 'an immoral book', found it opportune during the war to accuse Puseyites of sympathising with the Russian Orthodox Church, and of harbouring a contempt towards Britain's Muslim allies.[61] In a letter of 14 March 1854 to John Keble, Pusey confessed his hatred of the war. He also asked Keble whether 'there is a real feeling of justice about it', before revealing that he disliked the Ottoman Empire and admitting

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[57] See Chapter Three, p. 131.
[58] Robert Lee, *On War. A Sermon* (Edinburgh and London, 1854), p. 29
[59] Ibid., pp. 25-6.
[60] Anderson, 'Reactions of Church and Dissent', p. 212. Earlier Tractarian initiatives to establish an understanding with the Orthodox East included William Palmer's famous visit to Russia during the early 1840s to study Russian theology and 'to test out the Tractarian "Branch Theory" of the Church': Henry R. T. Brandreth, 'The Church of England and the Orthodox Churches in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in E. G. W. Bill (ed.), *Anglican Initiatives in Christian Unity: Lectures Delivered in Lambeth Palace Library 1966* (London, 1967), pp. 21-4.
[61] Charles Marriott, '*The Unity of the Spirit.' A Sermon* (Oxford, 1854), pp. 15-16; Brenda Colloms, *Charles Kingsley: The Lion of Eversley* (London and New York, NY, 1975), p. 183.

that '[he] did not see how Russia is so wrong, if the Crusades were right'.[62] Kingsley's suspicions about Puseyite and Anglo-Catholic allegiances were, to an extent, well-founded.

Lee's understanding of the conflict in binary opposites reflected mainstream opinion. Yet most sermons ignored the awkward questions of how the argument that Britain was fighting for liberty and civilization against despotism could be sustained, given that she was allied with Napoleon III and Sultan Abdulmejid I—who, in the eyes of some commentators, were also despots—and how could it be reconciled with the fact that Britain was seeking the cooperation of Austria, another despotic power? Some sermons—especially evangelical—presented the Porte as more religiously tolerant than Russia.[63] In regard to France, one preacher later claimed that her emperor presided over a 'noble government', and that his throne embodied not 'personal and dangerous greatness, but [...] legitimate and paternal authority.'[64] In some cases, then, clergymen tried to rationalize the war's strange landscape of alliances. Still, most attempted morally to justify the war within the schematic framework of a civilized, liberal, and constitutional Britain fighting against Russian despotism and barbarism, without paying particular attention to the mismatch between Britain's professed aims and alliances.

Sermons preached on, or close to, the day of humiliation gave expression to various other themes intersecting with the morality of war. The story of David who felt he would be victorious against Goliath because he believed that his cause was 'a righteous one, and would be blessed by the God of battles', spoke to Britons.[65] However, other clerics conceded that not all of Britain's past wars could be regarded as 'just'. James Sherman, Congregationalist minister of Surrey Chapel, argued that the Opium War with China (1839-42) and Britain's campaigns in India, had 'not always been undertaken with a right motive and to a right end.'[66]

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[62] Oxford, KC, AD 1/5. Vol. II: Letter from E. B. Pusey to J. Keble (14 Mar. 1854), fos. 121r-[122]r.
[63] E.g., Henry Venn Elliott, *Two Sermons on the Hundred and First and Sixty-Second Psalms* ([London], 1854), pp. 28-9.
[64] J. C. Edwards, *Man's Devices and God's Counsel. A Sermon* (London, 1855), pp. 13-14.
[65] [Charles Arthur Maginn], 'The Russian War. A Sermon', *The Pulpit*, LXV (London, 1854), pp. [451]-2.
[66] James Sherman, *War. A Sermon* (London, 1854), pp. 11-12.

George Jeffrey, a Glasgow-based minister in the United Presbyterian Church, similarly observed that

> too many of the wars in which our country has been engaged have been altogether unjust. Very rare, indeed, are the instances in which war is justifiable. [...] [A]ny principles upon which a [C]hristian casuist would justify war under certain possible circumstances, would not justify perhaps one in twenty of the wars that have been waged.[67]

But in regard to the war with Russia, Jeffrey affirmed that: 'Seldom has our country engaged in combat with more apparent justice on her side'.[68] Sherman agreed: after having done everything to preserve peace, '[i]f any war can be termed *just* [...] this is surely one.'[69] In fact, most of the Dissent was supportive of the war and its justice, and the same was true of Wesleyan Methodists.[70]

The idea of Britain fighting a just war was thus central to homiletic responses to the conflict. It would be wrong, however, to assume that clergymen glorified war for its own sake, or that they indulged in inordinate bellicosity. One can easily fall into the trap of viewing the nineteenth century through the distortive lens of J. A. Hobson's assault on 'Christianity in khaki' in his *Psychology of Jingoism*, where he argued that 'the conception of "England's God" as a tribal God of battles who shall fight with our big battalions and help us to crush our enemies, is a step taken with ease and confidence by most of our Churches.'[71] Between 1854 and 1856, most clergymen understood God as a 'God of battles', but simultaneously cast war as a terrible, even if sometimes necessary, evil.

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[67] George Jeffrey, *The Present War: A Discourse* (Glasgow, 1854), pp. 12-13.
[68] Ibid., p. 13.
[69] Sherman, *War*, p. 10.
[70] 'The Annual Address of the Conference to the Methodist Societies' (11 Aug. 1854), in *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, Volume XII* (London, 1855), p. 490; [F. Kellett], 'Sermon XI. The Duties and Resources of a Religious People in Times of War', in *The Wesleyan Pulpit: 1855* (London, [1855]), pp. [169]-85.
[71] J. A. Hobson, *The Psychology of Jingoism* (London, 1901), p. 48.

BRITAIN AND TURKEY

A problematic question was how could Britain's fight against Orthodox Russians in support of a Muslim empire be reconciled with Christian justifications of war? Something approaching an answer to this question came from the evangelical Earl of Shaftesbury, around three weeks before the war's outbreak, in what Olive Anderson pronounced an 'impressive and much-quoted speech in the House of Lords'.[72] Shaftesbury responded to those criticising Britain's alliance with Turkey. One critic was the czar himself, whose comment that "England and France have sided with the enemies of Christianity against Russia combating for the [O]rthodox faith" appeared in an imperial manifesto translated and printed in the British press.[73] Another critic was Cobden who, according to Shaftesbury, had earlier expressed views in the Commons similar to those of the czar. For Shaftesbury, what mattered was not the religious identity of belligerent powers, but Britain upholding 'the rights of a weaker State', preserving 'the independence of nations', and stopping 'the encroachments' of Russia—a power that 'seem[ed] bent to darken all that is light, and subjugate all that is free, among the nations of mankind.'[74]

Shaftesbury also argued that Protestantism had been making advances in Turkey and that the Porte was more tolerant of the gospel than Russia.[75] His attentiveness to the religious dimensions of the conflict was undoubtedly driven by his evangelical convictions. Religion was central to British perceptions of, and interactions with, the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century, so it is clear that the Whig peer examined the subject within a widely shared discursive framework.[76] Many sermons of 26 April 1854 and after echoed Shaftesbury. James

[72] Anderson, 'Reactions of Church and Dissent', p. 211.
[73] *Parl. Debs*., 3rd ser., vol. 131, col. 591 (10 Mar. 1854).
[74] Ibid., col. 592.
[75] Ibid., cols. 591-7.
[76] John Charmley, 'Britain and the Ottoman Empire 1830-1880', in Keith Robbins and John Fisher (eds), *Religion and Diplomacy: Religion and British Foreign Policy, 1815 to 1941* (Dordrecht, 2010), pp. 61, 65-6.

Booth, chaplain to the Marquis of Lansdowne and curate of St Anne's Wandsworth, emphasised the immutability of 'relations of justice' irrespective of individuals' religion, adding that in supporting Turkey, Britain helped to spread 'true Christianity'.[77]

Religious opinion on the alliance between Britain and Turkey had another layer of complexity hinging on eschatology.[78] The war appeared as a momentous event with potentially devastating consequences. Evangelicals, especially, saw apocalyptic implications. How can this be explained? David W. Bebbington has demonstrated the growth of premillennial rather than postmillennial views, especially after the 1820s, and the dominance of 'historicist' premillennialism in evangelical thinking whose exponents believed that Christ's Second Coming would occur during the 1860s.[79] This belief was rooted in the interpretation of Revelation and Daniel's prophecies 'as narratives that could be decoded by pairing symbols such as vials of wrath with remarkable historical events.'[80] Many clerical commentators imbued the war with great significance. For evangelicals interpreting 'the signs of the times' through eschatological lens, the conflict with Russia appeared, as Eric M. Reisenauer has put it, as 'the opening act of the final struggle that would climax at Armageddon.'[81] Clergymen concerned with eschatology believed that Russia was Gog from the Books of Ezekiel and Revelation, and the 'King of the North' from the Book of Daniel.[82] Gog, Reisenauer explains, 'was prophesied to become the colossal and terrible scourge of God's people in the last days', but also that it would lead Turkey to her fall, as suggested in the Book of Revelation's image of the drying up of the Euphrates.[83]

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[77] James Booth, *"We are Members One of Another." A Sermon* (London, 1854), p. 16.
[78] Anderson, 'Reactions of Church and Dissent', pp. 212-13; Eric M. Reisenauer, 'Armageddon at Sebastopol: The Crimean War and Biblical Prophecy in mid-Victorian Britain', in Alisa Clapp-Itnyre and Julie Melnyk (eds), *'Perplext in Faith': Essays on Victorian Beliefs and Doubts* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2015), pp. [39]-74.
[79] D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, 1989), pp. 156-65.
[80] Ibid., p. 162.
[81] Reisenauer, 'Armageddon at Sebastopol', p. 40.
[82] Ibid., p. 46.
[83] Ibid., pp. 46, 53-8.

Sermons by popular preachers such as the Scottish Presbyterian John Cumming, a well-known proponent of historicist-premillennial views who popularised E. B. Elliott's *Horae Apocalypticae* (1844) which had positioned the start of the millennium two-thirds into the nineteenth century, centred on such an eschatological analysis.[84] Yet Cumming had no shortage of detractors. George Eliot savaged his prophetical interpretations in an essay published in the *Westminster Review*, the radical quarterly for which she served as assistant editor. In biting tone, Eliot declared that

> the more spiritually-minded class of believers, who look with greater anxiety to the kingdom of God within them, than for the visible advent of Christ in 1864, will be likely to find Dr. Cumming's declamatory flights and historico-prophetical exercitations as little better than "clouts o'cauld parritch."[85]

Another woman of letters, the poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning, also weighed in. At the time she resided with her family in Florence, but her letters reveal that she was part of a rich network of correspondence keeping her well-informed about things in Britain. In one of her letters, Mrs Browning confessed her belief in the justice and necessity of Britain's war, but also expressed her scepticism towards evangelical eschatology and the etymological link Cumming drew between the Hebrew name of 'Armageddon' and the Greek name of Sebastopol. Instead, she stressed the 'symbolical' nature of scriptural language, concluding that there is a 'tendency with us all to magnify the great events, of our own time, just as we diminish the small events'.[86]

Even if Turkey's destruction seemed inevitable, Britain still had important moral duties to perform. In a sermon preached on the day of humiliation in the same city that the Brownings resided, the Revd H. Greene, chaplain to the British at Pisa and the Baths of Lucca, criticised those claiming that because Turkey was 'doomed in Scripture to destruction', Britain's war went against God's will. Prophecy, Greene averred, was ambiguous, so Britain could not

[84] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp. 162-3.
[85] [George Eliot], 'Evangelical Teaching: Dr. Cumming', *WR*, 64/126 (Oct. 1855), p. 441.
[86] '[Letter] 3548. E[lizabeth] B[arrett] B[rowning] to Julia Martin (20 Apr. [1855])', in Philip Kelley et al. (eds), *The Brownings' Correspondence*, *Volume 21* (Winfield, KS, 2014), pp. 142-4, n. 9.

'neglect a moral obligation, merely to accomplish a still uncertain prediction'.[87] Preachers in Britain similarly decried claims that the apparent inevitability of Turkey's fall rendered Britain's military action futile.[88]

The questions thus raised by Britain's alliance with Turkey closely intersected with ideas concerning the justice of the war and Britain's moral duties as a European power. For most clergymen what mattered was neither that support was given to a Muslim state, nor that its fall was foretold in Scripture; what mattered was Britain upholding international justice.

WAR AND DIVINE JUDGEMENT

In *Religion and the Decline of Magic* Keith Thomas has argued that 'the public fast remained a familiar method of turning away God's judgements upon the community until the end of the eighteenth century.'[89] Thomas's chronological parameters can be extended to cover the mid-nineteenth century when the same phenomenon is discernible in responses to significant events affecting national life. Historians have rightly noted that many clergymen interpreted the Crimean War as God's punishment for Britain's sins.[90] However, in his sermon of 26 April 1854 the Birmingham-based pro-war Unitarian minister, Charles Clarke, disapproved of the royal proclamation for the apparent link it established between the war and people's sins. It was not because of national sins and people's 'love of wrong', Clarke argued, that they found themselves at war, but because of their 'virtues' and desire for justice. The 'just' nature and necessity of the war seemed to Clarke irreconcilable with asking people to humiliate themselves.[91] The belief that the war was *not* a divine judgement on national sins found

[87] H. Greene, *Whose is the Better Cause? A Sermon* (London, 1854), pp. 14-15.
[88] John Hall, *War with Russia both Just and Expedient. A Discourse* (London, [1854]), pp. 19-22.
[89] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1971; repr. 1997), p. 115.
[90] Anderson, 'Reactions of Church and Dissent', p. 214; Huddie, *Crimean War*, p. 96.
[91] Charles Clarke, *War: A Sermon, Preached in the Old Meeting House, Birmingham* (Birmingham, [1854]), pp. [3]-4.

expression three days earlier in the sermon of the Unitarian Revd John Hamilton Thom, as well as in the Unitarian weekly *Inquirer*.[92] Why was this so? The answer perhaps lies in the fact that Unitarians emphasised rational faith and rejected the doctrines of original sin and election.[93] At the heart of Unitarian theology was divine benevolence rather than judgement.

Notwithstanding Unitarian divergence, most churchmen and dissenters granted that God was punishing the nation for its sins. This did not weaken their sense that the war was one of justice.[94] Evangelicals, according to Boyd Hilton, interpreted God's judgement 'on nations in the form of divine rewards and retributions, battles won and lost, plenty and famine, prosperity and pestilence, good and bad rulers.'[95] During the Crimean War, evangelical manuals aiding in the work of pulpit preparation reminded preachers that 'war is sent as a scourge to nations'.[96] However, evangelicals did not dominate 'the language of divine chastisement and retribution', as John Wolffe has recognised.[97] This is a more accurate observation which better explains why between 1854 and 1856 the idea of war as divine judgement found expression in sermons of clerics belonging to different wings of the Church of England, as well as in dissenting sermons. Before the outbreak of war, a leader in the high-church *Guardian* conceded that war was a form of divine judgement.[98] For Charles John Vaughan, broad-church divine and headmaster of Harrow, war in general was God's 'scourge', and this war in particular was 'one of the instruments which He employ[ed] to bring [the nation] to a better mind.'[99] W. M.

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[92] John Hamilton Thom, *The Religious Spirit that Befits this Crisis ... A Sermon* (London, 1854), p. 19; [Anon.], 'Humility and Humiliation', *The Inquirer*, XIII/617 [*sic* 644] (29 Apr. 1854), p. [257].
[93] David Young, *F. D. Maurice and Unitarianism* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 39-43.
[94] Huddie, *Crimean War*, p. 97.
[95] Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England, 1783-1846* (Oxford, 2006), p. 177. See also, idem, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 8, 13-15.
[96] [Anon.], *The Evangelical Preacher; or, Studies for the Pulpit, Vol. I* (London, 1856), p. 362.
[97] John Wolffe, 'Judging the Nation: Early Nineteenth-Century British Evangelicals and Divine Retribution', in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (eds), *Retribution, Repentance, and Reconciliation: Papers Read at the 2002 Summer Meeting and the 2003 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 292.
[98] [Anon.], 'Wednesday, January 4, 185[4]. War', *The Guardian*, 422 (4 Jan. 1854), p. 9.
[99] Charles John Vaughan, *A Nation Watching for Tidings ... A Sermon* (London, 1854), pp. 25-6.

Hetherington, the Edinburgh-based founder of the Calvinist and anti-Erastian Free Church of Scotland, believed that out of God's three judgements—famine, pestilence, and war—the latter was 'the most terrible' of His methods of punishing a sinful people.[100] With the exception of Unitarians, then, there was a consensus that war was a form of divine judgement.

The sins for which God was punishing Britain, according to one Anglican clergyman whose views reflected those of many others, included Sabbath-breaking, pride, avarice, and drunkenness.[101] Another sin was the propping up of popery. The inclusion of the toleration of Roman Catholicism in those sins which brought war upon Britain can be explained in light of the wider context of anti-Catholicism and recent debates on the 'Papal Aggression', as well as on the Maynooth grant for which controversy continued into 1855-6.[102] Those clamouring about this 'sin', however, often sidestepped the awkward but self-evident fact that Britain was allied with France, a Roman Catholic power.

Clergymen often discussed the idea of war as divine judgement in light of Israel's biblical history and its perceived links with modern Britain. In the words of one preacher: '[the Israelites'] case is parallel to our own.'[103] As was the case with sermons preached on other national events during the nineteenth century, verses chosen for exposition in sermons of the Crimean War largely came from the Old Testament, something which suggests that preachers often interpreted contemporary events in light of the biblical history of ancient Israel.[104] This was a time when the view that Britain was a new Israel, a nation favoured by God, found wide acceptance.[105] What fed this notion were the various blessings Britain enjoyed, which Victorians typically interpreted in light of divine providence. In a passage in his *History of*

[100] W. M. Hetherington, *The Signs of the Times ... A Discourse* (Edinburgh, 1854), pp. 4, 6.
[101] Edward H. Lovelock, *The Penitent's Confession and Plea for Mercy ... Two Sermons* (Bury St Edmunds, 1854), pp. 4, 6-9.
[102] John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829-1860* (Oxford, 1991), p. 276.
[103] John Owen, *England's Sins: A Sermon* (London and Leicester, 1854), p. 5.
[104] John Wolffe, 'British Sermons on National Events', in Ellison, *New History of the Sermon*, pp. 187-9.
[105] Idem, *God and Greater Britain*, p. 120.

England written in November 1848, the year of European revolutions and the Chartist gathering at Kennington Common, the Whig historian and politician, T. B. Macaulay, ascribed Britain's blessings—'the authority of law', 'the security of property', 'the peace of our streets', 'the happiness of our homes'—to 'Him who raises and pulls down nations at his pleasure' and such of His vehicles as the Long Parliament, the Convention, and William of Orange.[106] During the nineteenth century, Britons believed that God had granted them their empire to preach the gospel to the world, 'and as a testimony to their status as the Protestant Israel', as Linda Colley has put it.[107]

Parallels between Israelite history and Britain's wartime experiences were central to religious responses to the Crimean War. Many preachers would have agreed with the view that Britain was God's 'instrument' to end 'the injustice and grasping ambition of Russia', in the same way the Israelites had been God's rod.[108] Citing Judges 5:31, 'And the land had rest forty years', one preacher drew a parallel between Israel's time of peace and the forty-year period of peace in Europe.[109] It was not, of course, the case that Britain had fought no wars during this time. But those wars, according to another preacher, had been fought against weaker enemies, and 'were wars affecting less the mother-country than some colonial centre [...] and so they seemed more distant, and of far less interest and concern to [them]'.[110] Even if Britain now held the place of Israel, she was also being punished with war—just like Israel—for her sins.[111] And in common with Jews who humiliated themselves and asked Jehovah for his blessing, Britons were now expected to do the same.[112]

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[106] T. B. Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second* (4 vols, London, 1864), ii, p. 243.
[107] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1992), pp. 368-9. On Britain as a providentially blessed and favoured nation, see also Parry, *Politics of Patriotism*, pp. 45, 102; and Angus Hawkins, *Victorian Political Culture: 'Habits of Heart and Mind'* (Oxford, 2015), pp. [1]-2.
[108] Newland, *Two-Edged Sword*, p. 5.
[109] [John Edmund Cox], 'The War—Its Causes and Consequences. A Sermon', *The Pulpit*, LXV (London, 1854), p. [427].
[110] William Tennant, *No More War. A Sermon* (London, 1854), p. 6.
[111] Lovelock, *Penitent's Confession*, pp. 4-5, 12-13.
[112] Henry G. Carroll, *The Duty of National Prayer ... A Sermon* (Dublin, 1854), pp. 6-10.

How did these ideas fit into clerical understandings of Britain's war as 'just'? Clergymen had no issue attesting to the justness of Britain's war, whilst maintaining that this was a war of God's sending to punish Britons, in the same way that God had been punishing Israel. These views found acceptance in most Protestant denominations. John Owen, vicar of Thrussington, was an obscure Anglican cleric of an obscure parish in Leicestershire, but his sermon encapsulated the views of the religious mainstream. His words are, therefore, worth quoting here:

> Many of the wars in which the Jews were engaged were in self-defence, and therefore in themselves just; but still they were exposed to them [...] as punishments for their sins. As then the present war, though rendered necessary on the part of this country, is yet an evidence of the displeasure of heaven, it behoves us as a nation to pray Him to turn aside his judgement and to grant us again the blessing of peace.[113]

'GOD IS NOT WITH US': THE SECOND DAY OF HUMILIATION

On 1 October 1854 the nation once again partook in special worship. This act took the form of a day of thanksgiving prayer for the abundant harvest. Sermons interpreted this event as a divine blessing, with some seeing behind it a sign that the cause of Britain's war was one of justice and approved by God.[114] Shortly after, the graphic revelations of war correspondents about the terrible conditions of British servicemen would darken the public mood, eventually leading to the fall of the Aberdeen coalition and the formation of Lord Palmerston's first ministry. On 23 December 1854 *The Times*'s editorial lamented how 'the noblest army England ever sent from these shores ha[d] been sacrificed to the grossest mismanagement.'[115] The diarist Charles Greville wrote on 31 December that this had been 'one of the most melancholy

[113] Owen, *England's Sins*, p. 16.
[114] E.g., [L. M. Humbert], 'The Present Abundant Harvest ... A Sermon', *The Pulpit*, LXVI (London, 1854), p. [225].
[115] [Anon.], 'To-day all the world goes down to the country', *The Times*, 21932 (23 Dec. 1854), p. 9.

and disturbing years'.[116] In his own diary Shaftesbury recorded that '[f]olly, rashness, self-conceit, and miscalculation, [were] at their height.' 'God is not with us', he told his son; 'Constitutional government is a laughing-stock [...]. War, as Demosthenes said, discovers *τά σαθρά*, the rotten parts of an Empire; our sin has found us out'. This sense of crisis explains why Shaftesbury was 'running about to stir up Prelates and Ministers to a day of prayer.'[117]

The second day of solemn fast, humiliation, and prayer (henceforth 'day of humiliation') was observed on Wednesday 21 March 1855. Most preachers declared that Britain's disasters came from God. The nation was answering for its sins such as pride, Mammon-worship, selfishness, and covetousness.[118] Particular attention was given to Sabbath non-observance, which for Victorians was a highly contentious subject.[119] There were, however, those who instead of seeing Sabbath-breaking and other sins as the root of Britain's troubles, pointed to maladministration.[120] This reflected criticism from the press which was partly based on the view that the disasters of the war were the product of human mismanagement.[121] 'If we put our head in the Lion's mouth', B. J. Armstrong, vicar of East Dereham, wrote in his diary, 'we must expect it to be bitten off, & Providence is not to blame.'[122] Secularists such as George J. Holyoake seized the opportunity to attack the efficacy of prayer, arguing that bitter experience taught people to turn to '[s]ecular means for social and political improvements.' Holyoake even went so far as to cast Florence Nightingale as an 'Angel of Secular Help' who embodied the principle 'that work is worship'.[123]

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[116] Charles Greville, *The Diaries of Charles Greville*, ed. Edward Pearce and Deanna Pearce (London, 2005), p. 308.
[117] Edwin Hodder, *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K. G.* (London, 1888), pp. 499, 503, 507-8.
[118] [J. R. Rumsey], 'How to Take the Strong City. A Sermon', *The Pulpit*, LXVII (London, 1855), p. 325.
[119] W. Hessel, *The Sins of the Nation ... A Sermon* (London, 1855), pp. 5-6, 13-24; John Nash Griffith, *National Humiliation: A Sermon* (Dublin, 1855), pp. 9-10. On the Sabbath, see John Wigley, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday* (Manchester, 1980), pp. 66-70.
[120] James Murray, *War in Prospect ... Two Discourses* (Edinburgh and London, 1855), pp. 32-4.
[121] Williamson et al., *National Prayers*, ii, pp. 896-7.
[122] B. J. Armstrong, *Under the Parson's Nose: Further Extracts from the Diary of the Revd B. J. Armstrong M.A.* (*Cantab*)*, Vicar of East Dereham 1850-88*, ed. C. S. Armstrong (Dereham, 2012), p. 64.
[123] G[eorge] J. H[olyoake], 'The Theology of the War', *The Reasoner*, XIX/4 (22 Apr. 1855), p. [25].

Just as Britain's disasters received providential explanations, so did the czar's sudden death in early March 1855. Alluding to this event, the Bishop of London professed: 'The blow which has struck him down [...] we must acknowledge to be providential'.[124] But even at this critical juncture, most clergymen reaffirmed the 'just' nature of Britain's war. In a sermon of 21 March preached in St Margaret's, Westminster, to members of the House of Commons, Henry Melvill, Chaplain in Ordinary to Her Majesty and a popular evangelical preacher, acknowledged the war's justness whilst explaining that Britain resorted to arms not for any 'selfish purpose', but to protect the weak, vindicate right, hinder aggression, and 'make a stand for civilization, for enlightenment, for human progress and human happiness.'[125] Gladstone described Melvill's sermon in his diary as 'brilliant & powerful'.[126] The sermon also earned Palmerston's admiration. Following his motion in the Commons—seconded by Disraeli—it was printed for wider circulation.[127] Next door, in Westminster Abbey, the sermon of Walter Kerr Hamilton, the high-church Bishop of Salisbury, to peers, claimed that people remained convinced about the war's justice and necessity. Hamilton nonetheless warned that this '[did] not strip [war] of its many horrors—its present perils—and its uncertain and most eventful issues'.[128] Despite the prevalent notion that God was appropriately judging Britons for their sins, both low and high churchmen thus continued to share a belief in the justice of the war.

This was also the message of the sermon by William Fitzgerald, Church of Ireland clergyman and Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Trinity College Dublin. However terrible their wartime disasters had been, he told his congregation, these did not change his belief as to the 'lawfulness of defensive war in general, or the justice of the present one'—a point he directed against pacifists. It is almost certain that Fitzgerald's understanding of the lawfulness

[124] Charles James [Blomfield], *The Grounds and Objects of National Acts of Humiliation: A Sermon* (London, 1855), p. 13.
[125] [Henry Melvill], 'National Humiliation. A Sermon', *The Penny Pulpit*, 319/2396 (May [1855]), pp. 142, 147.
[126] W. E. Gladstone, *The Gladstone Diaries*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew (14 vols, Oxford, 1968-94), v (1978), p. 39.
[127] *Parl. Debs*., 3rd ser., vol. 137, cols. 983-4 (23 Mar. 1855).
[128] Walter Kerr Hamilton, *Why, and How we Should Humble Ourselves. A Sermon* (London, 1855), p. [3].

of war derived not only from the Bible, but also from Grotius, given that in the footnotes of his published sermon he cited the Dutch jurist's *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*.[129] Wesleyan Methodists and dissenting denominations continued to hold the same views as before.[130] An address to the queen from the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland bemoaned the great loss of life, but also reaffirmed the war's inevitability and righteousness.[131]

It was during this time that similar ideas engaged the mind of sixteen-year-old Octavia Hill. At the time she was working as copyist for John Ruskin, assisting him with the preparation of his *Modern Painters*.[132] Despite informing her younger sister, Emily, on 19 March 1855 that she would spend 'all the Fast day [working] at Ruskin's things', Octavia went to Lincoln's Inn two days later to hear a sermon by F. D. Maurice, the liberal Anglican cleric and Christian Socialist whom she personally knew and whose preaching she rarely missed. In a letter to Emily, Octavia recorded some points from Maurice's sermon which left an impression on her. Regarding the death of the czar, she cited Maurice's providentialist interpretation: "assuredly not an emperor falls (because not a sparrow falls) without our Father in Heaven". Six days later she wrote to Emily again saying that she agreed with the statement that 'if the war is right, we must be right to pray to God to help us in it'.[133] Ideas concerning the relationship between religion, morality, and war which found expression in sermons, were thus discussed more widely by the public.

[129] William Fitzgerald, *National Humiliation A Step Towards Amendment. A Sermon* (Dublin, 1855), pp. 4-5.
[130] E.g., the sermons by the Wesleyan Methodist Robert M. Willcox *An Appeal for Peace. A Sermon* (London, 1855), p. 22; and the Unitarian Henry Alexander, *National Humiliation: A Sermon* (Newry, 1855), pp. 7-8.
[131] 'Address to the Queen' (26 May 1855), in *Acts of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. 1853-1857* (Edinburgh, 1857), pp. 187-8.
[132] G. Darley, 'Octavia Hill: Lessons in Campaigning', in Elizabeth Baigent and Ben Cowell (eds), *'Nobler Imaginings and Mightier Struggles': Octavia Hill, Social Activism and the Making of British Society* (London, 2016), p. 36.
[133] Octavia Hill, *Life of Octavia Hill as Told in Her Letters*, ed. C. Edmund Maurice (London, 1913), pp. 39-44.

THANKSGIVINGS AND DEBATES

The next two times the nation partook in special worship were joyous occasions. On 30 September 1855 a day of thanksgiving prayer was observed for allied successes and the fall of Sebastopol. This was followed by a thanksgiving day on 4 May 1856 for Britons to thank God for granting them success and for restoring peace to Europe. Both days saw the pulpit resuming its efforts to reconcile war and Christianity, and to challenge peace advocates.

On 30 September 1855 and in the weeks leading up to it, many preachers discussed the theme of 'victory' and its place in theological justifications of war. Across history, victory has been regarded 'as concomitant with justice and divine favour.'[134] This held true for the Crimean War. The message of Anglican sermons was that God granted the allies this victory against Russia.[135] This idea also appeared in Nonconformist sermons.[136] At the same time, some preachers sought to soothe the pain of bereavement by reconciling it with military success. John Morison, Congregationalist minister of the Trevor Chapel, Brompton, told families that 'their lost ones [had] fallen in a righteous cause', and that they would be honoured as heroes.[137] This pastoral concern for the bereaved was also manifested in John Cumming's sermons of 1855. A vocal detractor of the peace movement, Cumming censured its followers for saying to the bereaved that their loved ones had 'died in an unjust cause.'[138]

Some preachers, however, also expressed concerns about the possibility of the war being prolonged. One warned that its continuation for objects other than the original 'would be not merely indefensible, it would be hideous, anti-Christian, immoral, inhuman'.[139] Not all clerics

[134] Cian O'Driscoll, *Victory: The Triumph and Tragedy of Just War* (Oxford, 2019), p. 70.
[135] A. W. Chatfield, *"Thine, O Lord, is the Victory!" A Sermon*, 2nd edn (London, 1855), pp. 8-11; [John Edmund Cox], 'The Almighty, the only Source of Victory. A Sermon', *The Pulpit*, LXVIII (London, 1855), pp. 411-12.
[136] E.g., John Morison, *Victory Ascribed to the Lord. An Oration*, 2nd edn (London, 1855), pp. [3]-7.
[137] Ibid., p. 11.
[138] John Cumming, *A Word in Season; or, Comforting Thoughts to the Relatives of the Fallen Brave* (London, 1855), pp. 13-16.
[139] Francis Hessey, *The Lofty City Laid Low. Isaiah XXVI. 1-6. A Sermon* (London, 1855), p. 12.

were as ambivalent. On 24 September 1855, the broad churchman Benjamin Jowett confessed to A. P. Stanley, another broad-church divine and soon-to-be Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, his hope for 'a good pitched battle to be won by the *English*' to drive the Russians out of the Crimea.[140]

The day of thanksgiving on 4 May 1856 was an occasion for celebrating peace. But the end of the war did not mark the conclusion of the debate between the religious 'war party' and the peace movement. Citing the Thirty-Seventh Article and resorting to scriptural exegesis to establish the lawfulness of war, Anglicans set out once again to challenge the principle of non-resistance.[141] Nonconformists similarly sought to refute the pacifist position. William Gaskell, the popular Unitarian divine and husband of the novelist Elizabeth Gaskell, preached a thanksgiving sermon in Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, the city which less than two years before had been gripped by the controversy between Bright and his constituents. Manchester, Mrs Gaskell wrote to Florence Nightingale, shed its erstwhile association with the peace movement. She now "live[d] in the very midst of what was once called the Peace party—(Manchester has really as pretty a fighting spirit as any one could wish to see)."[142] The sermon of her husband embodied this new Mancunian spirit. War, the Revd Gaskell told his congregation, was a great evil, but non-resistance was a misguided principle. God created human beings to react intuitively against 'outrage and wrong', and 'to sympathize with the oppressed'. The 'instinct of self-defence', he added, 'harmonizes completely with the moral sense, and the true religious feeling of humanity'.[143] Gaskell also pronounced the justness of the recently concluded war:

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[140] Oxford, BC, Jowett Papers: Group III Class S [74]. Letter of B. Jowett to A. P. Stanley (24 Sept. 1855) (unnumbered pages).
[141] Jordan Palmer, *The National Thanksgiving ... A Sermon* (London, 1856), pp. 7-10; Thomas Crossfield, *Thanksgiving for Peace. A Sermon* (Stafford, 1856), pp. 9-12; [Joseph B. Owen], 'The Peace. A Sermon', *The Pulpit*, LXIX (London, 1855), p. 471.
[142] Quoted in Alan Shelston, 'Elizabeth Gaskell and the Crimean War', *GJ*, 23 (2009), p. 60.
[143] William Gaskell, *"A Time of War, and a Time of Peace." A Sermon* (London and Manchester, 1856), pp. 6-9.

> I regard the war as a righteous war; not begun till forbearance had been stretched to its very utmost limits; not undertaken with any selfish view, but simply from motives of justice and honour; not carried on in any aggressive spirit, but with a purely defensive aim [.][144]

Gaskell's assessment was typical of homiletic responses across the Protestant denominational spectrum: Britain resorted to arms as a last resort, and fought in a just cause without any selfish interests. But did other religious communities share this verdict?

ROMAN CATHOLICS AND JEWS

Historians have paid scant attention to this question. Two reasons may explain this. First, religious groups such as Roman Catholics and Jews accounted for smaller percentages of worshippers.[145] Second, Roman Catholic and Jewish responses are harder to trace. State orders for acts of special worship, as we have seen, extended beyond the established churches to the nation at large. Although responses to official days of special worship by religious communities outside the established churches varied, Wesleyan Methodists and most Protestant Nonconformists often held special services on the appointed day, as was the case during the Crimean War. But it was not just Protestants who participated in special worship. Jews also arranged services and prayers on official days of special worship, except if these fell on Sundays. The English Roman Catholic hierarchy, on the other hand, in the aftermath of the 'Papal aggression' and the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, and because of the increasing Ultramontanism of Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, appeared less keen to observe occasions of

[144] Ibid., p. 12.
[145] Catholics 'accounted for 4 per cent of worshippers in 1851, and the proportion of Catholics in the total population was probably about the same': McLeod, *Religion and Society in England*, p. 12. By 1850 there were thirty-five thousand Jews in Britain: David Englander, 'Anglicized not Anglicans: Jews and Judaism in Victorian Britain', in G. Parsons (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain. Vol. I: Traditions* (Manchester and New York, NY, 1988), p. 240.

special worship on the same days as the established churches, preferring to arrange services on other days, or to remain uninvolved.[146]

During the war, Roman Catholics did not generally participate in special worship. However, there were special services in some Catholic churches, whilst thanksgiving masses, *Te Deums*, and thanksgiving prayers were held in England and Ireland during April 1856.[147] This general non-observance makes it harder to uncover the voices of Catholic clergy, not least because one is faced with an apparent dearth of published sermons. We can overcome this problem by drawing on other sources. From Wiseman's Lenten pastoral, for example, we learn that he instructed Catholics that in case of war, their prayers should implore God to grant success to the queen's forces.[148] Other useful sources include newspapers. On 31 May 1856, the *Illustrated London News* reported, both textually and visually, on the service of solemn thanksgiving of 6 April at St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Moorfields (Fig. 1.4). Here Wiseman voiced his expectation that religious strife in Britain would come to an end, now that Catholic chaplains proved their devotedness in the East, and that Protestant and Catholic soldiers lay side by side in their Crimean graves. '[T]he keenest bigotry', declared Wiseman, 'could detect no difference in the colour of that life-blood which both had shed.'[149]

The Roman Catholic press is even more illuminating. One leading article of the London weekly *Catholic Standard* of mid-April 1854, argued that Catholics ought to support Turkey. The article cited the improved civil status of Christians in Turkey and the Porte's increasing religious toleration, whilst pointing on the other hand to the 'severest inflictions' 'suffered' by 'Catholicity' under 'the 'Schismatic Greek Cross' and Nicholas I. Though it conceded that 'the fanaticism of uneducated Mussulmans' was a cause of grievance for Christians in Turkey, the

[146] Williamson, 'Introduction: 1689-1870', in Williamson et al., *National Prayer*, ii, p. xc.
[147] Williamson et al., *National Prayers*, ii, pp. 887, 905.
[148] Ibid., p. 887.
[149] [Anon.], 'The Peace', *ILN*, 28/802-3 (31 May 1856), p. 604.

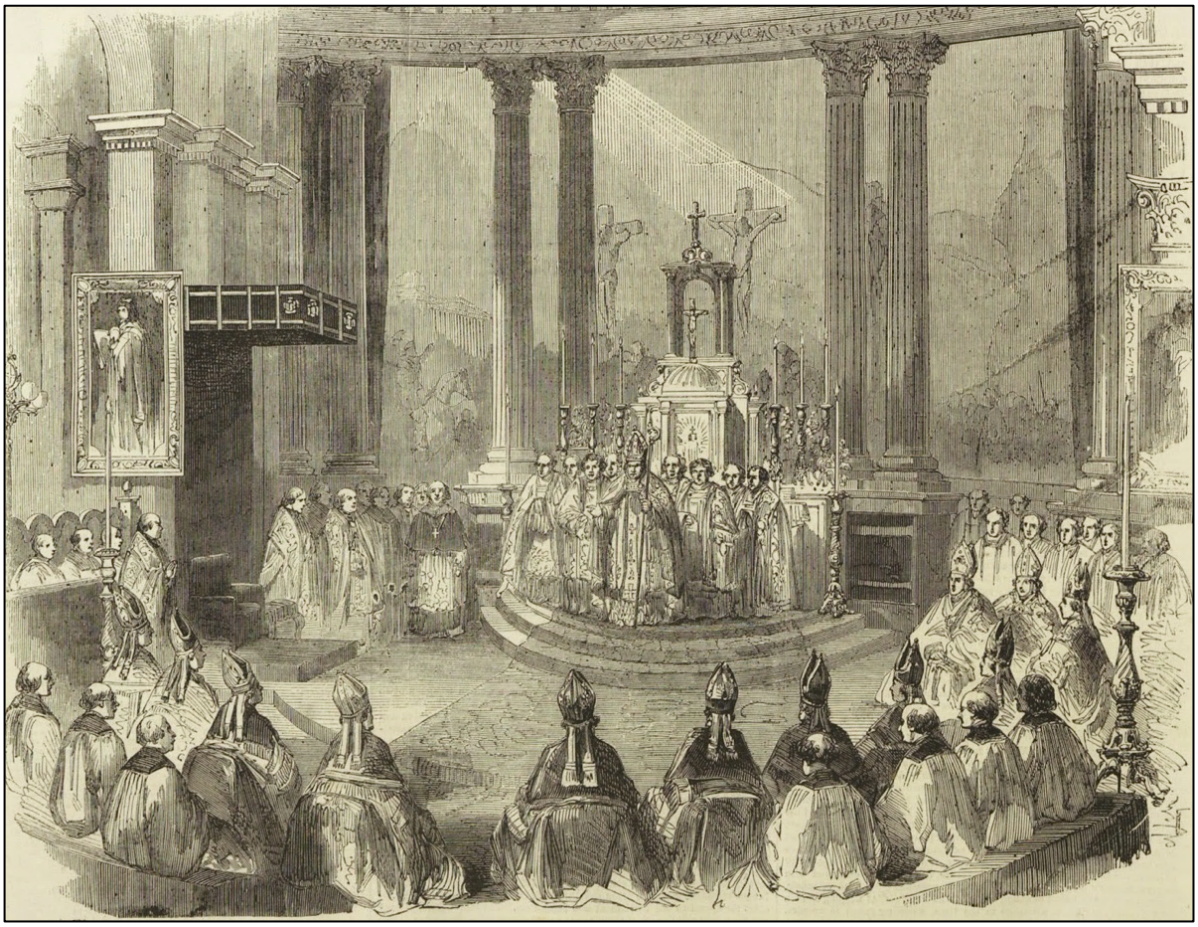


Fig. 1.4. 'The "Te Deum" for Peace, at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Moorfields—Cardinal Wiseman Preaching before the Bishops', *ILN*, 28/802-3 (31 May 1856), p. 604.

article stressed that Catholics suffered more at Greek hands in the East.[150] The newspaper's attitudes towards Turkey and Russia thus broadly reflected those of most Protestants.

Roman Catholic leaders also contributed to the debate on the war's mismanagement. In a lecture to Islington Popular Club on 20 March 1855, a day before the second day of humiliation, Wiseman compared the superiority of the French military and administrative system to the defects of the British. 'Then upon whom will the future historian cast that blame?', he asked.[151] 'Who's to Blame?' was also one of the titles in a series of articles to the *Catholic Standard* in early 1855 by John Henry Newman, the leading figure of the Oxford Movement before his

[150] [Anon.], 'Ought Catholics Support the Sultan Against the Czar?', *CS*, X/236 (15 Apr. 1854), p. 8.
[151] Nicholas Wiseman, *The Future Historian's View of the Present War* (London and New York, NY, 1855), p. 9.

conversion in 1845. As Colin Barr and Simon Skinner have noted, in his contributions to this newspaper under the pseudonym 'Catholicus', Newman offered a long analysis, couched in constitutional phraseology, concerning the war's mismanagement and the incompetence it exposed.[152] Newman's argument was that 'the British constitution is admirably adapted for peace, but not for war'—something which explained why things went wrong.[153] To succeed in war, a state needed strong 'rule and centralisation' which Britain lacked.[154] Newman's contributions to the *Catholic Standard* also made it clear that he was no pacifist. What he asked was not 'why will we go to war? but, why will we not think *twice*? why do we not ascertain our actual position, our strength, and our weakness, before we do so?'[155] Based on these ideas, he concluded that going to war was unwise.

Newman's private correspondence and lectures offer further insights into his wartime thought which historians have ignored. In early December 1854, he confessed to his sister Jemima his opposition to the war. This derived from his dislike of the Turks, whom Newman described as 'a simple nuisance' behaving like 'the dog in the manger in the most beautiful countries of the world'.[156] In common with many commentators, Newman started paying close attention to the Eastern Question as soon as the Russo-Turkish war had broken out in late 1853. His lectures on the origins, conquests, and prospects of the Turkish people delivered at Liverpool's Catholic Institute around this time are revealing. Here Newman was unsparing in his onslaught against the Ottoman Empire. In one lecture he cited travelogues and other accounts documenting its diminishing population and the general neglect of agriculture,

[152] Colin Barr and Simon Skinner, 'Political and Social Thought', in Frederick D. Aquino and Benjamin J. King (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of John Henry Newman* (Oxford, 2018), p. 408.
[153] [John Henry Newman], Catholicus, 'The British Constitution', *CS*, XI/282 (3 Mar. 1855), p. 9.
[154] Idem, 'The British Constitution.—No. IV', *CS*, XI/285 (24 Mar. 1855), p. 9.
[155] Idem, 'No. V.—England's Strength.—By Catholicus', *CS*, XI/286 (31 Mar. 1855), p. 9.
[156] '[Letter from Newman] To Mrs John Mozley' (8 Dec. 1854), in John Henry Newman, *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, Vol. 16: Founding a University: January 1854 to September 1855*, ed. Charles Stephen (Oxford, 1965), pp. 322-3.

industry, and the arts. 'This desolation is no accident of a declining empire'.[157] Elsewhere he surveyed the characteristics of civilized and barbarous states, concluding that 'Ottoman power was of a barbarian character.'[158] Unlike Christianity which was the 'religion of civilization', Islam was a religion of barbarians impeding progress. 'Mahometanism [...] is as congenial to the barbarian, as Christianity is congenial to man civilized.'[159] The kernel of Newman's argument was that unlike 'civilized' states which were destroyed from internal factors including 'civil contention, excessive changes, revolution, [and] decay of public spirit'—thus experiencing a 'natural death'—'barbarous' states such as the Ottoman were destroyed from external factors including wars, insurrections, and famine, thus experiencing a 'violent death'.[160] Newman historicized his theory to confirm its validity. The intellect of Athens, he told his audience, 'first was its making and then its unmaking; while the warlike prowess of the Spartans maintained their pre-eminence, till they were encountered and overthrown by the antagonistic prowess of Thebes.' Because it was 'barbarous' the Ottoman state would be destroyed 'not by any thing within it, but by agents external to itself'. This was one of those 'conjectures' to which Newman's historical analysis led.[161]

Newman was especially interested in the decline and fall of states. Rome provided 'a drama of sustained interest and equable and majestic evolution'.[162] It was no accident, as B. W. Young has observed, that Newman occasionally adverted to Edward Gibbon, tacitly referring to him and citing his authority in the footnotes of his lectures.[163] The conclusion of Newman's lectures fleshed out the implication of his argument. It was unthinkable, he judged, that the Turks would embrace civilization, and that in the absence of it that they could 'stand their ground against

[157] [John Henry Newman], *Lectures on the History of the Turks in its Relations to Christianity* (Dublin and London, 1854), pp. 143-50, at p. 147.
[158] Ibid., p. 254.
[159] Ibid., pp. 248.
[160] Ibid., pp. 197-8.
[161] Ibid., pp. 253-4.
[162] Ibid., p. 213.
[163] B. W. Young, *The Victorian Eighteenth Century: An Intellectual History* (Oxford, 2007), p. 75.

the encroachments of Russia, the interested and contemptuous patronage of Europe, and the hatred of their subject populations.'[164]

In private, Newman later expressed his abhorrence towards the feeling of sorrow that the war was causing. Likening Britons to 'a set of Children on a rainy day who spend hours [...] in tracing the wayward course of each particular drop of rain, as it strikes against the window pane, and runs down to the frame at the bottom in its own way', Newman vividly captured in a letter to Mrs William Froude (Catherine Holdsworth) how engrossing the fate of soldiers had been.[165] Perhaps more revealingly, he situated the Crimean War's emotional impact on Britons in historical context. 'Had we been present or had a photograph representation of Agincourt or Blenheim or Vittoria', Newman stated,

> I suppose we should have been as much horrified as with the recent accounts of the newspaper correspondents; but up to this date parents and friends have seen their warriors off, and welcomed them back with scars and mutilations, but have known little or nothing of the process.[166]

Newman's 'exposure' to the horrors of the war may have fed his questioning of its justice. At one point in his letter to Mrs William Froude, Newman professed that 'we should perhaps, before beginning, have looked twice in order to be sure that our cause was just and war unavoidable.'[167] On 2 January 1855 he wrote to her again saying that '[w]ar is not *necessary*, till we have attempted to keep peace—and that we did not [...] The Russians threw out plans of accommodation and compromise—we would not even entertain them.'[168] If, according to Newman's suggestive comments, Britain's rationale for resorting to arms was dubious, and all peaceful means to avoid war had not been exhausted, then the justice of the war was questionable. Newman's views, then, stood in contrast to Wiseman's and the *Catholic Standard*'s early calls of support for the war.

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[164] [Newman], *Lectures*, p. 280.
[165] '[Letter from Newman] To Mrs William Froude' (26 Dec. 1854), in *Letters and Diaries*, pp. 333-4.
[166] Ibid., p. 334.
[167] Ibid., p. 335.
[168] '[Letter from Newman] To Mrs William Froude' (2 Jan. 1855), in *Letters and Diaries*, p. 341.

Jews, on the other hand, gave a more unified response. Whereas the press often derided Roman Catholics for generally ignoring special worship, it commended Jews for their observance.[169] As a matter of fact, Victorian Jews tended patriotically to identify themselves with the rest of Britain in wartime.[170] On 21 April 1854 the London weekly *Jewish Chronicle* advocated the justice and necessity of Britain's war, whilst challenging the utopian views of the peace movement: 'Our Peace Society friends may lull themselves in the pleasant dreams of Elysian fields, where ploughshares are made of swords, and pruning-hooks of spears; but these peaceable fields are yet very distant.' The newspaper also made known the Jewish community's support for the upcoming day of humiliation.[171] Elsewhere, Jewish clerical commentators contrasted the liberalising policy of the Porte towards their "persecuted brethren", to Russia's "modern Pharaoh", thereby aligning the 'sympathies' of British Jewry to national sentiments. Prophecy and apocalypticism also led to the same parallel between Gog and Russia postulated by Christian preachers.[172] On the second day of humiliation, the Chief Rabbi, Nathan Marcus Adler, told congregated Jews in London's Great Synagogue that the war was fought 'to break the rod of those who haughtily invaded the land not theirs—to loose the bonds of injustice and oppression, and to promote the ultimate felicity of nations.'[173] Jewish responses to the war thus broadly reflected mainstream Christian opinion. This reveals a common discursive framework which transcended religious boundaries.

[169] 'Day of Humiliation', *Examiner*, p. 264.
[170] Marc Saperstein, 'British Jewish Preachers in Time of War (1800-1918)', *JMJS*, 4/3 (2005), [doi: 10.1080/14725880500298245], pp. 255-71.
[171] [Anon.], 'Day of Humiliation and Prayer', *JC*, X/29 (21 Apr. 1854), p. [243].
[172] Marc Saperstein, *Jewish Preaching in Times of War 1800-2001* (Oxford and Portland, OR, 2008), pp. 125-6.
[173] [Anon.], 'The National Humiliation', *MC*, 27531 (22 Mar. 1855), p. 3.

EMPIRE, RELIGION, AND WAR

Ideas about religion, morality, and war also cut across geographical boundaries. Acts of special worship were traditionally observed in the British Empire. According to Joseph Hardwick and Philip Williamson, the religious events they describe as 'colonial observances of British acts of special worship' served as reminders to colonists 'that they were British subjects, living in an extended British nation.'[174] A shared Protestant identity and culture thus articulated and sustained a sense of a 'greater', global 'Britishness'.

The Crimean War saw the observance of metropolitan occasions of special worship in the colonies, albeit on different dates.[175] Sermons published in pamphlet form or in Anglophone colonial newspapers reveal discursive and cultural connections between metropole and empire. In St Andrew's Cathedral in Sydney, Australia, on the first day of humiliation on 18 August 1854, the preacher conceded that war was an evil, but also declared that 'if ever there was a war in this fallen world which might be designated a just war, it is to be found in the present defence which the united arms of England and France interpose on behalf of a weak and oppressed people'.[176] On the same day, a Sydney Congregationalist preacher told his congregation that the horrors of war 'naturally' prompted every thinking person to ask: 'was war, in any respect, justifiable? And if so, under what circumstances?'[177] For the Sydney-based Unitarian G. H. Stanley, the question of the lawfulness of war for Christians carried immense difficulties. He nevertheless concluded that 'there may be occasions on which an appeal to arms is not only justifiable, but right, and even a duty.' To regard—as pacifists did—all war unlawful would mean abandoning the weak and allowing wrongdoing and violence to go

[174] Joseph Hardwick and Philip Williamson, 'Special Worship in the British Empire: From the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries', *SCH*, 54/6 (2018), p. 268.
[175] Williamson et al., *National Prayers*, ii, pp. 888, 897, 902, 905.
[176] [Anon.], 'Saturday, August 19, 1854: Day of Humiliation and Prayer', *SMH* [New South Wales], XXXV/5364 (19 Aug. 1854), p. 4.
[177] [Anon.], 'Day of Fast and Humiliation', *Empire* [New South Wales], 1126 (19 Aug. 1854), p. 4.

unpunished.[178] People outside places of worship debated these matters too. Melbourne's Temperance and General Debating Society held a meeting on 12 November 1855 to discuss the subject: "Is war justifiable under any circumstances?"[179]

Ministers and elders of the Presbyterian Church of Canada pronounced the war in an address to the queen as 'eminently just, and in the highest degree generous towards the weak and the oppressed.'[180] In India, the evangelical Bishop of Calcutta, Daniel Wilson, gave expression in his sermon on the day of humiliation on 16 July 1854 to many ideas found in metropolitan sermons. In his eyes, the war was one of 'absolute necessity', fought after all efforts to avert it had failed.[181] Convinced that God's hand could be traced in all significant events, the bishop also warned that the war could be Armageddon's 'precursor'.[182] Colonial responses to the war and assumptions about Britain's duty to safeguard international justice thus broadly reflected those of the metropole.

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The Crimean War gave rise to vibrant debates over its justice, as well as over war's place in the life of a professedly Christian nation. Sermons preached between 1854 and 1856 sought to reconcile war and Christianity, before vindicating Britain's resort to arms against Russia by drawing on the idea and language of just war. In doing so, they challenged the principles of the peace movement. Clerical understandings of the war as 'just' were mediated through religious, historical, and cultural paradigms, as well as through a widely shared ideological framework positing Britain as a liberal, civilised, and constitutional power with distinctive moral duties on the international stage, fighting against a despotic and barbaric Russia threatening not only

[178] 'Saturday, August 19, 1854', *SMH*, p. 5.
[179] [Anon.], 'Temperance and General Debating Society', *The Age* [Melbourne], no. 338 (17 Nov. 1855), p. 6.
[180] *Despatches from Governors of British Colonies Transmitting Addresses and Resolutions on the Subject of the War with Russia* (London, 1855), p. 5.
[181] [Anon.], 'The Day of Humiliation', *BHC* [Calcutta], LV/18 (21 July 1854), Supplementary Sheet, p. [1].
[182] Ibid.

Turkey's integrity and independence, but also European liberties. Views on war and peace shared by Anglicans, Presbyterians, dissenters, and other Protestants cut across Christian denominational boundaries, as well as religious and geographical boundaries.

The pulpit, however, was not the sole generator of argumentative force driving this 'war' of words and ideas. As has been intimated, religious newspapers also weighed in on the debate. The religious press and various religious tracts and pamphlets sustained a more complex debate. As the next chapter will show, these print media also became major sites of religious polemic against peace advocates.

CHAPTER TWO

Religious Apologies for War beyond the Pulpit

> Nations do not perish in waging just wars, but many have perished under the sensuous, selfish, and effeminate influences incident to a long peace.
>
> ❧ *BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*[1]

In May 1855 the Peace Society's monthly periodical, *Herald of Peace*, observed 'that the most anxious and elaborate apologies for war that have appeared within the last twelve months, have come from professedly *religious* sources.' One could 'find a formal demonstration of the essential rectitude of the entire system [of war]', and 'a Scriptural and Christian warrant for all our bloody doings in the Black Sea and Baltic', not only in sermons but also in the religious press.[2] An article in the London Quaker *The Friend* had similarly observed that 'periodicals professing to be exponents of Christian doctrine and records of Christian practice, encourage[d] warlike sentiments in their readers'.[3] During the war, the Nonconformist press 'generally fell in line with the war effort', as one historian has noted.[4] The same was largely true of religious newspapers and periodicals aligned to the established churches and other denominations, or which had a non-denominational orientation. The bellicose disposition of the religious press perturbed peace advocates. 'The tone of some of our religious (so called) papers', claimed Cobden, 'is dreadful.'[5] The vindication of the lawfulness of just war for Christians, and of

[1] [Anon.], 'The War Controversy—an Exposition', *BQR*, 42 (1855), p. 559.
[2] [Anon.], 'The Religious Press and the Peace Question', *HP*, III/LIX (May 1855), p. 200.
[3] N., 'The Professing Christian Church the Support of War', *The Friend*, XII/138 (June 1854), p. 101.
[4] Larsen, *Friends of Religious Equality*, p. 213.
[5] London, BL, Sturge Papers: Vol. I. Add MS 43722: Letter from Richard Cobden to Joseph Sturge (26 Dec. 1854), fos. 34v-35r.

Britain's resort to arms against Russia, in the religious press as well as in religious tracts, pamphlets, and lectures delivered by clergymen from platforms, left no doubt in the eyes of peace advocates that mainstream religious discourse was scandalously militant.

This chapter carries the previous chapter's line of enquiry beyond the pulpit. Examining the religious press and various tracts and pamphlets, it paints a picture of religious print media as major sites of debate. It demonstrates the centrality of ideas relating to the morality of war in religious thought, and traces the ways in which these ideas framed debates between the religious 'war party' and the peace movement. The chapter incorporates where necessary the voices of those who took an anti-war position, in order to reconstruct the debate and to illuminate its interactivity. The chapter's first section surveys the religious press on which extant scholarship is very limited.[6] It primarily concentrates on newspapers and periodicals aligned to the established churches, Wesleyan Methodists, and dissenting denominations, as well as on publications of a non-denominational alignment. Peace advocates, as has been shown, bemoaned the warlike stance of the religious press. This section demonstrates that things were more complex than they would have us believe, and than historians have often assumed. Though many newspapers and periodicals were belligerent in tone, some occasionally showed a more ambivalent stance towards the war. The religious press also often gave voice to a plurality of divergent views, thereby fostering a culture of debate. As a matter of fact, throughout the nineteenth century religious newspapers and periodicals provided intellectual space for serious debate on an eclectic range of spiritual and temporal matters. A methodical examination of religious newspapers and periodicals during the Crimean War reveals that they brimmed with vigorous responses from readers critically engaging with printed material and participating in debates—mediated by editors—in correspondence

[6] Anderson, 'Reactions of Church and Dissent'; Michael Hughes, 'Nonconformity and Foreign Policy', in Robbins and Fisher (eds), *Religion and Diplomacy*, pp. 41-2; Larsen, *Friends of Religious Equality*, pp. 212-18.

columns. The correspondence columns of nineteenth-century periodicals show that readers were not, in the words of Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, 'passive consumers of print but active respondents who wanted to be in dialogue with the publications they read and with other readers.'[7] Letters to the editor offer valuable insights into how readers responded to various topics, thereby allowing us to capture the subtle richness of newspapers and periodicals, and to appreciate their 'multi-vocal discourse'.[8] In their letters, readers sustained a high level of critical discussion over the war, its morality, and its place in the life of a professedly Christian nation. Religious press publications also enable us to uncover a crucial yet neglected theme in Victorian thought, encapsulated in the quotation from the Congregationalist *British Quarterly Review* at the start of this chapter; namely, that in fighting 'just wars' nations could achieve moral regeneration and transcend their effeminacy, selfishness, and sordid materialism supposedly attendant to 'a long peace'.

The chapter's second section demonstrates that clerical opinion was also preoccupied with how war ought to be conducted once embarked upon. In their religious apologies for war expounded in tracts and pamphlets, influential commentators such as Charles Kingsley, liberal Anglican cleric, novelist, and future Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, were anxious to convey to servicemen the idea that a 'just war' should be fought justly and according to 'Christian principles'. The final section shows how various religious media tapped into, and reinforced, the increasingly popular paradigm of the 'Christian soldier', epitomised by Captain Hedley Vicars of the 97th regiment whose popular biography by the evangelical philanthropist Catherine Marsh appeared in 1855, to demonstrate the compatibility of war, soldiering, and Christianity, and so to undermine the principles of peace advocates.

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[7] 'Letters / Correspondence', in Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland* (Gent and London, 2009), p. 360.
[8] Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell, 'Introduction: Encountering the Press', in idem (eds), *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 1-2.

RELIGION, MORALITY, AND WAR

Victorians would have found no shortage of war-related material in the religious press. Throughout the war, religious newspapers and periodicals carried articles on Russian life and culture. A growing public interest created an unprecedented demand for such topics. '[We] were informed [...] by a well-known bookseller', stated in December 1854 the Anglican monthly review, *Churchman's Magazine*, that 'the public will read nothing but what is in some way connected with Russia and the war.'[9] Various other periodicals such as the Religious Tract Society's evangelical family magazine for Sabbath reading, *Sunday at Home*, as well as the weekly *Church of England Magazine*, carried articles examining ecclesiastical, liturgical, and theological aspects of Russian Orthodoxy, or printed extracts from relevant publications.[10] Articles often commented on the Russian conceptualization of the war as 'holy': waged for the Orthodox faith, and Christianity more generally, against the Crescent.[11] The *Church of England Quarterly Review* of July 1854, for example, drew its readers' attention to an address by the czar announcing that Russia was fighting "for the protection of the Cross in Europe."[12]

Russian Orthodoxy did not monopolize the contents of the religious press. Between October and November 1854, the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* cited a variety of sources including *Russia and its People* (1854) by the Polish Count A. de Gurowski and the influential work on Russia by the German writer Baron August von Haxthausen, in a two-part essay surveying not only Russian religion, but also the historical origins and cultural life of Russians; the social, political, economic, and military organisation of their empire; and the condition of peasantry

[9] [Anon.], 'The Church of Russia and the East', *CMag*, 24 (Dec. 1854), p. 347.
[10] [Anon.], 'A Picture of the Russian Church', *SH*, 11 (13 Jul. 1854), pp. 164-6; [Anon.], 'Religion in Russia', *CEM*, XXXVIII (14 Apr. 1855), pp. 244-5.
[11] On Russian understandings of the war as 'holy', see Mara Kozelsky, *Christianizing Crimea: Shaping Sacred Space in the Russian Empire and Beyond* (DeKalb, 2010), pp. 127-35; and Jack Fairey, *The Great Powers and Orthodox Christendom: The Crisis over the Eastern Church in the Era of the Crimean War* (New York, NY, 2015), pp. 2-4.
[12] [Anon.], 'The Eastern Church', *CEQR*, XXXVI (July 1854), p. 27.

and serfs.[13] Turkey's history and religious and domestic affairs also received attention. The *Churchman's Magazine* acknowledged this interest, and in April 1855 published an article on Islamic history.[14] Similar topics saturated secular periodicals throughout the war, thereby producing a remarkably wide-ranging list of printed material.

The variegated array of cultural and war-related information in the religious press served in part as the basis upon which popular perceptions of Britain's foe and ally were constructed and re-evaluated. In many cases, this kind of information complemented articles touching upon, or engaging more systematically with, questions relating to the interface between religion, morality, and war. The outbreak of war, as has already been noted, saw most of the religious press moving decidedly in its favour. Leading editors of dissenting periodicals disclaimed their previous association with the peace movement, and began beating the patriotic drum.[15] A day after the declaration of war, an article of the *Nonconformist*, a weekly newspaper of radical politics and 'politicized Nonconformity' edited by the Congregationalist Edward Miall who had erstwhile supported the peace movement, drew a comparison between the war in 1793 and the ongoing war, before concluding that only the latter's justice could be affirmed.[16] '[W]e believe *that* war to have been neither just nor necessary; while the justice of *this* war—the moral right of Europe to punish Russia, as a reckless disturber of its peace—no one can impugn.'[17] The Congregational *Christian Witness*, which reached a circulation of thirty thousand, recognised the diversity of opinions on war: whilst some Christians believed that all war was unlawful, others considered 'defensive' war as 'proper, and necessary, as the only means of resisting wars of aggression, and preserving the liberties of mankind'.[18] Britain's war

[13] [Anon.], 'Russia, and the Russians', *WMM*, 10 (Oct. 1854), pp. 924-32; [Anon.], 'Russia, and the Russians', *WMM*, 10 (Nov. 1854), pp. 1017-24.
[14] [Anon.], 'Our Turkish Allies and their Religion', *CMag*, 28 (Apr. 1855), pp. 207-10.
[15] Larsen, *Friends of Religious Equality,* p. 213.
[16] Altholz, *Religious Press*, p. 60; Larsen, *Friends of Religious Equality*, p. 210.
[17] [Anon.], 'The War Begun—Where to End?', *Nonconformist*, XVI/439 (29 Mar. 1854), p. 267.
[18] [Anon.], 'War', *CW*, XI (London, 1854), p. 228; Altholz, *Religious Press*, p. 68.

with Russia fitted into this category. The editor of the *Christian Witness* was the Congregationalist minister John Campbell, who as late as the autumn of 1853 was singing the praises of the Peace Society.[19] The fact that the outbreak of war saw Campbell changing his allegiances demonstrates how influential dissenters abandoned their peace principles and adopted a bellicose rhetoric. Newspapers aligned to the Church of England similarly expressed support for the war. Weeks before its outbreak, the evangelical Anglican *The Record* caught the public mood in commenting that Britons would fight 'free from the guilt of a voluntary war', and could thus put their faith in God.[20] Shortly after, the *Penny Post*, a high-church Anglican monthly periodical directed at the lower classes, echoed the popular idea that Britain was fighting for 'the weak against the strong, defending the oppressed, and [...] checking and punishing the wrongdoer.'[21] Around the same time, readers of the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* would have come across an article commenting on the reluctance Britain had shown before resorting to arms, and the fact that Britons were fighting without selfish interests.[22]

In some cases, religious press publications made more systematic attempts to examine the morality of war in general and the justice of the Crimean War in particular. In its article 'Moralities of the War' of August 1854, the *Churchman's Magazine* set out to elucidate the concept of just war, before applying it to the ongoing conflict. The authority to which the magazine appealed was William Paley. 'To take the authority most familiar probably to all', it announced, 'Paley's definition of a just war is as follows':

> The *justifying* causes of war are, deliberate invasions of right, and the necessity of maintaining such a balance of power amongst neighbouring nations, as that no single state, or confederacy of states, be strong enough to overwhelm the rest. The objects of just war are, precaution, defence, or reparation. In a larger sense, every just war is a *defensive* war, inasmuch as every just war supposes an injury perpetrated, attempted, or feared.[23]

[19] Larsen, *Friends of Religious Equality*, pp. 212-3.
[20] [Anon.], 'London: Thursday Evening, March 9', *The Record*, 2800 (9 Mar. 1854), p. [2].
[21] [Anon.], 'England at War', *PP*, IV/5 (May 1854), p. 132; Altholz, *Religious Press*, pp. 136, 196.
[22] [Anon.], 'The War', *WMM*, 10 (May 1854), p. [454].
[23] [Anon.], 'Moralities of the War', *CMag*, 20 (Aug. 1854), pp. 80-1.

Paley's exposition of just war served as an intellectual tool that the magazine employed to buttress its apologetic reasoning. Paley's *Principles* had left its mark on the moral and political philosophy of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century.[24] The fact that the *Churchman's Magazine* resorted to it suggests its continuing influence on nineteenth-century intellect. 'Our readers', stated the magazine, 'need not to be reminded how entirely the war, on our side, fulfils these conditions.'[25] It also declared that war's "*insufficient* causes, or *unjustifiable* motives"—including the enlargement of territory and the weakness of other nations—that Paley had identified, were applicable to Russia. 'One might think Paley had the Czar's "sick man," [Turkey] and the campaign of 1854, in his eye'.[26] As was the case with the pulpit, the invocation of certain canonical figures to legitimise or reinforce a position within the debate became a standard polemical device in the religious press.

Belief in the justness of the war was widespread. But the extensive textual and visual reportage of the horrors of the battlefield generated conflicting emotions. Some Victorians maintained a striking stiffness. After visiting the ruined city of Sebastopol in 1856, Florence Nightingale confided to her sister the following:

> [T]here is not one stone left upon another. Now don't give in to the weak wishy-washy sentiment which is here talked about poor Sevastopol, poor Russia. What was Sevastopol there for? For aggression—for aggressive fanaticism [...]. I can feel for the poor wretches who have suffered & died. But what did they die for? To make Russia the tyrant of the world [...] this is all I felt when I saw Sevastopol.[27]

In contrast to the rather callous—and now forgotten—comments of the celebrated nurse, the feelings of most people back home were more ambivalent. In November 1854 an article of the monthly *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, an evangelical periodical without

[24] D. L. LeMahieu, *The Mind of William Paley: A Philosopher and his Age* (Lincoln, NE, and London, 1976), pp. 153-62.
[25] 'Moralities of the War', *CMag*, p. 81.
[26] Ibid.
[27] '[Letter from Florence Nightingale] To Parthenope' (2 June 1856), in Sue M. Goldie (ed.), *Florence Nightingale: Letters from the Crimea 1854-1856* (Manchester and New York, NY, 1997), p. 270.

specific ecclesiastical allegiances, claimed that it was imperative that Russian ambition be stopped, but also conceded that 'the sad fates of war, even where it is just, and where victory follows in its path, invest it with a most melancholy character.'[28] In September 1855, following the fall of Sebastopol, an editorial of the high church *Guardian* struck a similar note. Military success, it argued, was 'a gift of the God of battles', but the horrors of the war produced 'contradictory feelings'.[29] Likewise, the article 'Reflections on the Ruins of Sebastopol' of the pro-war *General Baptist Magazine* opened not with triumphant rejoicings over the fall of the Crimean city, but with the lament 'OH sin what hast thou done?'[30]

In common with the pulpit, many religious press publications became major sites of polemic against the peace movement. Between October and November 1855, the Anglican *Churchman's Magazine* carried a two-part article entitled 'Is the War Lawful?', the aim of which was to refute a subversive pacifist pamphlet, *The Soldier that Went not to Sebastopol* (1855), by an anonymous Anglican clergyman.[31] The pamphlet, which takes the form of a dialogue between a 'soldier' heading to the Crimea, and a 'Christian' channelling the author's pacifism, was dedicated to the Peace Society.[32] Drawing on the New Testament, patristic writings, and celebrated critics of war such as Erasmus, the 'Christian' seeks to convince the 'soldier' that war and his profession were incompatible with Christianity. An edition published by the Peace Society included a passage on the Church of England's Thirty-Seventh Article. According to the 'Christian', one of the interpretations of the Article was that it 'allude[d] only

[28] Altholz, *Religious Press*, p. 45; [Anon.], 'War and Victory', *EMMC*, XXXII (Nov. 1854), p. 656.
[29] [Anon.], 'Wednesday, October 3, 1855. Peace or War', *The Guardian*, 513 (3 Oct, 1855), p. 741.
[30] [Anon.], 'Reflections on the Ruins of Sebastopol', *GBM*, 2/23 (London and Leicester, 1855), p. 465.
[31] This was the second edition of [Anon.], *The Soldier and the Christian ... By a Clergyman of the Church of England*, (London: Lumley, Ward and Co., and All Booksellers, 1855).
[32] The Peace Society's report of 1856 eulogised the pamphlet for its intervention in the debate, and also revealed that it was re-issued under its auspices: [Anon.], 'Report [of the Peace Society]', *HP*, III/LXXII (June 1856), p. 63.

to *just* wars', as indicated by its Latin version.[33] But can anyone, asked the 'Christian', ever really know whether war is 'just'?

> All civilised nations that go to war make justice their plea, and appeal to Heaven to defend their cause on this ground. Are there then two just sides to a quarrel? [...] Now can you be *sure* that justice is in reality on the side which you espouse, or that God looks at the case in the same light as you do?[34]

This passage challenged Anglicans invoking the Article to demonstrate the lawfulness of just war for Christians. Towards the end of the dialogue, the reader witnesses the 'soldier's' *volte-face* as the 'Christian' persuades him about the irreconcilability of war and Christianity. '[T]he better warrior, or greater hero a man becomes, the worst Christian he must necessarily be'.[35] In a symbolic moment, the 'soldier' throws up his commission when his regiment is ordered to go to Sebastopol.

The subversive pamphlet gained traction in the public sphere, eventually coming into the attention of pro-war periodicals. The *Churchman's Magazine* promptly denounced it as '[trashy], but plausible and dangerous'.[36] In the magazine's judgement 'there [could] be no doubt of the Church most clearly and positively teaching the lawfulness of Christians engaging in a just war.'[37] Its second article cited St Augustine, amongst other authorities, to disprove the pamphlet's dissident position.[38] Periodicals such as the *Churchman's Magazine* thus closely resembled the pulpit in its efforts to uphold the lawfulness of just war by reasserting orthodox doctrine, by refuting pacifist readings of Scripture, and by citing past authorities—especially clerical—on the subject of war.

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[33] [Anon.], *The Soldier and the Christian ... By a Clergyman of the Church of England* (London: Ward and Co., and Office of the Peace Society, 1855), p. 15.
[34] Ibid., pp. 15-16.
[35] Ibid., p. 18.
[36] [Anon.], 'Is the War Lawful?', *CMag*, 34 (Oct. 1855), p. 247.
[37] Ibid.
[38] [Anon.], 'Is the War Lawful? (Continued)', *CMag*, 35 (Nov. 1855), pp. 275-8.

This debate also raged within correspondence columns. Editors of religious newspapers and periodicals usually inserted letters from different sides of the debate, and they themselves sometimes intervened by mediating the controversy, or by proclaiming its conclusion if it showed no signs of abatement. Even if such publications supported the war, their editors encouraged a plurality of views. One such debate took place in the pro-war Unitarian weekly newspaper, *Inquirer*, between April and May 1854. This fascinating debate offers a snapshot of how readers discussed war and its relationship with religion and morality. In early April, a letter by the anti-war Unitarian divine Russell Lant Carpenter, brother of the penal reformer and educationist Mary Carpenter, sparked the debate in the newspaper's correspondence columns. Russell Lant Carpenter's letter criticised a previous correspondent who wanted a day of national prayer to be proclaimed for the war. For Carpenter, war and soldiership were incompatible with the religion of the 'Prince of Peace'. In a move reflecting homiletic and editorial practice, Carpenter cited certain authorities, including the leading American Unitarian William Ellery Channing (1780-1842); the Unitarian theologian and natural philosopher Joseph Priestley (1733-1804); and the Baptist minister Robert Hall (1764-1831).[39] Through select quotations from their writings, Carpenter presented these thinkers as critics of war. In the *Inquirer*'s same issue, a letter by another Unitarian divine, John Omer Squier, posited a pacifist reading of the gospel.[40] The *Inquirer*'s next issue carried rejoinders, including one by a correspondent signed 'L.T.'[41] This correspondent challenged Carpenter's arguments by deliberately drawing on the same authorities Carpenter cited earlier. 'L.T.' demonstrated that Robert Hall had opined that "[t]he injustice of mankind, hitherto incurable, renders [war] in some instances necessary, and therefore lawful." 'L.T.' also highlighted Channing's disagreement with "extreme and indefensible principles" maintaining the unlawfulness of all

[39] Russell Lant Carpenter, 'The War. To the Editor', *The Inquirer*, XIII/614 [*sic* 641] (8 Apr. 1854), p. 219.
[40] John Omer Squier, 'The War. To the Editor', *The Inquirer*, XIII/614 [*sic* 641] (8 Apr. 1854), p. 219.
[41] Unidentified—possibly another Unitarian minister.

war.[42] The views of the authorities that Carpenter had initially invoked were, according to 'L.T.', far from monolithic. Shortly after, Carpenter and Squier sent in new letters, with Squier's letter posing some rhetorical questions reflecting his pacifist attitude. 'If war be in some cases justifiable, and even laudable, as many assert, would the Saviour have rebuked a disciple [Peter] for using a sword to vindicate truth and rectitude?'[43] A subsequent letter by 'L.T.' prompted the editor, J. L. Sanford, to call the controversy to an end.[44] This was not the first time that the editor intervened. Earlier, he objected to Carpenter's and Squier's protestations against the proclamation of a national prayer for the war. Nonetheless, the editor appreciated that these two peace-minded ministers 'thought it right to put forward their conscientious convictions in a definite form', adding that different views were 'no bar to admission' to the *Inquirer*.[45] Serious intellectual debate was not only highly valued, but also warmly encouraged.

The debate in the *Inquirer* was not an isolated episode. A similar controversy later took place in the monthly *Methodist New Connexion Magazine*, involving two divines of the Methodist New Connexion who knew each other. W. Shuttleworth, one of the two correspondents, was troubled by the insertion in this periodical of a sermon by the Revd P. J. Wright, which proclaimed that the nation 'ha[d] drawn the sword for noble, just, and benevolent ends.'[46] Shuttleworth decided to write a letter to the editor expressing his disappointment. In his letter, he criticised Wright for ignoring the horrors of war and for making no overt reference to the New Testament, whose 'spirit and genius' were in discord with the warlike message of the sermon.[47] Shortly after, Wright alleged that Shuttleworth subscribed to 'the extreme views of

[42] L. T., 'The War. To the Editor', *The Inquirer*, XIII/615 [*sic* 642] (15 Apr. 1854), p. 234.
[43] John Omer Squier, 'The War. To the Editor', *The Inquirer*, XIII/616 [*sic* 643] (22 Apr. 1854), p. 253.
[44] At the end of the letter the editor inserted the line: '[The controversy must end here.—ED. INQUIRER]': L. T., 'The War. To the Editor', *The Inquirer*, XIII/618 [*sic* 645] (6 May 1854), p. 282.
[45] [Anon.], 'Humiliation Day', *The Inquirer*, XIII/616 [*sic* 643] (22 Apr. 1854), p. 242.
[46] [P. J. Wright], 'Remarks Founded on Isaiah XL. 22, 23, 24', *MNCM*, XXIII (May 1855), p. [237].
[47] [W. Shuttleworth], 'War with Russia: To the Editor', *MNCM*, XXIII (June 1855), pp. 312-14.

the Quakers on the question of peace'.[48] Shuttleworth explained that his views were informed neither by Quaker nor any other writers, but by the precepts of the New Testament: '[T]his I aver is my purpose, irrespective of all human authority, to aim at being a New Testament Christian [...] and then, in reference to war and bloodshed, leave all *consequences* with God.'[49]

A final example of such a debate was the one which took place in the *General Baptist Magazine* during the first half of 1856. In January the magazine carried an article addressing the question: 'Is war right or wrong?'[50] This provoked various responses, with one correspondent stressing the duty of all Christians seriously to consider this question.[51] In common with the *Inquirer*'s editor, the editor of the *General Baptist Magazine* assumed the adjudicator's role, proclaiming shortly after the end of the debate. Yet this editor went a step further by taking stock of readers' arguments, and offering a final verdict:

> While every [C]hristian must look upon war as an immense evil [...] there are many [...] who are convinced that under some circumstances it is both lawful and necessary to appeal to arms. Self-defence is a law of our nature, and protection against the aggressor [...] one of the prime purposes of all governments.—ED.[52]

Victorians were thus drawn into an intense discussion on war, its morality, and its place in the life of an avowedly Christian nation. Serious debate was widely encouraged, with readers and editors creating vibrant and discursively connected 'public spheres' addressing a common problem. To a large extent, debates in correspondence columns reflected discussions in public meetings.

A crucial idea that emerges from the religious press is that fighting a just war could call forth virtues capable of revivifying national life and values corroded by effeminacy and selfish materialism—seemingly engendered by a prolonged period of peace. This idea appealed to

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[48] [P. J. Wright], 'Reply to Mr. Shuttleworth', *MNCM*, XXIII (July 1855), p. 371.
[49] [W. Shuttleworth], 'The War Spirit, A Closing Rejoinder to the Rev. P. J. Wright's "Reply." ', *MNCM*, XXIII (August, 1855), pp. 423.
[50] [J. H.], 'War, is it Right or is it Wrong?', *GBM*, 3/25 (London and Leicester, 1856), pp. 34-5.
[51] [Civis], 'On War', *GBM*, 3/26 (London and Leicester, 1856), p. 75.
[52] [John Liggins], 'On War', *GBM*, 3/30 (London and Leicester, 1856), p. 228.

several clerical and lay intellectuals. At its core, it was part of a reaction against the supposedly harmful principles of the Manchester School and its obsession with non-intervention, free trade, economy, and, to borrow Jonathan Parry's words, an 'insular commercial materialism, which cared too little for higher political and social objectives.'[53] This reaction was linked to the patriotic rhetoric of the 1850s challenging Bright and Cobden, who emblematized a materialistic and money-grubbing doctrine which damaged national values and stood against Britain's moral duties as a global power.[54] Tennyson's poem *Maud* (1855), to which we shall return in the final chapter, encapsulated this idea in its apparent suggestion that war could regenerate the nation by purging its Mammonism, selfishness, and materialism.[55] Liberal Anglican clerics such as Charles Kingsley and F. D. Maurice expressed similar views.[56] In a lecture at Cambridge around a decade later, Maurice would challenge H. T. Buckle's idea that war and civilization were inversely correlated, arguing instead that war could be 'the only means of reforming [social morality]' damaged by the progress of civilization.[57]

Between 1854 and 1856 Kingsley was preoccupied with the place of warfare in human life and history. In the preface to his published lectures of 1854 on the physical and metaphysical schools of Alexandria, delivered at Edinburgh's Philosophical Institution, he adverted to the ongoing war in the East. The war was not irrelevant to the philosophical subject of his lectures because 'the future political horoscope of the East', as he put it, 'depend[ed] entirely on the present spiritual state of its inhabitants, and of us who have (and rightly) taken up their cause'. Here Kingsley pronounced the nobility of fighting and dying for one's own country, and for 'the freedom and national life of half the world.'[58] '[W]ar', he later wrote in a review of J. A.

[53] Parry, *Politics of Patriotism*, p. 392.
[54] Idem, 'Patriotism', in Craig and Thompson, *Languages of Politics*, p. 78.
[55] See Chapter Six, pp. 244-57.
[56] Parry, *Politics of Patriotism*, pp. 218-19.
[57] F. D. Maurice, *Social Morality. Twenty-One Lectures Delivered in the University of Cambridge* (London and Cambridge, 1869), pp. 204-5.
[58] Charles Kingsley, *Alexandria and her Schools. Four Lectures Delivered at the Philosophical Institution, Edinburgh* (Cambridge, 1854), pp. xiv, xxiv.

Froude's *History of England*, 'in some shape or other, is the normal condition of the world.'[59] Kingsley would unpack these ideas in his novel *Two Years Ago* (1857):

> Art? What if the most necessary human art, next to the art of agriculture, be, after all, the art of war? It has been so in all ages. What if I have been befooled—what if all the Anglo-Saxon world has been befooled, by forty years of peace? We have forgotten that the history of the world has been as yet written in blood; that the story of the human race is the story of its heroes and martyrs—the slayers and the slain.[60]

It was war rather than peace, Kingsley suggested, that framed the unfolding historical drama of human life, providing it with an invigorating moral purpose. In his eyes, the Crimean War marked a necessary break in the forty-year period of peace which had seemingly produced more harm than good. In common with Kingsley, the novelist Thomas Hughes commented on the centrality of fighting in human life. The following extract from his immensely popular *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, which also attacks the Quaker doctrine of non-resistance, is revealing:

> After all, what would life be without fighting, I should like to know? From the cradle to the grave, fighting, rightly understood, is the business, the real, highest, honested business of every son of man [...]. It is no good for Quakers, or any other body of men, to uplift their voices against fighting. Human nature is too strong for them, and they don't follow their own precepts.[61]

The motif of war as an inherent part of human life providing rejuvenating moral benefits must be probed further. We must consider, in particular, important yet overlooked commentaries by leading Nonconformists published in religious periodicals. One Nonconformist who demands attention is Dr Robert Vaughan, the prominent Congregationalist divine who held the Chair of Modern History at University College, London for a decade, and who was president and professor of Theology at Lancashire Independent College.[62] The other is James Martineau, the Unitarian divine and professor of Moral Philosophy at Manchester

[59] [Idem], 'Froude's *History of England*', *NBR*, 26/51 (1856), p. 104.
[60] Idem, *Two Years Ago* (3 vols, Cambridge, 1857), iii, p. 143.
[61] Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, ed. Andrew Sanders (Oxford, 1989; repr. 2008), pp. 282-3 (first published 1857).
[62] [Anon.], *Robert Vaughan, D.D.: A Memorial* (London, 1869), pp. 9-10.

New College, once extolled by Gladstone as "first among living English Thinkers".[63] Both Nonconformist leaders alighted on similar ideas to those of Kingsley, Maurice, and Hughes.

In October 1855, the 'impressively learned and cultured' Congregational *British Quarterly Review* edited by Vaughan,[64] carried an anonymous article entitled 'War Policy of Great Britain' offering a sustained analysis of the theory that war nurtures national morality and cultivates virtue. This article's publication in the *British Quarterly Review* might at first seem surprising, since Vaughan had been an outspoken pacifist and member of the Peace Society's London committee. Vaughan's editorial comment in the footnotes commended the article's 'great substance and drift' as 'sound, timely, and ably presented'. This suggested that he repudiated his earlier pacifist convictions. The article's argument was that war was bound up with moral and intellectual progress, as well as with national vigour and greatness. People, it declared, conventionally regarded war as one of the principal evils plaguing humankind, but if war were entirely uprooted from life, '[o]ne of the chief conditions upon which the vitality of history depends would disappear with it, and the existence of man, even in a barbarous state, would be jeopardized, and in a civilized state, impossible.' A state of peace produces luxury which, in turn, exerts deleterious and enervating effects on people, incapacitating them 'of any great effort'. This accordingly puts the arts into danger; 'the highest virtues must droop and pine away, from the absence of the storms necessary to purge the moral atmosphere'; and 'refined populations' decline. History afforded plenty of lessons about the effeminacy and degeneracy accompanying a state of peace. 'The moment in which Augustus inaugurated the empire of peace [...] the vigorous spirit of Rome underwent that decline which ended in the irruptions of Genseric and Attila.' In formulating its argument, the article attacked Bright who

[63] Quoted in Ralph Waller, 'The Philosophy of James Martineau', in W. J. Mander (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 2014), p. 487.
[64] Timothy Larsen, 'Congregationalists', in idem and Michael Ledger-Lomas (eds), *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions, Vol. III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 2017), p. 50.

had previously argued that the world would not become civilized until nations 'buried the hatchet'.[65] If the hatchet were buried, the article retorted, 'civilization would not be worth a century's purchase.'[66]

The article thus intervened in the wider 'war' of words and ideas. However, it added a qualification to its argument. It was 'a just and well-directed war', it specified, which 'ha[d] its function in ennobling humanity and infusing new vigour and life into nations'. Conversely, 'a war undertaken without any legitimate object, and conducted with recklessness, [was] a wanton outrage on civilization, and shatter[ed] the strength of the country that engage[d] in it.'[67] Martin Ceadel has failed to note the article's repudiation of unjust wars, which is why his comment that this was 'an overtly militarist' article is misleading.[68] Another theme that the article explored was Britain's moral duties on the international stage. Her own interests, it suggested, were bound up with the interests of the rest of the world. Britons had a duty 'to protect the weak against the tyranny of the strong', and never to allow 'national fraud to prevail where [they] have the power to prevent it, without betraying the high trust confided to [their country] as the arbitress of justice and [to themselves as] the pioneers of civilization.'[69]

In January 1856, the *British Quarterly Review* carried a similar article entitled 'The War—its Ethics and its Object', whose author was Robert Vaughan. After arguing that 'nations have almost uniformly perished from the influence of the comfort-loving, pleasure-loving, and effeminate selfishness incident to a high state of civilization', Vaughan declared that 'the results of war, when waged in the cause of right, have generally been to give strength and greatness to nations, by rendering them capable of deeds of generosity, self-sacrifice, and nobleness.' If people fought for justice, right, and humanity, why could they not 'become

[65] On Bright's views, see Chapter Five.
[66] [Anon.], 'War Policy of Great Britain', *BQR*, 44 (Oct. 1855), pp. 499-500.
[67] Ibid., p. 502.
[68] Ceadel, *Semi-Detached Idealists*, p. 39.
[69] 'War Policy', *BQR*, p. 505.

themselves more earnestly just, more thoroughly humane, even by means of war?', asked Vaughan. In his eyes, it was axiomatic that people would develop morally and intellectually, if they ever fought such a conflict. War could thus become "a *positive* good", an idea Vaughan borrowed from Thomas De Quincey's essay of 1848 entitled 'On War' and reprinted in 1854.[70] Treading the path De Quincey had paved, Vaughan concluded that war had a 'divine mission [...] in the present condition of our world'.[71]

The argument that peace led to enervation, indolence, Mammonism, selfishness, and luxury was challenged by the Peace Society's *Herald of Peace*.[72] '[T]o suppose that such a population is now, or is likely to become, so emasculated and nerveless as to need to be indurated by the brutal violence of war, is one of the most absurd and fantastic dreams that ever troubled the mind of a dyspeptic philosopher.'[73] In November 1855, the *Herald* offered a scathing review of the first of the two articles of the *British Quarterly Review*.[74] When he learned about the *Herald*'s attack, Vaughan denounced its 'rose scented gentlemen' and accused them of 'fanaticism'.[75] The *Herald* then turned its guns to the second *British Quarterly Review* article. Uncovering a passage from a book Vaughan had written years before, as well as a pacifist speech he had delivered at the Peace Society's annual meeting in 1827, it defiantly flung them at his face.[76]

Ideas about war's invigorating moral benefits also underlay the writings of James Martineau. Though his religious and political thought suggests a close engagement with questions of war and peace, historians have given it scant attention.[77] In his now forgotten sermon of 1855

[70] [Robert Vaughan], 'The War—its Ethics and its Object', *BQR*, 23/45 (Jan. 1856), pp. 219-22.
[71] Ibid., p. 223.
[72] On the *Herald of Peace*, see Chapter 3.
[73] [Anon.], 'Pleas for War Examined', *HP*, III/LVI (Feb. 1855), p. 165.
[74] [Anon.], 'The Blessings of War', *HP*, III/LXV (Nov. 1855), p. 268.
[75] [Robert Vaughan], [Editorial comment], *BQR*, 23/45 (Jan. 1856), p. 296.
[76] [Anon.], 'The "British Quarterly" on War', *HP*, III/LXVIII (Feb. 1856), pp. 20-1.
[77] Two works dealing with this subject in passing are: James Drummond and C. B. Upton, *The Life and Letters of James Martineau* (2 vols, New York, NY, 1902), i, pp. 270-3; J. Estlin Carpenter, *James Martineau Theologian and Teacher: A Study of his Life and Thought* (London, 1905), pp. 354-6.

entitled 'Right of War', Martineau posited ideas similar to those of Vaughan. Starting from the premise that Christian forgiveness 'does not enable us to pardon *moral guilt*, but only *personal affront*', Martineau averred that nations could fight wars to protect themselves and others. 'The justifying plea of war is not personal danger, but moral equity; which indeed gives the title to protect yourself, but also imposes the duty of protecting others.'[78] There was no doubt, he argued, that war was a great evil; yet the evils of war 'are *not* such as to justify us in preferring, when we can prevent, the triumph of wrong.' Martineau denounced selfish nations disregarding their moral duties. A nation, he believed, 'can preserve no enduring nobleness if [...] amid the ferment of humanity it cares for nothing but its securities and gains.' It is the sympathy between nations, as he eloquently put it, 'that touches the world with moral nobleness, and turns history from a statistic almanac or a volume of price-currents into the Epic of humanity,—nay, the very biography of God.'[79]

The major themes of Martineau's sermon were explored in his article 'International Duties, and the Present Crisis' published in the first issue of the Unitarian *National Review*, co-edited by R. H. Hutton and Walter Bagehot. Individuals and states, Martineau wrote, bore the same moral duties. Accordingly, none '[could] worthily live upon *self-culture*, or even continue it with freshness and success, where no generous sympathies and sacrifices break the narrow shell.' National character would assuredly decay if 'driven in upon itself, and external sympathies find no active expression.' But 'in foreign matters, where right and wrong contest the empire of mankind', a nation could have 'common action', exercise 'magnanimity', and make 'historic efforts'.[80]

The idea that a just war, as an inherently moral undertaking giving expression to generosity, selflessness, and nobleness, could sustain a nation's vitality, uphold its moral worthiness, and

[78] James Martineau, *National Duties and Other Sermons and Addresses*, ed. G. Martineau and E. Martineau (London, 1903), pp. 74, 78.
[79] Ibid., pp. 79-82.
[80] [James Martineau], 'International Duties, and the Present Crisis', *NR*, 1/1 (July 1855), p. 218-9.

catapult it to greatness, thus permeated Vaughan's and Martineau's thought. That fighting such a war would foster national virtues seemed to have been confirmed in Britain's conflict with Russia. In a speech to a Patriotic Fund meeting in Birmingham, the Congregationalist divine R. W. Dale claimed that the ongoing war which was fought for 'justice, mercy, and truth [...] was bringing out in its progress some of the most heroic and Christian virtues—not only superb valour, but the patient fortitude of [their] troops, and the beneficent devotion of Miss Nightingale and her fellow-workers.'[81] Eulogising the contribution of women in the war effort, the high churchman Adam Sedgwick, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, also pointed to the purifying aspects of war. 'Tempests purge the air; and war and pestilence (horrible evils in themselves) call forth healthy feelings, and nourish virtues which would die for want of exercise without them.'[82] Even some clerics who were more ambivalent about the war, agreed. Keble shared Pusey's hatred of the war, but he later confessed in private his astonishment at the 'heroism it [was] calling out in all quarters'.[83] The idea of war as a generator of virtues and morality capable of revivifying national life thus found a cross-denominational consensus.

No one perhaps captured the impact of this idea on Victorian intellect more succinctly than historian J. A. Froude. Reflecting on the Crimean War one year after its conclusion, Froude wrote that amongst its advocates

> there were the philosophers who were weary of peace, who believed that the ancient English virtues were stagnating, who saw in war (so that it was just, or could be imagined to be just) a grand spirit of moral regeneration, an electric power which would turn "the snub-nosed rogue" behind the counter into a hero, and "his cheating yard wand" into a champion's sword.[84]

[81] A. W. W. Dale, *The Life of R. W. Dale of Birmingham* (London, 1898), p. 130.
[82] John Willis Clark and Thomas McKenny Hughes, *The Life and Letters of the Reverend Adam Sedgwick* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1890), ii, pp. 297-8.
[83] Oxford, PHL, Liddon Bound Volumes 51. J. Keble Vol. II. 1851-1866: Letter from J. Keble to E. B. Pusey (16 Mar. 1854), 65; 1/2 MS Book, Letters of the Revd J. Keble, C: Letter to [George?] Moberly (27 Nov. 1854), fo. 43r. See also Chapter 1, pp. 54-5.
[84] [J. A. Froude], 'The Four Empires', *WR*, 68/134 (Oct. 1857), p. 417. Froude borrowed these quotations from Tennyson's *Maud*: see Chapter Six, p. 248. On Froude's views on war and peace more generally, see p. 306 in the Conclusion.

In fighting what many professed to be a just war, the so-called nation of shopkeepers seemed to reach higher and nobler objectives compared to those gained 'behind the counter'. But did the Crimean War actually effect such a moral regeneration in the end? Looking enquiringly around him, Froude concluded that advocates of this theory must have been disappointed: '[t]hat which was crooked is crooked still; and that which was righteous is righteous still.'[85]

FIGHTING THE WAR 'RIGHTEOUSLY AND MERCIFULLY'

In their religious apologies for war, a number of clerical commentators addressed the question of how soldiers are supposed to fight. Ideas about the 'just' conduct of war which broadly correspond to what is today known as *jus in bello*, including the protection of non-combatants, the avoidance of cruelty and wanton violence, adherence to the 'laws of war', and the 'Christian' disposition of soldiers, were central in Victorian religious thought. Some clerics anxiously sought to impart an ethical standard and a Christian ethos to the war's conduct. A case in point was Charles Kingsley. The theme of fighting and killing 'with right feeling' was at the heart of his popular tract 'Brave Words to Brave Soldiers and Sailors', as well as his novel *Westward Ho!*, both of which were published in 1855—the former anonymously—and sent to servicemen in the East.[86] Kingsley was a fervent supporter of the war. He was also a firm believer in its justice.[87] In common with most Victorians, Kingsley found the widely reported suffering of servicemen deeply troubling. Wanting to alleviate their misery, he wrote 'Brave Words' which he finished in a day. Thousands of copies were circulated to the troops, 'and the stirring words touched many a noble soul', as his wife, Frances Eliza Kingsley, would later attest.[88] The tract, according to Louise Lee, 'functioned as a battlefield address *in*

[85] [Froude], 'Four Empires', p. 420.
[86] Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling*, pp. 72-4.
[87] Charles Kingsley, *Sermons for the Times* (London, 1855), p. 195.
[88] Idem, *Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of his Life*, ed. Frances Eliza Kingsley, 8th edn (2 vols, London, 1880), i, pp. 333-4.

absentia', and it was because of the interconnectedness of home front and battlefront effected by the media that the Hampshire-based Kingsley could speak to servicemen three thousand miles away 'almost in real-time'.'[89]

To the 'brave men' Kingsley wrote that the whole nation was on their side, and that they had 'a Friend in heaven'.[90] At one point, he imagined them thirsting to get answers to complex questions: was the blessing of God on their fighting and killing? Were they doing 'God's work'? Was God on their side? Kingsley answered these questions affirmatively, adding in a theologically contentious statement that would have incensed pacifists, that Jesus was not only the '*Prince of Peace*', but also the '*Prince of War*', and that 'whosoever fights in a just war, against tyrants and oppressors, he is fighting on Christ's side, and Christ is fighting on his side'. The Bible, Kingsley assured them, abounded with examples of God blessing those fighting 'in a just cause'. However, Kingsley warned servicemen that those who commit such things as 'ravishing the women, and ill-treating unarmed men' '*ought to be hanged*'. So he advised servicemen to '[f]ight the enemy in God's name—and strike home; but never have on your conscience the thought that you struck *an unnecessary blow*. *You are to kill for the sake of victory, but never to kill for the sake of killing*.' In short, Kingsley sought to sow into their minds the idea that Jesus expected them to fight 'righteously and mercifully'.[91]

The thrust of Kingsley's message was carried forward in *Westward Ho!*, dedicated to his prototypes of godliness and masculinity: Rajah Sir James Brooke and George Augustus Selwyn. The historical novel, which gave credence to the ideas and ideals of the movement that would soon become known as 'muscular Christianity', was set in the Elizabethan past.[92]

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[89] Louise Lee, 'Deity in Dispatches: The Crimean Beginnings of Muscular Christianity', in Mark Knight and Louise Lee (eds), *Religion, Literature and the Imagination: Sacred Worlds* (London and New York, NY, 2009), p. 70.
[90] [Charles Kingsley], 'Brave Words for Brave Soldiers and Sailors' [1855], in his *True Words for Brave Men*, ed. F. E. Kingsley (London, 1878), pp.[199]-202.
[91] Ibid, pp. 204-9 (Kingsley's emphasis).
[92] See Donald E. Hall, 'Muscular Christianity: Reading and Writing the Male Social Body', in idem (ed.), *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 7-8.

But the novel's historical parallels with the present would not have gone unnoticed by readers: 'Byzantine empires, Spanish Armadas, triple-crowned Papacies, Russian Despotisms, this is the way of them, and will be to the end of the world.'[93] The hero of the novel was the Elizabethan adventurer Amyas Leigh, an exemplar of Kingsleyan manliness. Amyas is consumed by vengeful feelings for the Spaniard Don Guzman, and is ultimately blinded after being struck by lightning; this, Amyas interprets as a divine punishment. The novel, notorious for its anti-Catholicism, chauvinism, militarism, and obsession with manliness, also demonstrates in the figure of Amyas what Holly Furneaux has called 'the complexity of judging what counts as a just war, and of deciding when pain can rightly be caused to others.'[94] In chastising his hero, Kingsley thus taught a crucial lesson about the conduct of war.[95] It was this lesson, combined with the advice of the tract, that he expected British servicemen to follow.

Protestant dissenters were not far from Kingsley in this regard. In 1855 the Hon. and Revd B. W. Noel, brother of the Earl of Gainsborough and an esteemed Baptist minister who had seceded in 1848 from the Church of England, published a tract entitled *Thoughts on the War* seeking to vindicate the lawfulness of just war.[96] Noel believed that a nation fighting a just war could turn to God and ask for His help. Yet he also cautioned that in order do that, war must be waged in 'a right spirit'. 'However just may be the objects for which we contend, if we pursue them in a spirit of hatred or cruelty, we cannot look for His blessing.' 'Christian soldiers', he specified, should 'take no life in malice or rage, spare the unarmed and wounded, respect women, treat prisoners with kindness, love their enemies, do good to them that hate them, and pray for those whom their duty compels them to resist in battle.' Those in positions

[93] Charles Kingsley, *Westward Ho!*, 2nd edn (3 vols, Cambridge, 1855), iii, p. 334.
[94] Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling*, pp. 74-6.
[95] Ibid., pp. 73, 85.
[96] D. W. Bebbington, 'The Life of Baptist Noel: Its Setting and Significance', *BQ*, 24/8 (1972), p. 389.

of political and military power, Noel suggested, had a duty 'to bring both the army and navy to the exercise of these Christian morals.'[97]

Such moral instruction was, in fact, offered by chaplains. As Michael Snape has explained, chaplains during the Second World War 'were anxious to ensure that the rhetoric of hate was avoided and that the principles of just war were applied.'[98] The same held true during the Crimean War, which would lead to the introduction of a larger number of commissioned army chaplains.[99] In the recollections of Henry P. Wright, principal chaplain to the forces in the Crimea, a letter from Mr. Egan, chaplain of the Light Division, described a revealing episode during a divine service. Besides exhorting his audience 'to deeds of valour', Egan felt that it was his duty 'to inculcate tenderness and moderation in victory.' He thus told congregated men that 'Russians conquered and defenceless must be treated as friends and neighbours', and that war 'must be carried on now upon Christian principles, and all licentiousness and unnecessary plundering from the innocent inhabitants of the country must be avoided.'[100] It is hard to establish what practical effect these ethical lessons had. Nonetheless, it seems clear that chaplains sought to reconcile the conduct of war with the precepts of Christianity—however problematic this might have been. That servicemen ought to avoid wanton violence and needless bloodshed, and to eschew feelings of hatred, malice, wrath, and revenge, were also motifs in prayers published in Britain, including prayers for use in private or family worship.[101]

If we consider the French and Russian contexts, it becomes clear that such ideas were not unique to British religious thought. Shortly after the war's outbreak, the Archbishop of Paris, Marie-Dominique Auguste, in a mandate to the clergy and faithful of his diocese, expressed

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[97] Baptist Wriothesley Noel, *Thoughts on the War* (London, 1855), pp. 23-4.
[98] Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London and New York, NY, 2005), p. [187].
[99] Idem, *The Redcoat and Religion: The Forgotten History of the British Soldier from the Age of Marlborough to the Eve of the First World War* (London, 2005), p. 116.
[100] H. P. Wright, *Recollections of a Crimean Chaplain* (London, 1857), pp. 30-1.
[101] [Anon.], *Prayers to be Used During the Present War, by Private Persons, or in Family Worship* (London, [1855]); [Samuel Wilberforce], *Prayers to be Used During our Present Troubles* (Oxford and London, 1854), p. 7.

the hope that French soldiers conduct themselves with justice and humanity by not shedding blood needlessly, by sparing the defenceless, and by showing respect to women, children, and the elderly.[102] Traces of this theme are also found in a sermon by the renowned Russian Archbishop Innokentii. Preaching in early October 1854 on the Odessa Cathedral Square, Innokentii told the 'Christ-loving and Victorious Soldiers' of the eleventh division of the fourth infantry preparing to depart for the Crimea, that 'if [they] wage war as befits lovers of Christ' by showing 'gentleness to the peaceful inhabitants, and [...] magnanimity towards the vanquished', God would be on their side.[103]

Things were more complex than what prelates and clergymen wished them to be. All sides fighting the war used irregular forces—the Ottomans, *bashi-bozouks*; the French, Zouaves from Northern Africa; the British, forces from the empire; and the Russians, Cossacks—which 'contributed to the general looting and civilian-directed violence in all fronts of the war.'[104] In the British context, as we will see in the next chapter, peace advocates publicised purported cases of violence to subvert what they deemed to be the incongruous image of the 'Christian soldier' fighting a just war in a supposedly 'just' and Christian manner.

CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS[105]

This notion of the 'Christian soldier' which appeared frequently in religious print media is worth unpacking further. The growth of 'Christian militarism' in mid-Victorian Britain has been brilliantly captured by Olive Anderson in her seminal article of 1971.[106] More recent

[102] Marie-Dominique-Auguste, 'Mandement de Mgr L' Archevêque de Paris', *L'Ami de la Religion* [Paris], 164/5665 (Samedi, 1 Avril 1854), p. 14. Gallica [ark:/12148/bpt6k35740z].
[103] Mara Kozelsky, 'Sermons of the Crimean War', in H. J. Coleman (ed.), *Orthodox Christianity in Imperial Russia: A Sourcebook on Lived Religion* (Bloomington, IN, 2014), pp. 76-7.
[104] Kozelsky, *Crimea*, p. 65.
[105] This section has partly served as the basis for my article 'Soldiership, Christianity, and the Crimean War'.
[106] Olive Anderson, 'The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain', *EHR*, 86/338 (1971), pp. 46-72.

research has uncovered traces of 'Christian militarism' prior to the Crimean War.[107] It is also well-known that the development of the religious life of the British army predated the Crimean War.[108] Anderson's work, however, continues to provide a compelling explanation of how this conflict led to the consolidation and propagation of the idea that the military profession was not bereft of Christian piety and morality. John Wolffe has reaffirmed this argument in stating that the Crimean War was a 'turning point in the relationship between the churches, the army and warfare', with the widespread view about the army as a crucible of loose morals and, in the words of the Duke of Wellington, the "scum of the earth", receding behind an increasingly popular conceptual synthesis of Christianity, soldiering, and war which placed emphasis on their compatibility, rather than their hitherto assumed divergences.[109]

If the Crimean War led to the crystallisation of the idea of the 'Christian soldier' in Victorian religious consciousness, the Indian Mutiny of 1857 would give it an added sheen through the figure of Major-General Sir Henry Havelock and the 'hagiographical' works published after his death in the relief of Lucknow, which cast him as a paragon of self-sacrifice and piety; in short, a 'soldier-saint', whose Christian heroism would earn him a statue in Trafalgar Square next to Nelson.[110] By the mid-1860s, around the time when Sabine Baring-Gould would write what Robert Griffiths has pronounced 'the most notorious of English militant Christian hymns' entitled 'Onward Christian Soldiers'—later used in Arthur Sullivan's tune 'St Gertrude'—the term 'Christian soldiers' was becoming more established in public discourse.[111] The paradigm of the 'Christian soldier' later continued in the figure of General Charles George Gordon,

[107] Gareth Atkins, 'Christian Heroes, Providence, and Patriotism in Wartime Britain', 1793-1815', *HJ*, 58/2 (2015), [doi: 10.1017/S0018246X14000338], pp. 393-414.
[108] Kenneth E. Hendrickson, *Making Saints: Religion and the Public Image of the British Army, 1809-1885* (Madison, NJ, and London, 1998); Snape, *Redcoat and Religion*.
[109] Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain*, p. 225.
[110] Anderson, 'Growth of Christian Militarism', pp. 49-52; Anne Summers, 'Militarism in Britain before the Great War', *HW*, 2 (1976), pp. 117-8.
[111] Robert Griffiths, ' "Fight the Good Fight!" War and Peace in British Hymnology', in *Religious Writings and War. Texts Collected by Gilles Teulié. Les Discours Religieux et la Guerre / Textes Réunis par Gilles Teulié* (Montpellier, 2006), pp. 156-7; Anderson, 'Growth of Christian Militarism', p. 60.

whose death in 1885 in Khartoum "ha[d] pierced the heart of a nation, as if he had been personally known to every one of us", as Benjamin Jowett put it.[112] The idea that soldiers could be pious Christians thus acquired widespread cultural significance during the mid- and late-Victorian period. This development undoubtedly influenced the 'process of semi-militarization' that British churches went through during the late nineteenth century.[113]

What historians have failed to recognise is that contemporaries' engagement with the paradigm of the 'Christian soldier' during the Crimean War was invariably framed within the debate involving peace advocates, especially pacifists, who contested the argument that war and soldiering were compatible with Christianity, and their critics. According to Norman Vance, during the mid-nineteenth century clerics deployed examples of model soldiers who 'helped to give an attractively literal significance to the language of Christian warfare and the Church Militant.'[114] Though tenable, Vance's argument is divorced from the wider 'war' of words and ideas which this section illuminates.

It was the Crimean War, more than any other military event in the history of Victorian Britain, that decisively changed the attitude of the religious public towards the army. The war, as Anderson has put it, marked the first occasion in which 'troops were hailed as "the people's army", and idealized notions of what they were fighting for, together with unparalleled public identification with their hardships before Sebastopol, combined to give them an immense emotional appeal.'[115] E. M. Spiers, who has described the Crimean War as 'a watershed in the relations between the army and society', concurs.[116] During the war, the public became greatly concerned about the army's welfare. Seeking to lessen its suffering, people provided both

[112] Quoted in Stewart J. Brown, 'The Martyr of Khartoum: General Gordon, the Mahdi and Christian Britain', in *Religious Writings and War*, p. 248.
[113] Mark A. Smith, 'Religion', in Chris Williams (ed.), *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Malden, MA, 2004), p. 349.
[114] Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 27.
[115] Anderson, 'Growth of Christian Militarism', p. 46.
[116] E. M. Spiers, *The Army and Society 1815-1914* (London, 1980), pp. 97, 103.

material and spiritual support in the form of chaplains and Bibles.[117] Servicemen reportedly received copies of the Bible with eagerness and gratefulness, causing satisfaction to those who distributed them, and to the public on the home front.[118] To the contentment of chaplains writing from Constantinople's Scutari hospital, servicemen readily awaited to hear the message of the gospel.[119] This sharpened the notion that piety was to be found in the army after all.

Evangelical Anglicans seeking to prove that Christian morals were compatible with military valour, zealously disseminated through sermons, lectures, and other print media examples of religious piety found in letters of soldiers and non-commissioned officers, carried in the national press. John Cumming, the popular evangelical clergyman in the Church of Scotland, concluded that '[t]here is evidence irresistible that religious hearts can beat under red coats, that there is a church in the camp as real [...] as in many a cathedral.'[120] Such letters later found their way into a book published by the Religious Tract Society entitled *Religion in the Ranks*. This epistolary production let readers into 'the inner minds' of faithful soldiers, disclosing an image of the army as 'a field in which a rich harvest, with proper culture, may be reaped to the glory of God's grace.'[121] However, H. P. Wright, principal chaplain to the forces, confided in private a more mixed message. The religious public, he explained, might have been 'lovers of touching announcements of miraculous conversions', entertaining 'the most unreasonable expectations as to the influence of spiritual instruction upon soldiers in the field', but in reality war 'hardened' servicemen. Nonetheless, Wright conceded that 'many a British soldier who shall be spared to end his days in his native village will tell with joy and thankfulness of those [chaplains] who mid the horror and suffering of war taught them of the Saviour and Eternity.'[122]

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[117] Anderson, 'Growth of Christian Militarism', pp. 46-7.
[118] Soldiers Friend & Army Scripture Readers' Society, *Report of Mr. Mathieson's Labours at the East* (London, [1855]), pp. [1]-4; [Anon.], *The Shout of the Camp and the Song of the Nation* (London, 1856), p. 11.
[119] [Anon.], 'Scutari and the Crimea', *CCC*, III (Feb. 1855), p. 306.
[120] Cumming, *Word in Season*, pp. 55-6.
[121] G. R. Gleig, *Religion in the Ranks; or, Letters from Soldiers in the British Army* (London, [1856]), pp. 4, [7].
[122] London, NAM, 1974-05-84: Letter from H. P. Wright to the Revd Ernest Hawkins (Oct. 1855).

During the Crimean War, religious themes were also at the heart of popular tales.[123] Manuals of prayer drew parallels between the suffering of wounded soldiers and the suffering Jesus, whilst pocket companions for servicemen encouraged the 'earthly soldier' to be "a good soldier of Jesus Christ".[124] Commendable qualities of character reportedly shown by soldiers on the battlefield such as patience, endurance, and faith provided moral lessons for the Victorian public, with H. Montagu Villiers, evangelical canon residentiary of St Paul's, engaging his audience with the subject: 'The conduct of the soldier as an example for the Christian.'[125]

The war thus provided proof that soldiers could be good Christians. It was no coincidence that after the end of the war Victorians resolved that the most suitable monument to build in Constantinople 'to the gallant men who [had] fallen in the service of their country' was a Memorial Church.[126] In his speech at the laying of its foundation stone in October 1858, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Britain's Ambassador to Constantinople, professed that the names of those who had died in battle 'will be engraven on the walls of that sacred edifice'.[127] The fallen servicemen, whom the public increasingly saw as repositories of Christian virtue, would now be embodied by the Church itself.

The paradigm of the 'Christian soldier' was central in the debate between apologists and critics of the war. Clerics seeking to disprove the pacifist claim that war and soldiering were irreconcilable with Christianity, typically resorted to the Bible and various eminent thinkers, as we have seen. But the war also offered evidence that a good soldier could be a pious Christian, and clerics were quick to capitalize on this development. It was to this debate that Cumming intervened with his lecture 'The Church in the Army', delivered in late January 1856 at the National Schoolroom in London. 'Is war justifiable', he asked his audience, 'under any

[123] [Anon.], *The Recruit. A Tale of the Present War* (London, [1855]).
[124] [Anon.], *A Manual of Prayer for the Wounded* (London, 1854), p. 46; [J. R. Macduff], *The Soldier's Text-Book; or, Confidence in Time of War* (London, [1855]).
[125] H. Montague Villiers, *The Lessons which War Teaches. A Lecture* ([London], [1856]), p. 14.
[126] Oxford, Bod., Clarendon Papers. MS. Clar. Dep. c. 60: Memorial Church at Constantinople, fos. 129r, 130r.
[127] [Anon.], 'The Memorial Church at Constantinople', *DN*, 3891 (3 Nov. 1858), p. 5.

circumstances? Is the soldier necessarily the exponent of a sinful, criminal, and unholy profession?' If the latter were the case,

> then to expect Christian men in the midst of our battalions, or to be able to trace Christian heroes in our conflicts and in our victories, would be as unreasonable as to expect fragrant moss-roses in the stagnant ditches, or to pick up what is beautiful and fair amid the mud in the streets of London.[128]

In challenging Bright and Cobden who 'would look upon the uniform of a soldier [...] very much as they would look upon the uniform of an inmate of the hulks, of Botany Bay, or of some ordinary house of detention', Cumming stated that if war be lawful and sometimes a duty, then one could expect to find 'a Christian in a soldier, a Church in the army.'[129] To prove his point, Cumming turned not only to the Bible, but also to soldiers' letters. Similar messages were echoed in another lecture delivered four days later at Freemasons' Hall to the Church of England Young Men's Society.[130] Evangelical periodicals also challenged peace advocates. In April 1855 the *Sunday at Home* contested the views of those Christians who 'opposed [...] on conscientious principles [...] war in any form', by arguing 'that some of the most devoted and faithful Christians which the world has seen have been found among the military ranks.'[131]

One army officer, in particular, who had fought and died in the Crimea, received widespread public attention. This was the twenty-eight-year-old Captain Hedley Vicars of the 97th regiment. On 2 June 1855, the penny weekly *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper* which had by this time reached the astounding circulation of half a million copies, printed an illustration by the draughtsman and wood engraver Thomas Henry Nicholson (Fig. 2.1).[132] This illustration depicted Vicars's death in March 1855. *Cassell's* accompanying article described how during

[128] John Cumming, *'The Church in the Army.' A Lecture* (London, 1856), p. [3].
[129] Ibid., pp. 4-5.
[130] William Cadman, 'Christian Warriors', in *Lectures Delivered Before the Church of England Young Men's Society* (London, 1856), pp. 4-5.
[131] [Anon.], 'Piety upon a Throne', *SH*, 52 (26 Apr. 1855), p. 262.
[132] Thomas Smits, *The European Illustrated Press and the Emergence of a Transnational Visual Culture of the News, 1842-1870* (Abingdon and New York, NY, 2020), pp. [131], 140, 156.

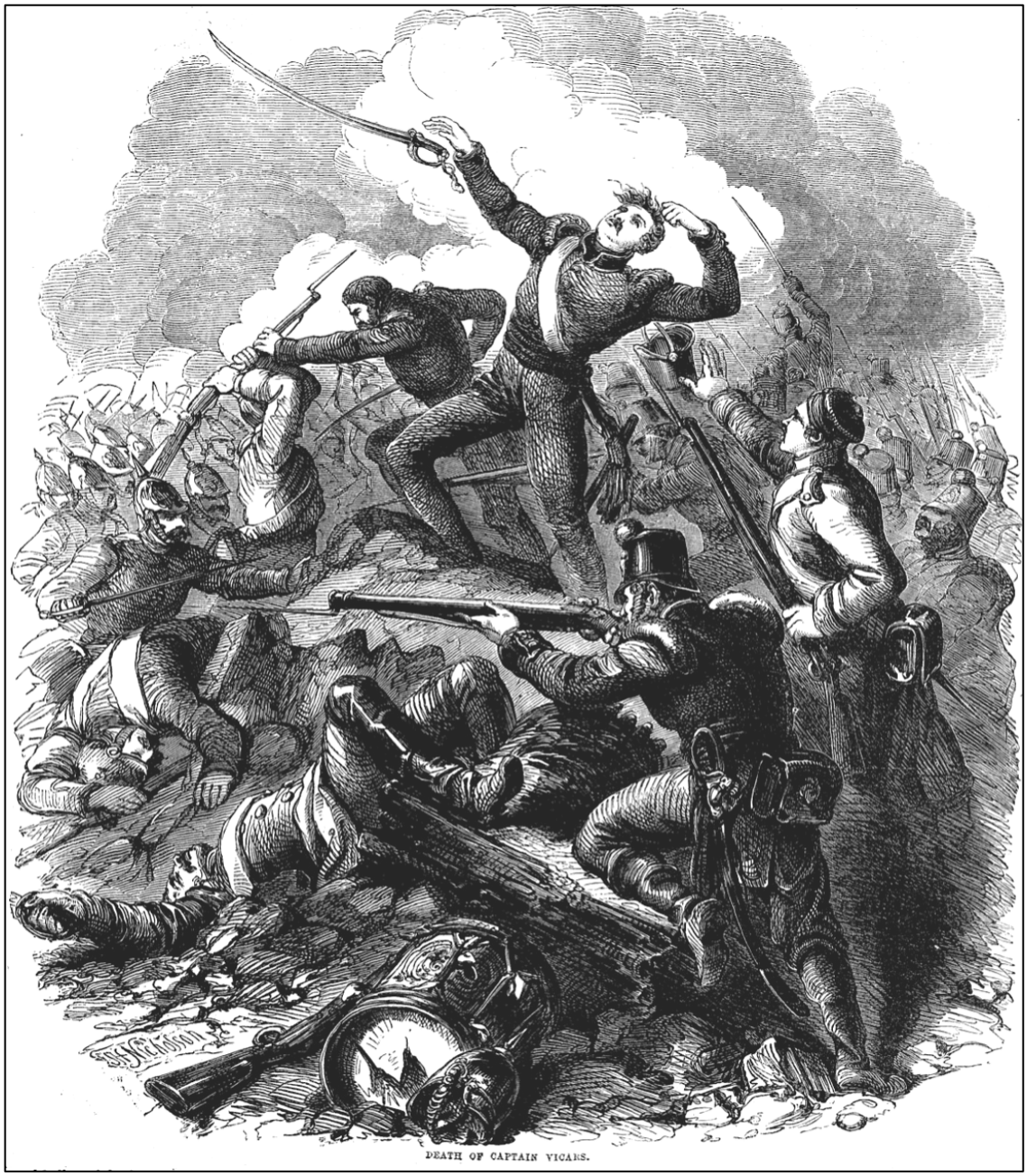


Fig. 2.1. [Thomas Henry Nicholson], 'Death of Captain Vicars', *CIFP*, II/75 (London, 1855), p. 173.

a Russian sortie, Vicars lifted up his arm 'in the act of waving his sword, while he was turning to cheer on the men, when a ball struck him in the arm-pit, and he fell.'[133] The visual representation of Vicars as the epitome of heroic militarism and manliness would not have

[133] [Anon.], 'Siege of Sebastopol.—The Bombardment', *CIFP*, II/75 (London,1855), pp. 173-4.

gone unnoticed by readers, long acquainted with Thomas Carlyle's views on heroes and heroism.[134]

The higher moral objectives exemplified by heroic lives were of great cultural value to Victorians during a time when materialism and a seemingly growing disbelief rendered 'moral inspiration a primary need'.[135] Vicars emblematized this heroic and moral ideal.[136] His religious piety also became a subject of intense public interest. The paradigm of the 'Christian soldier' is suggested in Nicholson's illustration with its allusion to Christian self-sacrifice, Vicars's crucifix-like bodily figure, his face looking towards the sky, and the interplay between shades of light and darkness drawing the viewer's eye to the dying officer, whilst bestowing on him an elevated status. It was the evangelical preacher, William Marsh, a friend of Vicars, who seems to have first disclosed the officer's devoutness in an elegiac letter of 12 April 1855 to the editor of the evangelical Anglican *The Record*. The letter portrayed Vicars as a model of Christian faith and devotion; these qualities were presented as complementary to his military conduct. The young officer, wrote Marsh, 'was permitted to die, illustrating his favourite maxim, that "A soldier of the Cross should be the best soldier of his Queen and country".'[137]

It was left to the Revd Marsh's daughter, the evangelical philanthropist Catherine Marsh, who was also a friend of Vicars, to produce a full biographical sketch of him. The *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars, Ninety-Seventh Regiment*, a hagiographical work based on Vicars's letters which presented the heroic officer as a 'Christian soldier', was published in December 1855, reaching a circulation of seventy thousand within a year.[138] Upon its publication

[134] Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, & the Heroic in History* (London, 1841).
[135] Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1957), p. 316.
[136] The public interest towards acts of martial valour would lead to the foundation of the Victoria Cross in 1856, awarded to rank-and-file soldiers and officers. See M. C. Smith, *Awarded for Valour: A History of the Victoria Cross and the Evolution of British Heroism* (Basingstoke, 2008).
[137] W[illia]m Marsh, 'The Late Captain Vicars', *The Record*, 2919 (12 Apr. 1855), p. [2].
[138] Trev Broughton, 'The Life and Afterlives of Captain Hedley Vicars: Evangelical Biography and the Crimean War', *19: ISLNC*, 20 (2015), [doi: 10.16995/ntn.710], pp. 5, 16.

Catherine Marsh received encouraging letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Charles Kingsley, and Alfred, Lord Tennyson.[139]

Marsh construed Vicars's life according to 'the evangelical pattern of heroism, containing sin, awakening, conversion and martyrdom.'[140] She depicted him as a sinful young man who in 1851, eight years after receiving his commission, underwent a conversion. Until the heroic end of his life in the trenches before Sebastopol on the night of 22 March 1855, a day after the second day of humiliation which he himself had observed, he demonstrated commendable military conduct and an exemplary form of practical Christianity. 'There are wounded men, who have souls to be saved', he said, 'and dying men to be told to "look to Jesus:" not to speak of the comfort to a poor soldier of having a "friend in need".'[141] Marsh's *Memorials* was propagandistic in the sense that it sought to inspire the 'manly hearts' of young Britons 'to emulate the noble example of a CHRISTIAN SOLDIER.'[142] Despite being a late arrival in the war, the *Memorials* both reflected and contributed to the process of cultural renegotiation of the image of the British soldier, whose military prowess and heroic qualities the public had previously deemed to be inversely correlated to religious piety.

This young, manly, Christian hero powerfully appealed to the religious public's sympathies. Periodicals across the Protestant denominational spectrum commented favourably on his devoutness. They also provided summaries and reprinted extracts from the *Memorials*, thereby giving Marsh's work a wider circulation.[143] Vicars's piety and martial valour served not only to reinforce the notion that a good soldier could be a devout Christian, but also to affirm the lawfulness of soldiering and war for Christians. In a letter of November 1854 written from Piraeus shortly after his regiment was ordered to the Crimea, Vicars also expressed his

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[139] L. E. O'Rorke, *The Life and Friendships of Catherine Marsh* (London and New York, NY, 1917), pp. 122-3.
[140] J. R. Watson, 'Soldiers and Saints: The Fighting Man and the Christian Life', in Andrew Bradstock et al. (eds), *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture* (Basingstoke, 2000), p. 20.
[141] [Catherine Marsh], *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars, Ninety-Seventh Regiment* (London, 1856), p. 189.
[142] Ibid., p. xi.
[143] E.g., [Anon.], 'Captain Hedley Vicars', *SH*, 102 (10 Apr. 1856), pp. 236-8.

conviction in the justness of the war. 'There cannot be a doubt that it is a just war we are engaged in; and therefore I say [...] the sooner we are "let loose" the better.'[144] Vicars condemned Nicholas I for his aggression on Turkey 'which had given him no just cause of provocation'.[145] His comments concerning the justice of the war did not go unnoticed by the war's clerical defenders who exploited them for their own polemical purposes. In his lecture entitled 'War in a religious aspect, and at times just and needful' to the Reading Young Men's Christian Association in January 1856, the Revd F. Trench, Catherine Marsh's brother-in-law and older brother of Richard Chenevix Trench, read 'an interesting letter from Captain Vicars with regard to the feelings of all ranks in the Crimea as to the justice of the war'. The Revd Trench also criticised 'the fantastic doctrines' of peace advocates, 'who would permit an insolent aggressor to continue unchecked'.[146] During the following month, a leading article of the *Churchman's Magazine* quoted liberally from the *Memorials* to counter pacifist arguments. The magazine resumed its attack against the anonymous Anglican cleric and his subversive pamphlet imagining a dialogue between a 'soldier' and a 'Christian', which we examined in the chapter's first section. '[The] curate of a parish', commented the magazine,

> [...] took great pains the other day to make it appear that [...] all war is unlawful. His 'Soldier that went not to Sebastopol' is described as throwing up his commission when his regiment was ordered out, being convinced of the sinfulness of bearing arms, even in a just war. In a short series of papers headed 'Is the war lawful?' we combated his arguments with theory. We now answer it by illustration.[147]

It was Vicars's 'short and brilliant career' which furnished this 'illustration', definitively proving the compatibility of Christianity 'with the most earnest and devoted attention to military duties, and with the highest state of military efficiency.' Further to challenge the

[144] [Marsh], *Memorials*, p. 200.
[145] Ibid., p. 201.
[146] E. I. Carlyle and H. C. G. Matthew, 'Trench, Francis Chenevix (1805–1886), Church of England clergyman and author', *ODNB* (Oxford, 23 Sept. 2004) [https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:3030/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27697] (14 Sept. 2020); [Anon.], 'Rev. F. Trench on War', *BerkC* [Reading], XXXIII/1574 (19 Jan. 1856), p. 6.
[147] [Anon.], 'Captain Hedley Vicars of the 97th, Hero of the Trenches', *CMag*, 38 (Feb. 1856), p. [65].

arguments of 'the peace-at-any-price-men', the magazine cited Vicars's letter from Piraeus to show the officer's conviction in the justice of the war.[148] Here was a young British officer of conspicuous heroism, manliness, and commendable piety, persuaded about the higher moral purpose for which he was fighting, whose life confirmed the compatibility of war and Christianity. Vicars thus became the perfect foil to the 'soldier' of the pacifist pamphlet who ultimately repudiates his profession as unchristian. Notwithstanding how compelling the model of the 'Christian soldier' fighting the just war appeared to be, the peace movement would expose several holes in it, as we will see in the next chapter.

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Religious newspapers and periodicals, tracts and pamphlets, and the religious platform, became major sites of polemic against the peace movement. All these media sustained a complex debate centring on the interface between religion, morality, and war. Whereas many religious newspapers and periodicals openly supported the war and its perceived moral benefits on national life, some were more ambivalent towards war's devastating consequences. Religious newspapers and periodicals often encouraged a dialogue amongst their readers on the morality of war and its place in the life of a professedly Christian nation. Religious opinion was also preoccupied with how war ought to be fought, with some clergymen anxiously seeking to impart an ethical standard and a Christian ethos to its conduct. Various religious media also tapped into, and reinforced, the increasingly popular paradigm of the 'Christian soldier' to demonstrate the compatibility of war, soldiering, and Christianity, and so to subvert the views of peace advocates. To uncover fully the controversy between the religious 'war party' and the peace movement, we must now consider the latter's critiques of war in greater empirical depth and conceptual breadth.

[148] Ibid., pp. 71-4.

CHAPTER THREE

The 'Prince of Peace': The Peace Movement's Critiques of War

> Oh! when will the Church of Christ, instead of being the patron and apologist of war [...] dare to arraign it [...] as the unmixed offspring of human wickedness, as a manifest crime before God, as the blackest treason against the Sovereignty of her Divine Lord, who is emphatically the Prince of Peace?
>
> ❧ ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PEACE SOCIETY, 1855[1]

This chapter offers a sustained analysis of the peace movement's responses to the Crimean War. Examining the critiques of war in general and of the Crimean War in particular, formulated by adherents to the principles of the peace movement whose detractors frequently derogated as 'peace-at-any-price' party, the chapter emphasises the hitherto underappreciated centrality of religious argument to Victorian peace thinking. This is suggested in the extract from the Peace Society's Annual Report of 1855 quoted above. The chapter thus challenges secular interpretations of nineteenth-century ideas of peace.[2] It demonstrates that the perceived incongruity of war and the religion of the 'Prince of Peace' was crucial in how the peace movement confronted the 'war party'. For pacifists, especially, the refutation of the proposition that Christians could lawfully resort to arms was a fundamental step taken towards demolishing religious apologies for war. The chapter also demonstrates that contemporary engagement with

[1] [Anon.], 'Annual Report of the Peace Society', *HP*, III/LX (June 1855), p. 212.
[2] Christopher Duggan, 'Ideas of War and Peace', in Gregory Claeys (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Thought* (London and New York, NY, 2005), p. 208. Cf. Clive Barrett, 'Peace, Pacifism, and Religion', in Ingrid Sharp (ed.), *A Cultural History of Peace in the Age of Empire* (London and New York, NY, 2020), pp. 78-9.

the question of the justice of the war was more wide-ranging than historians have recognised. This question also partly framed the peace movement's critique of the paradigm of the 'Christian soldier' epitomised by Captain Hedley Vicars. Peace advocates set out to subvert this paradigm through a critical reading of Vicars's biography by Catherine Marsh, alongside a critical engagement with contemporary theories of military obedience. Citing incidents of violence reported from the battlefront, they also sought to undercut the idea of 'Christian soldiers' fighting the war justly and according to Christian principles. The chapter's final section shows that the question of the justice of the war intersected with debates about Britain's place as a European and imperial power, and the various perceived grounds on which Britons resorted to arms against Russia. The peace movement's religious case against the war was complemented by more context-specific arguments made by Richard Cobden, which aimed to challenge popular ideas feeding into moralistic vindications of the war.

The corpus of primary material this chapter draws on consists of hitherto neglected publications which gained traction in the public sphere, and which the Peace Society, the Religious Society of Friends, and a host of peace-minded individuals circulated during the war. The nondenominational and fundamentally—though not exclusively—pacifist Peace Society had immense confidence in the efficacy of the printed word. Identifying which pamphlets and tracts it circulated, the chapter is able to uncover those debates in which it sought to intervene. The chapter focuses on the *Herald of Peace*, the Peace Society's official monthly periodical organ, first published in 1819. Though hardly acknowledged by scholars, the *Herald*'s orientation was emphatically religious. The epigraphs printed on the front page of each of its issues were chosen from both the Old and New Testaments, establishing in this way its universal peace message.[3] The *Herald*'s editor was Henry Richard, Welsh Congregationalist

[3] The first epigraph was Matt. 26:52: 'Put up thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword'; the second Isa. 2:4: 'They shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more'.

minister, pacifist campaigner, secretary of the Peace Society, and future Liberal MP for Merthyr Tydfil. By 1851, at a time when the peace movement 'had the ear of a large section of the public', the *Herald*'s circulation 'was largely increased'.[4] Excepting Stephen Frick's 1971 unpublished thesis, scholarly engagement with this periodical remains piecemeal.[5] Paul Laity's otherwise brilliant study of the peace movement has done a disservice to the *Herald* in asserting that '[it] expressed merely a general opposition to war'.[6] The *Herald*'s opposition, as we shall see, was both complex and vigorous. Tracts favourably reviewed and recommended for circulation by the *Herald* equally deserve attention because they give a sense of what the Peace Society deemed a worthy contribution to debates. The two Quaker periodicals, the London-based *The Friend* and the Glasgow-based *The British Friend*, also offer insights into the peace movement's responses. Reconstructing the peace movement's case against the war, the chapter develops thematic and narrative connections from the previous two. Before embarking on this more focused task, we must trace the intellectual lineages of the nineteenth-century peace movement, outline its broad ideological contours, and offer an overview of its responses to the Crimean War, as well as the challenges it faced.

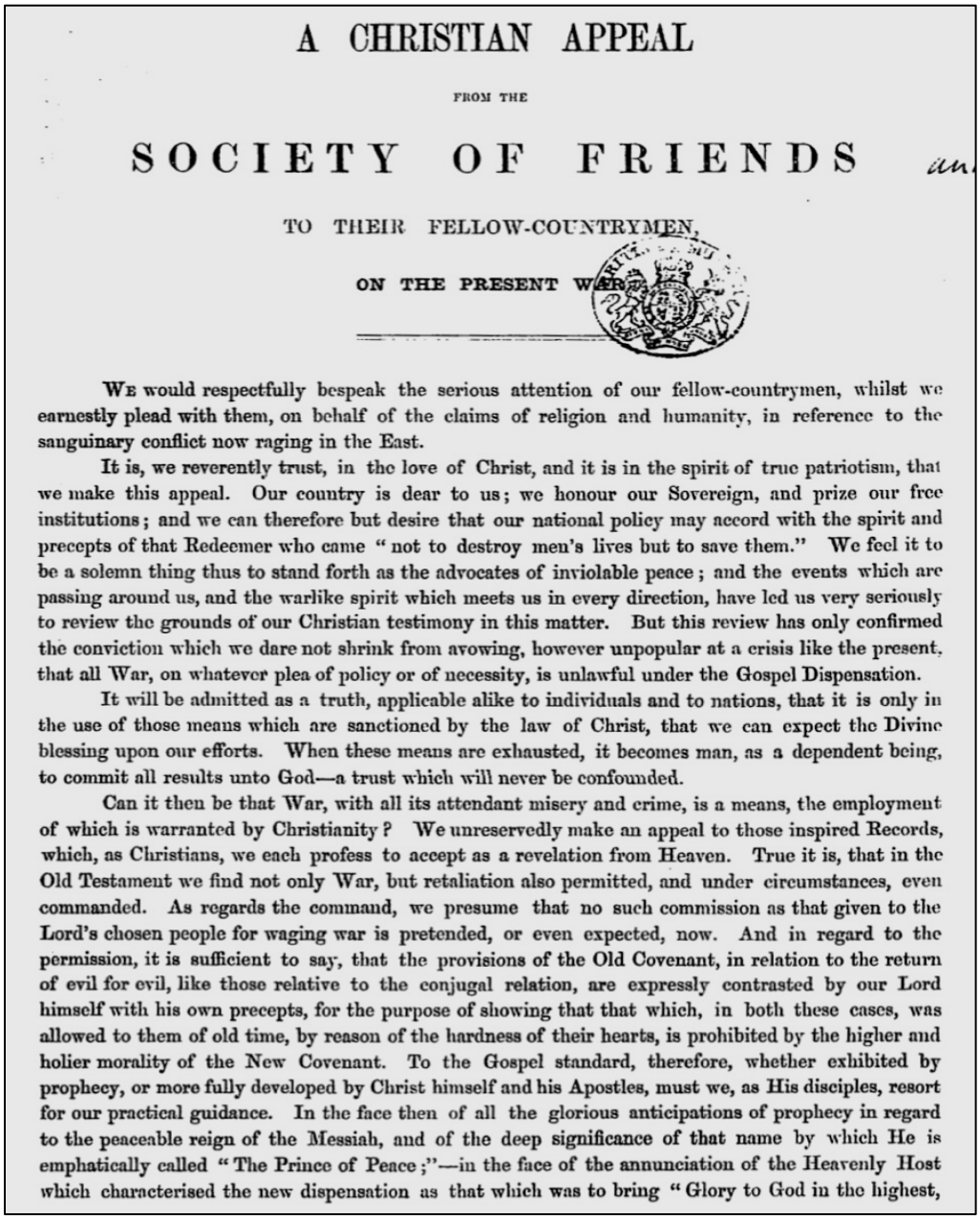
[4] Charles S. Miall, *Henry Richard, M.P. A Biography* (London, 1889), p. 84.
[5] Stephen Frick, 'Joseph Sturge, Henry Richard and the *Herald of Peace*: Pacifist Response to the Crimean War', (PhD thesis, Cornell University, 1971).
[6] Paul Laity, *The British Peace Movement 1870-1914* (Oxford, 2002), p. 18.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

> [A]ll War, on whatever plea of policy or of necessity, is unlawful under the Gospel Dispensation.[7]

This unequivocally pacifist statement from the short tract *A Christian Appeal from the Society of Friends to their Fellow Countrymen, on the Present War* (Fig. 3.1) which appeared around late 1854 and early 1855, had a dual function. First, it served as a reaffirmation of the Quaker peace testimony amidst the excitement of a popular war. Second, it was one of those fundamental messages the Religious Society of Friends wanted to convey to the public. Who could possibly argue after reflecting upon the life and teachings of Jesus, 'that Christianity affords any authority or justification for war?', it asked.[8] The tract was prepared under the aegis of the London Meeting for Sufferings, the standing committee of the Friends' Yearly Meeting, reaching by the end of April 1855 a circulation of two hundred and ten thousand copies in Great Britain.[9] It was even translated in French and German, and was reprinted verbatim in metropolitan and provincial newspapers, with *The Sunday Times* dismissing its assertions as 'twaddle'.[10] The publication of the tract in the press gave it an even wider circulation which is hard to quantify. Copies were also sent to 'ministers of religion of various denominations resident within the Metropolitan districts', as well as to MPs and peers.[11] Apart from *The Sunday Times*'s jibe, we can glean its impact from various other responses it elicited. Laymen published pamphlets challenging the scriptural basis of its assertions.[12] The Hungarian patriot

[7] Robert Forster, *A Christian Appeal from the Society of Friends to their Fellow-Countrymen, on the Present War* (London, [1854?]), p. [1].
[8] Ibid., pp. [1]-2.
[9] Stephen Frick, 'The *Christian Appeal* of 1855: Friends' Public Response to the Crimean War', *JFHS*, 52/3 (1970), pp. 206-9. A further eighteen thousand copies were distributed in Ireland: Paul Huddie, 'The Society of Friends in Ireland and the Crimean War, 1854-56', *QH*, 102/2 (2013), p. 7.
[10] Frick, '*Christian Appeal*', p. 209; [Anon.], 'The Quakers on the War', *ST*, 1682, (31 Dec. 1854), p. 2.
[11] London, LSF, Society of Friends *Meeting for Sufferings Minutes 1849-1857* (YM/MfS/M/46), 4 May 1855, p. 475.
[12] James Mason, *Peace or War. Showing the Lawfulness of War Under the Gospel Dispensation*, 2nd edn (London, 1855).



A CHRISTIAN APPEAL

FROM THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

TO THEIR FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

ON THE PRESENT WAR.

We would respectfully bespeak the serious attention of our fellow-countrymen, whilst we earnestly plead with them, on behalf of the claims of religion and humanity, in reference to the sanguinary conflict now raging in the East.

It is, we reverently trust, in the love of Christ, and it is in the spirit of true patriotism, that we make this appeal. Our country is dear to us; we honour our Sovereign, and prize our free institutions; and we can therefore but desire that our national policy may accord with the spirit and precepts of that Redeemer who came "not to destroy men's lives but to save them." We feel it to be a solemn thing thus to stand forth as the advocates of inviolable peace; and the events which are passing around us, and the warlike spirit which meets us in every direction, have led us very seriously to review the grounds of our Christian testimony in this matter. But this review has only confirmed the conviction which we dare not shrink from avowing, however unpopular at a crisis like the present, that all War, on whatever plea of policy or of necessity, is unlawful under the Gospel Dispensation.

It will be admitted as a truth, applicable alike to individuals and to nations, that it is only in the use of those means which are sanctioned by the law of Christ, that we can expect the Divine blessing upon our efforts. When these means are exhausted, it becomes man, as a dependent being, to commit all results unto God—a trust which will never be confounded.

Can it then be that War, with all its attendant misery and crime, is a means, the employment of which is warranted by Christianity? We unreservedly make an appeal to those inspired Records, which, as Christians, we each profess to accept as a revelation from Heaven. True it is, that in the Old Testament we find not only War, but retaliation also permitted, and under circumstances, even commanded. As regards the command, we presume that no such commission as that given to the Lord's chosen people for waging war is pretended, or even expected, now. And in regard to the permission, it is sufficient to say, that the provisions of the Old Covenant, in relation to the return of evil for evil, like those relative to the conjugal relation, are expressly contrasted by our Lord himself with his own precepts, for the purpose of showing that that which, in both these cases, was allowed to them of old time, by reason of the hardness of their hearts, is prohibited by the higher and holier morality of the New Covenant. To the Gospel standard, therefore, whether exhibited by prophecy, or more fully developed by Christ himself and his Apostles, must we, as His disciples, resort for our practical guidance. In the face then of all the glorious anticipations of prophecy in regard to the peaceable reign of the Messiah, and of the deep significance of that name by which He is emphatically called "The Prince of Peace;"—in the face of the annunciation of the Heavenly Host which characterised the new dispensation as that which was to bring "Glory to God in the highest,

Fig. 3.1. Title page, *Christian Appeal*

Lajos Kossuth penned a rejoinder in *The Sunday Times* denouncing pacifism on the same basis, whilst suggesting that war was sometimes necessary to stop despotic injustice against oppressed nationalities.[13] And Anglican clergymen asked Quakers where in the Bible was such a command explicitly prohibiting all war?[14]

[13] L. Kossuth, 'An Answer to the Christian Appeal of the Society of Friends in Great Britain', *ST*, 1685 (21 Jan. 1855), p. 5.

[14] Denis Browne, Irish Anglican rector of Enniscorthy, sent a letter to a local Quaker enquiring into this subject: 'Society of Friends—Peace and War', *ICJ* [Dublin], II (12 Apr. 1855), pp. 178-80.

The *Appeal* was part of a multifaceted campaign mounted by the Religious Society of Friends. As we have seen in the introduction to the thesis, the Friends' mission to St Petersburg was a noteworthy albeit abortive attempt to avert war between Britain and Russia. Once war broke out, Friends refused to observe special national worship, and began more active forms of campaigning such as distributing peace literature. In December 1854, the month which saw the raucous meeting between Bright and his disgruntled constituents in Manchester's town hall, six Friends presented a memorial professing 'that the doctrine of the unlawfulness of all war rests on the foundation of the revealed will of God under the New Covenant' to a courteous and kind Lord Aberdeen, and also sent it to his cabinet ministers.[15] For a Protestant dissenting denomination with dwindling numbers at mid-century, the Religious Society of Friends thus played a significant and disproportionately public role in the anti-war agitation.[16]

The Friends' efforts were driven by a conviction in their peace testimony. The scholarly consensus maintains that whilst the attitude of early Friends towards war varied, after 1661 most of them espoused 'non-resistance'—the term Victorians used to refer to what would become known in the early twentieth century as 'pacifism'.[17] This 'extreme' or 'abstract' principle—two terms Victorians also used to describe non-resistance—was predicated on the belief that violence and war were incompatible with the New Testament.[18] For Friends, the injunctions of the Sermon on the Mount—"Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you"—were 'plain and unequivocal'.[19] Their pacifist credo was bound with their 'doctrine of the inner

[15] *Meeting for Sufferings Minutes* (YM/MfS/M/46), 4 May 1855, pp. 453-6, 474-5.
[16] In 1851 the three hundred and seventy-one Quaker meeting houses drew only 0.1% of the population: D. W. Bebbington, *Victorian Nonconformity* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 10.
[17] Thomas C. Kennedy, 'Quakers', in Larsen and Ledger-Lomas (eds), *Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions*, p. 97; Martin Ceadel, 'The Quaker Peace Testimony and its Contribution to the British Peace Movement: An Overview', *QS*, 7/1 (2002), p. 12; Lonnie Valentine, 'Quakers, War, and Peacemaking', in Stephen W. Angell and Ben Pink Dandelion (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 365-6.
[18] Laity, *British Peace Movement*, pp. 7-8.
[19] George Stacey, *The Unlawfulness of all Wars and Fightings under the Gospel* (London, 1841), p. 3.

light'.[20] This doctrine originated in the 'insight' of the seventeenth-century founder of Quakerism, George Fox, that 'the Seed of God' was in every person's heart.[21] War, which unavoidably involved the killing of human beings, was an obvious contravention of this doctrine. With few exceptions, over the next two centuries Friends maintained a steadfast loyalty to their community's absolutism.[22] To confirm the obedience of members to its doctrinal positions, the Society instituted in the eighteenth century a list of queries, including one on war.[23] By 1834 this query read: 'Are [F]riends faithful in our testimony against bearing arms, and being in any manner concerned in the militia, in privateers, or armed vessels, or dealing in prize-goods?'[24] The expectation was the Friends' unqualified disengagement from the system of war.

Historically speaking, pacifists denied the possibility of a just war.[25] This was the absolutist position assumed by nineteenth-century British pacifists, many of whom, though not all, were Quakers. The Quaker rejection of all war found its most compelling exposition in the writings of Jonathan Dymond (1796-1828), 'the most intellectual Quaker writer of the early nineteenth century'.[26] Dymond's works went through several editions and acquired authoritative status amongst Quakers, as well as the Peace Society to which he had become a subscriber in 1824. These works remained influential throughout the nineteenth century. Peace advocates cited them during the Crimean War. In attacking the religious 'war party' during 1854, the Peace Society's *Herald of Peace* invoked Dymond's authority.[27] Although they embodied elements of Enlightenment humanitarian thought, Dymond's essays were also grounded in the Christian

[20] Ceadel, 'Quaker Peace Testimony', p. 12.
[21] Elizabeth Allo Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (London, 1970), pp. xxiii-xxiv.
[22] Peter Brock, *The Quaker Peace Testimony 1660 to 1914* (York, 1990), pp. 25-6.
[23] Ceadel, *Origins*, pp. 152-3.
[24] [Anon.], *Rules of Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends*, 3rd edn (London, 1834), p. 218.
[25] Ceadel, *Origins*, p. 48; David Kinsella and Craig L. Carr, 'Pacifism: Introduction', in idem (eds), *The Morality of War: A Reader* (Boulder, CO, 2007), pp. 33-4.
[26] Margaret E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War: An Account of their Peace Principles and Practice* (London and New York, NY, 1923), p. 248.
[27] [Henry Richard?], 'Dr. Lee on War [Part I]', *HP*, III/XLIX (July 1854), pp. 83-4.

ethos of Quaker pacifism.[28] Indeed, nineteenth-century pacifism was patently religious. As Paul Laity has noted, 'political, Utilitarian, and humanitarian-inspired pacifism didn't emerge properly in Britain until the First World War.'[29] In his seminal treatise of 1823 entitled *An Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity*, Dymond examined whether war was compatible with Christianity. After exposing inconsistencies in the argument supporting the lawfulness of war for Christians whose proponents deduced from the New Testament, Dymond's treatise challenged those who additionally drew on the Old Testament to reinforce this position. Mosaic law, Dymond argued, had been supplanted by the more perfect law of Jesus.[30] The historical development from the Old Testament to the New meant that the former's bellicosity could not undermine the latter's message of peace.

Dymond's treatise also interrogated Paley's views on war. The Quaker intellectual attacked the Anglican cleric and utilitarian philosopher for basing his reasoning on the 'silence' of the New Testament; in other words, for alighting on the assumed lawfulness of war from what the New Testament *did not* explicitly say. Crucially, Dymond took issue with Paley for having supposedly identified those circumstances under which war could be 'just'. Dymond lambasted Paley's contention that a just war assumed an injury not only perpetrated and attempted, but also feared. 'An injury, without limit to its insignificance! A fear, without stipulation for its reasonableness!'[31] As to the lawfulness of defensive war which Paley had equated to just war, Dymond explained that proponents of this idea commonly simplified it 'to *the right of self defence*'. This, Dymond observed, served as one of their argumentative 'strong-holds'. Self-preservation was unarguably a natural instinct God sowed into human beings, Dymond conceded; but this did not mean that everything necessary to self-preservation was in

[28] Peter Brock, *Pacifism in Europe to 1914* (Princeton, NJ, 1972), p. 340.
[29] Laity, *British Peace Movement*, p. 8.
[30] Jonathan Dymond, *An Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity*, 4th edn (London, 1843), pp. 38-44, 51-3.
[31] Ibid., p. 64.

accordance with God's will.[32] Whereas self-preservation urged 'non-forbearance, resistance, [and] retaliation of injuries', Christianity forbade them.[33] Dymond also professed that all wars could be proclaimed defensive by the parties waging them, so any attempts to ascertain the justice of specific wars were futile. 'War must be wholly forbidden, or allowed without restriction to defence; for no definitions of lawful and unlawful war, will be, or can be, attended to.'[34] For Dymond, therefore, the concept of 'just war' was illusive.[35]

Dymond and the rest of his religious pacifist community 'form[ed] a leaven' within the nineteenth-century peace movement.[36] In September 1853, around a month before the Edinburgh Peace Conference, Cobden confessed to Duncan McLaren, Lord Provost of the city and Bright's brother-in-law, that '[t]he soul of the Peace movement is the Quaker sentiment against all war', and that '[w]ithout the stubborn zeal of the "Friends" there would be no Peace Society and no Peace Conference.'[37] Yet Cobden bemoaned how 'the enemy takes good care to turn us all into Quakers, because the "non-resistant" principle puts us out of court as practical politicians of the present day.'[38] It was for this reason Cobden did not subscribe to the 'extreme' principle of Quakers. Although he had embraced pacifism in the 1830s, he later distanced himself from it because its abstract nature was a 'liability' to his political campaign which hinged on 'practical' considerations and his Manchester-School principles, especially free trade.[39]

We shall return to the peace principles of Cobden and Bright in the fifth chapter. Here it is important to note that pacifism occupied a minority position within the peace movement. Most peace advocates such as Cobden adhered to *pacificism*, a term popularized in the historiography

[32] Ibid., pp. 71-2, 77.
[33] Ibid., pp. 72-3.
[34] Ibid., pp. 77-8.
[35] Brock, *Pacifism in Europe*, p. 342.
[36] Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, p. 265.
[37] J. B. Mackie, *The Life and Work of Duncan McLaren* (2 vols, London, Edinburgh, and New York, NY, 1888), ii, p. 12.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ceadel, *Origins*, pp. 349-50.

by Ceadel, and which has remained a central part of the typology employed by historians of the peace movement.[40] This distinction between pacifism and 'pacificism' is crucial because it reflects the two tendencies within the peace movement. Unlike pacifists who opposed all war, 'pacificists' such as Cobden were liberal, peace- and reform-minded individuals who believed that war could be abolished through various 'practical reforms' such as free trade, or non-intervention, or international arbitration, or disarmament, or the foundation of an international congress, or a combination thereof, but who were unprepared to disavow defensive or 'just' warfare, and who eschewed the 'extreme' pacifism of Quakers and other absolutists.[41] For 'pacificists' the goal was peace, but the main questions preoccupying them were what constituted a defensive resort to arms, and what conditions besides 'defensiveness' rendered the use of force 'just'?[42]

The Peace Society or London Peace Society, formally the Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace, founded on 14 June 1816 by a group of Quakers and other pacifists, was the principal peace association in Britain for a century. The Peace Society consisted of two tiers accommodating the two ideological wings of the peace movement. The primary tier was Christian pacifist, but the secondary tier allowed 'pacificists'. This 'two-tier structure' demonstrated the Society's efforts of fashioning itself as a 'broad church' rather than an absolutist body.[43] The hope was that its 'pacificist' members would be converted to the 'high' pacifist position. Nonetheless, by the 1850s the Peace Society was becoming widely associated with pacifism.[44] This was not a wholly unfair judgement since the Peace Society's core was absolutist, and only pacifists—most of whom Quakers—were allowed to take

[40] Ceadel borrowed this term from A. J. P. Taylor's *The Trouble Makers* (1957): Martin Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain 1914-1945: The Defining of a Faith* (Oxford, 1980), p. 3. In common with 'pacifism', the word 'pacificism' originated in the early twentieth century: Laity, *British Peace Movement*, pp. 8-9.
[41] Ceadel, *Origins*, p. 2.
[42] Idem, *Semi-Detached Idealists*, p. 17.
[43] Idem, *Origins*, pp. 223, 225-7.
[44] Idem, *Semi-Detached Idealists*, p. 23.

positions in its central committee which determined policy.[45] In fact, most of its support came from Quakers.[46] Headquartered at 19 New Broad-street, London, the Peace Society developed local auxiliaries which planned meetings, distributed tracts and the *Herald of Peace*, and utilised the local press to promote the anti-war message.[47] From early on the Peace Society cast itself as a religious organisation whose *raison d'être* was the dissemination of Christian peace literature, but by the 1830s it started becoming more politicized, pushing for political goals such as arbitration in international disputes.[48]

The foundation in 1848 of the Peace Congress Committee—Peace *Conference* Committee after 1853—ostensibly under the control of the Peace Society, marked a new page in the history of the peace movement with the organisation of international congresses and, subsequently, national conferences. Operating on a diversity-of-opinion basis and incorporating a 'pacificist' contingent, the Committee enabled individuals such as Cobden who kept their distance from the Peace Society's pacifist bent, to become involved with the 'peace movement'—a term coming into use around this time.[49] The peace movement also received support from the Manchester School and 'the moderate, moral-force wing of Chartism'.[50]

The year 1851 would see the acme of the peace movement. Yet the spirit of optimism embodied in the Great Exhibition's Crystal Palace and resonating in the addresses of the London Peace Congress promising international peace, prosperity, and progress, would soon dissipate in the face of a resurgent militarism conjured by Kossuth's speeches of the same year, which stirred the sympathies of radical and liberal sections of Victorian society for Europe's 'oppressed nationalities'. This was compounded by the French invasion scare following Louis

[45] Laity, *British Peace Movement*, p. 13.
[46] Most of its non-Quaker supporters were Congregationalists and Baptists: Eric W. Sager, 'The Social Origins of Victorian Pacifism', *VS*, 23/2 (1980), p. 213.
[47] Brock, *Pacifism in Europe*, p. 379.
[48] Stephen Conway, 'The Politicization of the Nineteenth-Century Peace Society', *HR*, 66/161 (1993), pp. [267], 274-5.
[49] Laity, *British Peace Movement*, p. 16.
[50] Ibid., p. 15.

Napoleon's coup in December 1851, and the Militia Act of 1852. The reopening of the Eastern Question in 1853 made matters worse, with many 'pacificists' concluding that to offer support to Turkey against the aggression of Russia was morally justifiable.[51]

The Crimean War thus marked the first international conflict during which the peace movement experienced a serious ideological rift.[52] Peace advocates became acutely aware that they were in the minority. On 22 September 1854 Cobden wrote to Henry Richard asking him: 'Are there 10 men in the House or 120 outside (excepting the Quakers) who are to be relied on?'[53] Notwithstanding the heavy wounds it sustained, the peace movement's record was, in general lines, noteworthy. Convinced of the privilege of having long been guided by 'the noble and distinctive principle of Christian non-resistance', Quakers pushed through with their campaign despite being pilloried for their seemingly unpatriotic stance.[54] The Friends' Yearly Meeting entreated members not to participate in any business 'which would be likely to involve them in transactions connected more or less directly with the maintenance of war or of a military establishment.'[55]

The Peace Society reaffirmed its principle 'that war, however disguised and varnished, is an unchristian, barbarian, and brutal practice', declaring at the same time that its mission was to give people a 'moral education'.[56] In March 1854, it resolved that 'the best mode of operations to be adopted [...] is by a copious and systematic distribution of suitable Tracts'.[57] The circulation of the Peace Society's standard tracts and new works relating to the war began in earnest in early 1854, with one pamphlet entitled *Ought England to Go to War with Russia?*

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[51] Ceadel, *Semi-Detached Idealists*, p. 37.
[52] Ibid., p. 7.
[53] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. XI. Add MS 43657: Letter from Richard Cobden to the Revd Henry Richard (22 Sept. 1854) (unnumbered pages).
[54] [Anon.], 'London, Third Month 1st, 1854', *The Friend*, XII/135 (Mar. 1854), p. 48.
[55] London, LSF, Society of Friends *Yearly Meeting Minutes 1845-1856* (YM/M/26). *The Yearly Meeting's Epistle. 1854* (London, [1854]), p. 3.
[56] [Peace Society], *What does the Peace Society Say Now?* ([London], 1855?), pp. [1], 3 (*Peace Tracts 1855*. Volume in Worcester College, Oxford).
[57] [Anon.], 'Special Fund for the Distribution of Tracts', *HP*, III/XLV (Mar. 1854), p. 36.

asking its readers whether it would not have been better 'to try to learn and practice justice in [their] own conduct, rather than play the Quixote, in punishing the injustice of other nations?'[58] The Peace Society also distributed the *Herald* to around five hundred clergymen, free of charge, each month.[59] Pro-war periodicals such as the Congregationalist *British Quarterly Review* assumed a virulently hostile stance towards it.[60] Overall, the Peace Society reported that the total number of its publications issued during the war amounted to an astounding six hundred thousand.[61] Lectures delivered by the pacifist Baptist pastor William Stokes, an energetic activist and the Peace Society's travelling agent, supplemented the copious printed word.[62] Published works by peace-minded clergy across the Protestant denominational spectrum complemented the campaign of Quakers and the Peace Society. Now that we have outlined the ideological contours of the nineteenth-century peace movement, traced its intellectual lineages, and examined the challenges it faced during the Crimean War, we can begin to probe the ways in which peace advocates challenged the arguments of the 'war party'.

CHRISTIANITY AND PEACE

The principal premise upon which the opposition to war of many peace advocates rested was the irreconcilability of war and Christianity. Religious argument was central to the critiques of the peace movement. Various peace tracts were religious in tone. The two Quaker journals, *The Friend* and *The British Friend*, paid close attention to religious debates, whilst the *Herald* allocated much of its space to the religious case against war. Despite being edited by the pacifist Henry Richard who in 1845 rebutted the case for defensive warfare on much the same basis as

[58] [Peace Society], *Ought England to Go to War with Russia?* (London, [1854]), p. 3.
[59] 'Report of the Peace Society', *HP* (1855), p. 211.
[60] [Robert Vaughan?], 'The War Controversy: The Truth about it', *BQR*, 22/43 (1855), pp. 300-1.
[61] Four hundred thousand copies between 1854 and 1855, and two hundred thousand between 1855 and 1856: 'Report of the Peace Society', *HP* (1855), p. 211; 'Report [of the Peace Society]', *HP* (1856), p. 64.
[62] [Anon.], 'Mr. Stokes' Recent Tour in South Wales', *HP*, III/LI (Sept. 1854), p. 110; David Nicholls, 'William Stokes (1803-1881)', *MRHR*, 6 (1992), pp. 59-61.

Dymond had done two decades before,[63] the *Herald* promulgated the Peace Society's 'two-tier message', as Ceadel has argued.[64] During the war, the *Herald* ventilated the views even of those 'not [...] prepared to accept, in its absolute and dogmatic form, the full principle of the Peace Society.'[65] Nonetheless, much of its content was suffused by a Christian pacifist ethos—something which scholars have failed to recognise. As early as January 1854 it reminded its readers that its 'main ground of opposition to the war system, is its utter antagonism to the principles and spirit of Christianity.'[66]

Contemporary peace publications exemplified a persistent animadversion against the pro-war bent of mainstream Protestant thought. Pacifist works, especially, argued that the precepts of Christianity were opposed to war, and that the refuge sought by defenders of war to the palpable belligerence of the Old Testament, as well as the customary interpretation of selected texts from the New Testament in ways which led to the deduction of non-irenic conclusions, were nothing but spurious attempts to defend the indefensible. Many peace advocates were quick to point out that Christians were living under a new and better dispensation prohibiting war. They accordingly criticised the establishment of the lawfulness of war from the authority of the Old Testament. The Quaker *Christian Appeal* reminded its readers that 'that which [...] was allowed to [God's chosen people] of old time [...] is prohibited by the higher and holier morality of the New Covenant.'[67] Non-Quaker pacifists such as the Baptist minister and travelling agent of the Peace Society, William Stokes, argued the same. In his prize essay originally published by the Peace Society in 1836 and which saw its fourth edition in 1855,

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[63] Henry Richard, *Defensive War: Extracted from a Lecture Delivered at the Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle Street, London, February 5th, 1845* (London, 1846). After becoming an MP in 1868, Richard retained his pacifist convictions, but his speeches in the Commons were made from a 'pacificist' standpoint since he understood that absolutist peace principles could not be seriously employed in political debate: Martin Ceadel, 'Gladstone and a Liberal Theory of International Relations', in Ghosh and Goldman (eds), *Politics and Culture in Victorian Britain*, p. 77.
[64] Ceadel, *Origins*, p. 266.
[65] [Anon.], 'Dr. Arnold on War', *HP*, III/XLV (Mar. 1854), p. 28.
[66] [Anon.], 'The Disinterested Benevolence of the War Party', *HP*, III/XLIII (Jan. 1854), p. 6.
[67] Forster, *Christian Appeal*, p. 1.

Stokes averred that the advent of a more perfect Christian dispensation signified the abrogation of 'Mosaic institutions', including the principle of retaliation. War in the old dispensation was 'not incongenial [*sic*] with the comparative darkness that prevailed', argued Stokes. But under the Christian dispensation, in which the principles of love and forgiveness were fully revealed, war was consigned to those evils which no longer had a sanction.[68] Here thus lay a strong element of supersessionism that one biblical scholar has recently defined as 'the belief that Christianity has improved on and so supplanted Judaism'.[69]

Peace advocates were anxious to disseminate this idea as widely as possible. In January 1855, an address—probably by the Peace Society—was circulated to young men, reminding them that they were bound by the law of the gospel, not the Mosaic dispensation.[70] Later that year, a speaker at the Peace Society's thirty-ninth Annual Meeting in Finsbury Chapel, London, denounced those clerics who, in their homiletic vindications of war on the second day of humiliation, drew texts from the Old Testament despite the fact that the 'Jewish Books [were] not the supreme rule of life and conduct for Christian men.'[71]

The attempts of advocates of war to prove its lawfulness from the New Testament were more disconcerting to peace advocates. Especially disturbing was the argument that Jesus sanctioned armed defence. Advocates of war found proof in his injunction that 'he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one', as well as in his response 'It is enough', after the disciples told him: 'Lord, behold, here *are* two swords.'[72] Peace advocates disproved this on the grounds that Jesus's action in the garden of Gethsemane shortly after was to reprimand Peter for drawing his sword.[73] During the war, the *Herald* carried an article propounding a similar

[68] W. Stokes, *All War Inconsistent with the Christian Religion, and the Best Interests of Nations*, 4th edn (London, 1855), pp. 16-19.
[69] John Barton, *A History of the Bible: The Book and its Faiths* (London, 2020), p. 34.
[70] [Peace Society?], *To the Christian Young Men of England* (London, 1855), p. 3 (*Peace Tracts 1855*).
[71] [Anon.], 'The Public Meeting [of the Peace Society]', *HP*, III/LX (June 1855), p. 215.
[72] Luke 22: 36-8.
[73] John Liggins, *Strictures on "Prayer and the War"* (London, [1855]), pp. 11-12.

view.[74] Another of its articles argued that Jesus did not utter the phrase 'It is enough' with reference to the two swords. A careful reading of the biblical text suggested instead that Jesus had said *enough* to his followers.[75]

It was more common for apologists of war to cite John the Baptist's response to the soldiers who came to him, and the interactions of Jesus and Peter with the two centurions. From early on, the *Herald* recognised the popularity of this homiletic tactic.[76] Its rebuttal, which came later, was typical of pacifist thinking. First, whatever John the Baptist might have said on the subject, his words could not be applied to Christian life because he was not part of the Christian dispensation. Second, the argument that Jesus and Peter did not condemn the profession of the two centurions, nor ordered them to quit it, was unsound because it wrongly inferred from the silence of Jesus and Peter that they gave their sanction to this profession.[77] The *Herald* warned that the 'principle of construing the silence of Scripture into approval' could 'lead to the consecration of almost every species of evil.'[78]

In the context of this debate various peace-minded individuals took to pamphlet-writing. The Peace Society's organ heaped praise on such publications, commending them to its readers and encouraging their wider circulation. An example was an essay of 1855 entitled *Does Christianity Sanction War?* by J. Jenkinson, pacifist Baptist minister of Oakham and future lecturer of the Peace Society.[79] Jenkinson exposed the 'fallacies' advanced by proponents of war. That Christianity does not allow war, he argued, was clear from Jesus's teachings and example, as well as from the conduct of the apostles and early Christians.[80] Jenkinson's

[74] N., 'Our Saviour's Command to Buy Swords', *HP*, III/LII (Oct. 1854), pp. 121-2.
[75] P., 'Selling the Garment and Buying a Sword. Luke XXII. 35-38', *HP*, III/LXVII (Jan. 1856), p. 8.
[76] [Anon.], 'The Christian Pulpit on the War', *HP*, III/XLVIII (June 1854), p. 68.
[77] [Anon.], 'Does the Silence of Scripture Imply Approval?', *HP*, III/LXX (Apr. 1856), pp. 42-3.
[78] Ibid., p. 43.
[79] John Jenkinson, *The Autobiography of the Rev. John Jenkinson: Baptist Minister of Kettering and Oakham*, ed. R. L. Greenall (Northampton, 2010), p. 9.
[80] J. Jenkinson, *Does Christianity Sanction War? An Essay* (London and Oakham, [1855]), pp. [3]-15.

arguments would have found Quaker writers such as Edmund Fry, a relative of the prison reformer Elizabeth Fry, in agreement.[81]

Nor did peace advocates fail to respond to the argument that war furthered the cause of the gospel. Following Shaftesbury's lead, evangelical Protestants zealously propounded this idea. The Peace Society took a clear stand against this. A pamphlet, which had first appeared in the *Herald* of September 1854, presented evidence from the Reformation to the present day to prove that war was diametrically opposed to the progress of religion.[82]

More systematic efforts to refute religious apologies for war came in reviews of sermons, and in editorials denouncing the days of special national worship. Reviews of sermons present the most important key we have to unlocking the question of the reception of the pulpit's message. The *Herald* was concerned about the pulpit's potentially harmful impact on public opinion.[83] As early as February 1854, its editor and secretary of the Peace Society, Henry Richard, distributed a circular to clergymen of all denominations, urging them 'to moderate and restrain the ebullition of angry and revengeful passions'.[84] But this fell on deaf ears; at the end of the war, the *Herald* would lament that the Church of Christ was found wanting in its sacred duty.[85] Verdicts made earlier by *The British Friend* and *The Friend* were similar in tone.[86]

Around two months after the first day of humiliation of 26 April 1854, the *Herald* offered its first full response to the pulpit. Denouncing clerics for using their sermons 'to enter into an elaborate defence of war in general, and an emphatic eulogy on this war in particular', the *Herald* singled out the 'Dissenting pulpit' for being 'especially zealous in "beating the drum

[81] Brock, *Pacifism in Europe*, p. 346; Edmund Fry, *Peace Principles Scripturally Maintained* (London, 1855).
[82] [Peace Society], *Does War Help Christianity?* (*Reprinted from the "Herald of Peace."*) (London, [1855]), pp. 3-8: (*Peace Tracts 1855*).
[83] [Anon.], 'The Influence of the Pulpit', *HP*, III/XLVII (May 1854), p. 51.
[84] [Henry Richard], 'Circular to the Ministers of Religion', *HP*, III/XLV (Mar. 1854), p. 34.
[85] [Anon.], 'The Conclusion of Peace', *HP*, III/LXXI (May 1856), p. 54.
[86] B. W. W., 'Christianity—Its Relation to War', *BF* [Glasgow], XII/V (1854), p. 124; [Anon.], 'London, Twelfth Month 1st, 1855', *The Friend*, XIII/156 (Dec. 1855), p. 225.

ecclesiastic".'[87] The possibility that the sound of this 'drum' could further stir the bellicose feelings of the country was a cause for concern. The *Herald* responded accordingly. Offering a close and critical reading of passages from sermons, the *Herald* sought to disprove their arguments. Of particular interest are two editorials comprising around sixteen columns, probably written by Henry Richard, attacking one sermon we examined in the first chapter: that by Dr Robert Lee, the Scottish Presbyterian minister of Old Greyfriars and Edinburgh Professor of Biblical Criticism.[88] Extolled in the Scottish press for having supposedly established the lawfulness of war for Christians, Lee's sermon developed its case by attacking Henry Richard's pacifist pamphlet of 1845, *Defensive War*, circulated again during the Crimean War in the Scottish capital. To Lee's claim that Christianity's precepts only prohibited revengeful and retaliatory feelings, but were not applicable to war, the *Herald* gave a response in the form of a question: '[D]oes Dr. Lee mean to say that war can be waged, or ever has been waged, without the excitement and indulgence, in their extremest form, of revenge and retaliation?'[89] Amidst the thickets of scriptural criticism, readers of the *Herald* would not have missed its take-home message:

> Here is a book called the New Testament, professing to contain an exhibition of the principles and the spirit of Christianity. Put that book into the hands of any man,—let him be the most ignorant heathen or the rankest infidel [...]. Will he not say [...] that the spirit which pervades it is that of universal love—that it is evidently designed to check and restrain the malignant and irascible passions [...] to inculcate kindness to all men, even to the extent of enduring wrong with patience and forbearance?[90]

Lee's position could not, in the *Herald*'s view, withstand the gospel's pacific spirit.

If the lawfulness of war for Christians was a significant point of contention, the same was true of the justice of the Crimean War. The pulpit's pronouncements on the perceived 'just'

[87] 'Christian Pulpit on the War', *HP* (1854), p. 66.
[88] See Chapter One, p. 54. [Richard?], 'Dr. Lee on War [Part I]', *HP* (1854), pp. 80-5; [Henry Richard?], 'Dr. Lee on War [Part II]', *HP*, III/L (Aug. 1854), pp. 92-5.
[89] [Richard?], 'Dr. Lee on War [Part I]', *HP*, pp. 81-3, at p. 81.
[90] Ibid., p. 84.

nature of Britain's war became a cause of grievance for peace advocates. 'We mourn that '[C]hristians have imbibed the spirit, and plead the justice of this war, so generally and zealously', wrote one in 1855.[91] Adding salt to the wound was the fact that many 'pacificists' became convinced of the war's justice. As images of the carnage of the war began penetrating Victorian society, the debate acquired a sharper edge. *The Friend* stated that '[n]o Christian mind can contemplate such waste of human life, such agony of desolated hearts, without deep questioning in reference to national responsibility'.[92] In the aftermath of the first day of humiliation, the *Herald*'s front-page article 'War Prayers' weighed into the debate. Setting aside for the sake of argument the question of the lawfulness of war, it stated that Christians resorting to arms had to have a case which was 'singularly clear and indubitable' for them to turn to God and plead divine assistance in their bloody endeavours. But the mere assumption that a war was 'just' was not enough. The Spanish war of 1739, the American War of 1776, and even the Napoleonic Wars—all of which, according to the *Herald*, posterity judged to be unjust—had been declared by Britons in their prayers to be 'just and honourable', with similar levels of confidence as with the war against Russia. The same thing was repeated in Britain's wars with China, Afghanistan, and the 'Kaffirs'. 'Was not the ear of God', asked the *Herald*,

> insulted with petitions for the success of our arms, grounded on the same complacent assumption of justice, when we were maintaining the right of smugglers to force a poisonous and deadly drug on the people of China? Was He not importuned to "go forth with our hosts to battle" when we were invading Affghanistan [*sic*], and burning the wretched Kaffirs out of their homes?[93]

The *Herald* thus suggested that Britons could be as wrong in their judgement about the justice of the ongoing war, as they had been wrong on many past occasions.

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[91] Thomas Hughes [Wesleyan Methodist minister], *Christian England and War; or, the War not Consistent with the Christian Character of England* (London and Market Rasen, 1855), p. 60.
[92] [Anon.], 'London, Twelfth Month 1st, 1854', *The Friend*, XII/144 (Dec. 1854), p. 222.
[93] [Anon.], 'War Prayers', *HP*, III/XLVII (May 1854), p. 50.

The day of thanksgiving prayer on 30 September 1855 for the fall of Sebastopol became an occasion for further debate. The idea of victory as proof of the justice of the war and of divine approval of it was central to this debate. As we have seen, the underlying assumption of some sermons of this day was that God granted victory to those fighting for justice.[94] The *Herald*'s editorial of October 1855 protested at how those 'so-called Christian teachers' who talked

> in a strain of counterfeit piety of 'God prospering the right', have attempted to clothe with religious sanction this latter monstrous principle [that victory in war must be regarded as a conclusive proof of the divine approval], a principle which would convert the God who 'loveth righteousness and hateth iniquity', into the patron of some of the vilest impostors and most blood-thirsty barbarians that have ever dishonoured humanity.[95]

This day also brought to the surface another controversial question: whether the war on the part of the allies was one of self-defence. The only explanation the *Herald* could give for the 'renewed emphasis' on this notion of the war being 'defensive', was that its proponents invoked it to placate their biting consciences after seeing the 'hideous spectacle of blood and misery brought to light [...] by the conflagration of Sebastopol'.[96] But was the war really one of self-defence? For the *Herald* this was demonstrably untrue: the allies were the ones invading Russia despite never giving them any cause of grievance.[97] *The Friend* of October 1855 criticised the use of such terms as 'justice' and 'defence' to describe war: 'When shall we learn to call actions by their right names, cease to dignify murder, robbery and revenge, with the attributes of "justice", and refuse to sanction their perpetration under the plea of "self-defence"?'[98]

Critical engagements with such questions also formed part of various tracts, anti-war sermons, and other publications. A case in point is the *Essay on War, and on its Lawfulness Under the Christian Dispensation* by Joseph John Gurney (d. 1847), the leading evangelical

[94] See Chapter One, p. 68.
[95] [Anon.], 'The Fall of Sebastopol', *HP*, III/LXIV (Oct. 1855), p. 260.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid., p. 261.
[98] [Anon.], 'London, Tenth Month, 1st, 1855', *The Friend*, XIII/154 (Oct. 1855), p. 187.

Quaker, Norwich banker, and brother of Elizabeth Fry.[99] This essay was initially part of a longer book which, together with other twelve tracts, formed the Peace Society's 'intellectual identity'.[100] First appearing in pamphlet form in 1833, the essay eventually achieved a transatlantic readership.[101] Gurney argued that the conceptual distinction drawn between 'just' and 'unjust' wars was pointless because '[t]here are few wars, however atrocious, which are not defended, and not many perhaps which the persons waging them do not *believe* to be justified by some plea or other connected with self-preservation or honourable retribution.'[102] Gurney's *Essay* was republished in 1855 by Edward Marsh, superintendent of the Friends' Depository at 84 Houndsditch, London.[103] The fact that it resurfaced during the Crimean War suggests its continuing importance in nineteenth-century peace thinking. In December 1854 the *Herald* heaped praise on Gurney's *Essay*, describing it as one of the best works on the subject, and calling for its republication and circulation.[104]

Gurney's questioning of the conceptual foundation of just war corresponded to the efforts of peace-minded Anglicans, such as the anonymous clerical author of *The Soldier that Went not to Sebastopol* examined in the second chapter, to challenge orthodox interpretations of the Church of England's Thirty-Seventh Article. This was also the aim of a sermon of the second day of humiliation by Alfred Bowen Evans, the pacifist Tractarian preacher of St Andrew's church, Marylebone.[105] Evans's sermon was favourably reviewed by the *Herald*. After securing his permission, the Peace Society republished a cheaper version to disseminate it more widely, especially amongst clergymen.[106] Evans told his congregation and readers that according to the Thirty-Seventh Article's Latin version, 'if a War be just it is lawful'. But the problem, he stated,

[99] Brock, *Pacifism in Europe*, p. 339.
[100] Ceadel, *Origins*, pp. 262-4.
[101] Brock, *Pacifism in Europe*, p. 339.
[102] Joseph John Gurney, *An Essay on War, and on its Lawfulness under the Christian Dispensation* (London, 1855), p. 11.
[103] Russell S. Mortimer, 'Quaker Printers, 1750-1850', *JFHS*, 50/3 (1963), p. 110.
[104] [Anon.], 'The Patriotic Fund and the Peace Party', *HP*, III/LIV (Dec. 1854), p. 139.
[105] Peter Brock, 'The Peace Testimony of the Early Plymouth Brethren', *CH*, 53/1 (1984), p. 41, n. 31.
[106] 'Report [of the Peace Society]', *HP* (1856), p. 63.

was 'in knowing if a War be just, unless we, like the Jews, could have a Divine intimation to that effect.' A series of rhetorical questions further complicated this matter:

> Battles have been fought, and the side on which justice seemed to be was defeated. Did the Deity, then, side with injustice? But justice is usually claimed on both sides. In such cases, is it not probable, it is on neither? That both parties are in the wrong? [...] Is it not more probable that all War is unjust, than that any particular War is the reverse?[107]

Only God, judged Evans, could know about the justice of wars. 'Our believing a War to be just will not make it so: nor will our telling our Maker, in our addresses to Him, that it is just, either create his knowledge of the fact or increase it.'[108] Evans questioned not the Thirty-Seventh Article *per se*, but the way Anglicans typically interpreted it. The challenge the peace movement thus posed to apologists of the war was both incisive and vigorous. Religious argument was at the heart of the peace movement's critiques of the Crimean War, and inextricable from the wider debate over its justice.

RELIGION, MILITARY OBEDIENCE, AND THE CONDUCT OF WAR[109]

Another issue intersecting with religion which confronted peace advocates was what is here referred to as the doctrine of military obedience. For many commentators this implied the abdication of the soldier as a moral agent. If a soldier was obligated to follow orders unquestioningly, he forfeited his conscience and could find himself committing things which were morally wrong. Were there, then, any limits to military duty? Could a soldier refuse to fight wars which, in his view, were unjust? And was it ever possible for a soldier to know about the justice of the wars which he was called to fight? A critical engagement with these questions,

[107] Alfred Bowen Evans, *War: its Theology; its Anomalies; its Incidents and its Humiliations. A Discourse* (London, 1855), p. 5.
[108] Ibid., p. 6.
[109] This section has partly served as the basis for my article 'Soldiership, Christianity, and the Crimean War'.

combined with a critical reading of Catherine Marsh's *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars*, allowed peace advocates to challenge the paradigm of the 'Christian soldier'. Conscious of clerical efforts to impart an ethical standard and a religious ethos to the conduct of war, they also set out to undercut the idea of the 'Christian soldier' waging a just war in a supposedly 'just' and Christian manner, by citing instances of violence reported from the battlefront.

Critical engagements with the subject of military obedience were nothing new. In the early seventeenth century Grotius departed from established theories of unlimited obedience. A soldier, he argued, was bound to obey his superiors' orders as long as he was convinced that the wars he was called to fight were 'just'. If, according to the soldier's conscience, these wars seemed unjust, he had to avoid them altogether.[110] Thomas Gisborne (1758-1846), the Cambridge-educated evangelical Anglican cleric and future prebendary of Durham, posited a similar argument in his *Enquiry into the Duties of Men* of 1795. In Gisborne's eyes, 'the habits of military discipline, and of that indiscriminate submission which in the common routine of service is highly meritorious, have frequently ensnared the understanding and the conscience', leading officers to commit 'the most flagrant acts of injustice.' Gisborne accordingly recommended that an officer first examines the justice of the war 'to the utmost extent of his abilities and information.' If the investigation revealed that his country was fighting an unjust war, he had an 'indispensable duty' to resign his post.[111]

Peace advocates considered such proposals deeply flawed. In his treatise of 1823, Dymond accepted that the submission of the soldier was vital for the proper functioning of the military system. Yet he warned that this submission inevitably led a soldier to abandon his moral agency and powers of reasoning.[112] For Dymond, the suggestion that soldiers first inquire into the justice of wars they are called to fight prior to embarking on them, was unreasonable:

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[110] Ben Vermeulen, 'Grotius on Conscience and Military Orders', *Grotiana*, 6/1 (1985), pp. 9, 13-16.
[111] Thomas Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of Men in the Higher and Middle Classes of Society in Great Britain*, 4th edn (2 vols, London, 1797), i, pp. 285-8.
[112] Dymond, *Inquiry*, pp. 97-8.

> [S]ome moralists tell us that a soldier should assure himself, before he engages in a war, that it is a lawful and just one; and they acknowledge that if he does not feel this assurance, he is 'a murderer'. But how is he to know that the war is just? It is difficult [...] for the people to discover what the objects of a war are. And if the soldier knew that it was just in its commencement, how is he to know that it will continue just in its prosecution? [...] You say—When he discovers any injustice or wickedness, let him withdraw: we answer, he cannot; and the truth is, that there is no way of avoiding the evil but by avoiding the army.[113]

The Crimean War brought these questions to the fore of public debate. Interventions came from two groups. On the one hand, there were those who accepted the doctrine of military obedience: that a soldier had no right to exercise his individual conscience and moral agency. On the other hand, there were those—primarily peace advocates—who believed that this doctrine turned soldiers into machines, making them blindly commit crimes at the orders of those they had sworn obedience to. The former position found expression around a month before the declaration of war in a speech by General Sir Harry Smith to the 93rd Highlanders preparing to embark for the East. 'Soldiers', he told them, 'have nothing to do with the cause of quarrels; their duty is to fight.'[114] A year later, James Martineau denounced those who opposed war on the grounds that a soldier 'hires himself to kill, without regard to the rectitude of the cause.' There was no issue with soldiers surrendering their judgements to superiors, Martineau averred, because 'to act as the vehicles of a higher personality, whose decisions have natural right over us, is an ennobling sacrifice of self-will; it quiets the egotism of the part, in presence of the Duty of the whole.'[115]

Critics of war vigorously contested these views. As early as February 1854, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, the popular radical weekly edited by the Chartist George W. M. Reynolds, published a letter by a correspondent denouncing this 'monstrous doctrine of the soldier's duty

[113] Ibid., pp. 98-9.
[114] [Anon.], 'Preparations for War', *CM* [Edinburgh], 20376 (2 Mar. 1854), p. [2].
[115] Martineau, *National Duties*, pp. 83-4.

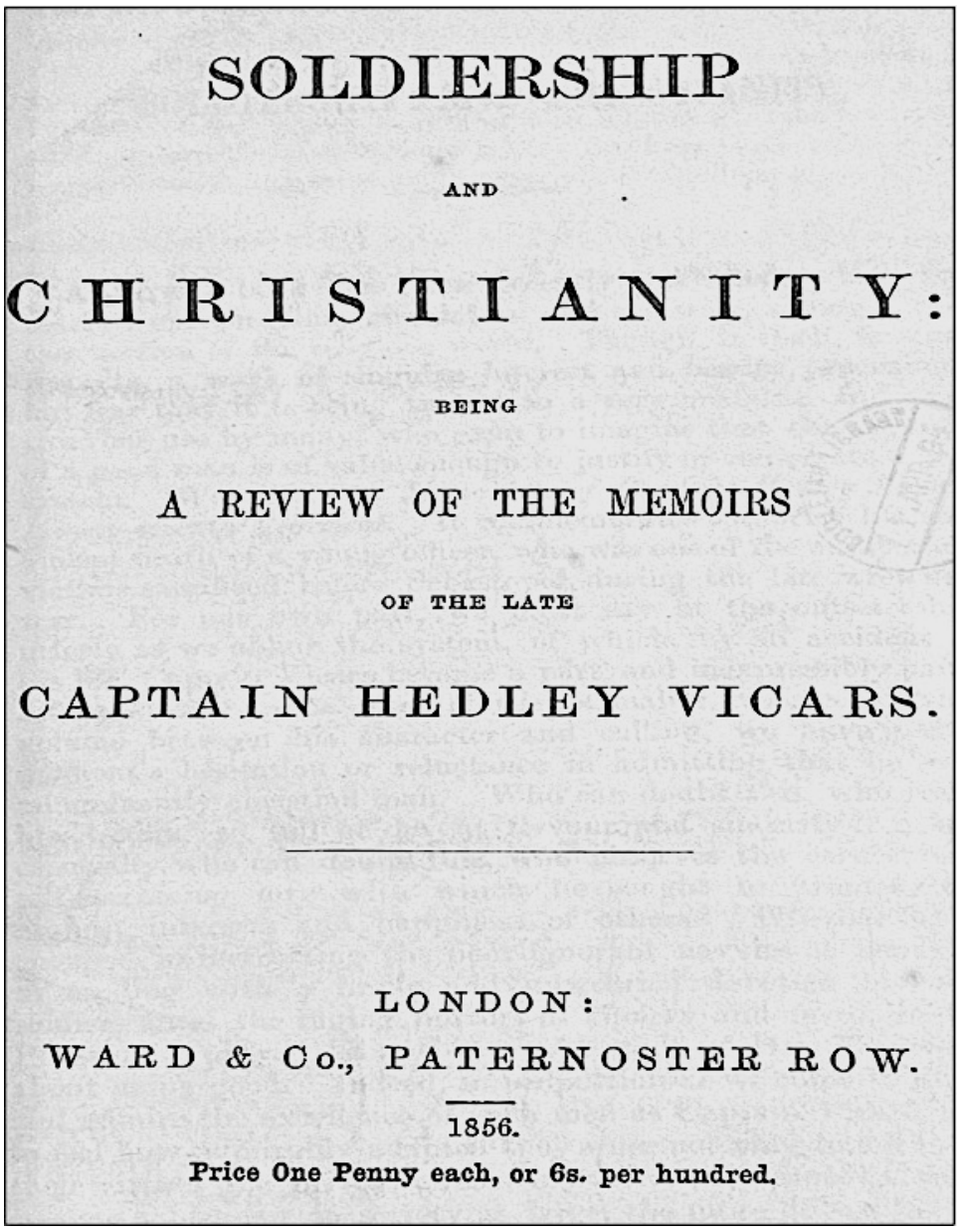
to yield unlimited and unqualified obedience.'[116] A pacifist English Presbyterian minister also criticised the notion that a soldier's purpose 'is not to think or reason, but to *do*'.[117]

The complex relationship between military obedience, religion, and morality was central to the peace movement's critique of Catherine Marsh's *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars*. Peace advocates became painfully aware of the great influence Marsh's biography of the British officer had on the religious public. 'We are aware', observed a review of the *Memorials* in *The Friend*, 'that this extraordinary memoir of a sincere Christian, paradoxical as the term may appear, will, doubtless, be eagerly caught at by the upholders of war.' The Quaker reviewer had no doubts that 'those who declare that taking up arms in certain cases is perfectly compatible with the teachings of the New Testament, will point at the subject of the book before us as a triumphant proof of their position.'[118] This observation was well-founded. Many clerical commentators, as we have seen, deployed the religious and heroic themes of Marsh's *Memorials* against the peace movement. For peace advocates it became a matter of urgency to interrogate this work, and challenge its paradigm of the 'Christian soldier'.

The most systematic criticism of Marsh's *Memorials* came around mid-1856 in an anonymous pamphlet entitled *Soldiership and Christianity: Being a Review of the Memoirs of the Late Captain Hedley Vicars* (Fig. 5). The pamphlet has recently received fresh scholarly attention. The second volume of *Nineteenth-Century Religion, Literature and Society* has reproduced excerpts of it, although the editor made no attempt to establish the pamphlet's authorship.[119] One scholar has speculated that its author was a Quaker.[120] The pamphlet was

[116] Northumbrian, 'Concerning Soldiers, and their Rights', *RN*, 184 (19 Feb. 1854), p. [7].
[117] [Philip Pearsall Carpenter], *Words in the War: Being Lectures on 'Life and Death in the Hands of God and Man'* (London, 1855), pp. 51-2.
[118] [Anon.], '*Memorials of* Capt. Hedley Vicars, *97th Regiment*. *Fifty-first thousand*. London: Nisbet & Co.', *The Friend*, XIV/165 (Sept. 1856), p. 172.
[119] Angharad Eyre (ed.), *Nineteenth-Century Religion, Literature and Society* (4 vols, London, 2020), ii, pp. 61-9.
[120] Broughton, 'Life and Afterlives of Captain Hedley Vicars', p. 21.

actually an extended version of two editorials of the *Herald* published in June and July 1856.[121] The Peace Society collated them before publishing them in pamphlet form, to circulate them beyond the confines of its organ, and so to make a more meaningful impact on public opinion.



SOLDIERSHIP

AND

CHRISTIANITY:

BEING

A REVIEW OF THE MEMOIRS

OF THE LATE

CAPTAIN HEDLEY VICARS.

LONDON:

WARD & Co., PATERNOSTER ROW.

1856.

Price One Penny each, or 6s. per hundred.

Fig. 3.2. Title page, *Soldiership and Christianity*

[121] [Henry Richard?], 'Soldiership and Christianity [Part I]', *HP*, III/LXXII (June 1856), pp. 66-8; [Henry Richard?], 'Soldiership and Christianity [Part II]', *HP*, III/LXXIII (July 1856), pp. 78-9.

It is, therefore, likely that the pamphlet's author was Henry Richard, the *Herald*'s editor and secretary of the Peace Society.

The Peace Society's pamphlet acknowledged the fact that Marsh's *Memorials* 'reached extraordinary circulation and celebrity, among a certain section of the religious world', but also expressed its 'fear that it [was] being turned to a very mistaken and mischievous use by many, who seem to imagine that the example of a good man is of value enough to justify or consecrate a bad system.'[122] No one, argued the pamphlet, could seriously claim that slavery was compatible with Christianity by appealing to the 'sainted' John Newton who participated in the African slave-trade during the eighteenth century without regard of the wrongfulness of his practice, so how could advocates of war infer war's compatibility with Christianity by appealing to the conduct of one British officer, however a devout Christian his memorialist presented him to be?[123] 'Human conduct is to be tested by Christian principle, not Christian principle by human conduct.'[124] The pamphlet also exposed inconsistencies in Vicars's character. Though he seemed to have cared 'for the salvation of others', he also acted as 'an instrument in hurling scores and hundreds of immortal spirits into eternity' in 'an unsaved condition'.[125] These things seemed utterly incongruous, making the religious 'war party's' exemplar of piety, manliness, and martial valour appear a complete hypocrite. The biggest nail to the coffin of the ideal of the 'Christian soldier' was Vicars's own admission in one of his letters cited by Marsh, that '[h]ad [he] loved Jesus when [he] was seventeen, or rather had the love of Jesus been then made known to [his] soul, [he] *certainly* should not have been a soldier'.[126] According to the Peace Society's pamphlet, Vicars's admission—which religious

[122] [Henry Richard?], *Soldiership and Christianity: Being a Review of the Memoirs of the Late Captain Hedley Vicars* (London, 1856), p. [3].
[123] Ibid., pp. 5-6.
[124] Ibid., p. 4.
[125] Ibid., pp. 13-14.
[126] [Marsh], *Memorials*, p. 132 (Vicars's emphasis).

apologists of the war conveniently overlooked—suggested that he had doubts about the lawfulness of his own profession:

> If the military profession is perfectly in harmony with the mind of the Saviour, and if, as is repeatedly affirmed in [the *Memorials*], it affords special opportunities for serving him, and making known his truth and grace, why should Captain Vicars say he would certainly never have entered upon it, had he been converted at an earlier age?[127] This incidental revelation of what was working in his mind, seems to us pregnant with significance.

At the heart of the pamphlet's critique of Marsh's *Memorials* lay the doctrine of military obedience. Its argument was as follows. Military service depended on obedience and the renunciation of soldiers' conscience. This theory found expression in the Commons on 2 May 1856, around a month after the signing of the Treaty of Paris. Here Lord Robert Grosvenor asked Palmerston whether those members of military bands ordered to play in the parks on Sundays and refused to do so because of conscientious motives—observing the Sabbath—or because they wanted to enjoy their Sunday holiday, would be released from that duty? In the ensuing debate, one MP warned about the dire consequences to military discipline, if liberty of conscience were to be introduced into the ranks. Another MP added that if the soldier did not accept that his position would be that of a machine, he should leave service. For the Peace Society's pamphlet this debate proved that even parliamentarians regarded the soldier as 'a machine, without reason, without feelings, without conscience.' The pamphlet challenged the doctrine of military obedience not on the basis of the extreme pacifist assumption that all war was unlawful, but according to the view that a Christian could never 'become the blind instrument for the performance of acts having a moral character, without consulting the voice of conscience, or paying the slightest heed to the will of his master [Jesus Christ].'[128] The soldier's profession and the Christian faith were thus incompatible.

[127] [Richard?], *Soldiership and Christianity*, p. 16.
[128] Ibid., pp. 10-12.

This point had an implication for the question of the justice of wars. In one of his letters we have examined in the previous chapter, Vicars professed that Britain was fighting against Russia in a just war. But was Vicars in a position to make such pronouncements about the war's moral nature? The pamphlet declared that he 'was probably little qualified by position or intimate knowledge of the facts to form an impartial judgement of its justice or injustice.' Besides, Vicars had no right 'to import into the account any considerations whatever of the justice or injustice of the war', since the obedience he had sworn to the queen and his superiors meant that he was bound to execute whatever he was ordered to do, 'be it just or unjust'.[129] Vicars's position of strict obedience and limited knowledge thus precluded him from passing any moral judgements, so his belief that this war was one of justice meant—and proved—nothing.

Peace advocates were equally invested in undermining the idea of the 'Christian soldier' fighting the war in a 'just' manner and according to Christian principles. Reports of newspaper correspondents offering graphic accounts of how the allies conducted the campaign were largely responsible for investing the war with an unprecedented degree of immediacy and visibility. This generated a new discursive context which peace advocates exploited. During the summer months of 1854, the peace movement began probing the war's conduct. Around this time the *Illustrated London News* reported on the destruction of shipbuilding materials in Finland by a squadron of ships under Rear-Admiral Plumridge.[130] Notwithstanding whatever attempts had been made to mitigate the severity of wars, 'all principles of humanity [and] [...] all the restraints imposed by the so-called *laws of war*', argued the *Herald*, were eventually disregarded, as confirmed in the Baltic where the British fleet had carried out '[a] most ignoble war upon poor unresisting coasters and fishermen.'[131] Joseph Sturge, one of the members of

[129] Ibid., p. 12.
[130] Tate, *Short History*, pp. 135-6.
[131] [Anon.], 'Destruction of Private Property in the Baltic', *HP*, III/L (Aug. 1854), p. [87].

the Quaker deputation to St Petersburg in early 1854, later travelled to Finland and put his philanthropic activism at work by raising funds for the suffering Finns.[132]

The most severe condemnation of the allied conduct of the war came during the summer of 1855. In May an expedition was dispatched to Kerch on the easternmost side of the Crimea. Kerch and the towns along the Sea of Azov suffered a great degree of destruction. According to the calculations of the Russian government, the towns on the Sea of Azov 'ranked among the hardest hit of the war.'[133] The *Herald* and *The Friend* reprinted excerpts from the report of *The Times*'s correspondent describing the sacking of Kerch.[134] This report also disclosed the violence suffered by non-combatants, the atrocities carried out by the Turks, and the general plundering in which English merchant sailors also partook. '[W]hat [...] will be said by those astonishing people who talk of *conducting war on Christian principles!',* cried the *Herald*.[135] On its own part, *The Friend* questioned the morality of war in general:

> Who can contemplate this ghastly phantasmagoria of carnage and cruelty, and feel no misgivings as to the morality, the right of nations thus to deluge the earth with blood [...]? We are familiar with all that has been advanced in defence of the policy and justice of this war; but surely its most sanguine apologists must find it a hard thing to reconcile the murderous incidents of this Crimean struggle with the immutable principles of right, and the dictates of Gospel truth.[136]

Evidence from the blood-stained battlefront thus seemed to prove the failure of the teachings of Kingsley and others. Mimicking clerics who drew on letters of pious servicemen to demonstrate the compatibility of war and Christianity, the *Herald* cited a sergeant's letter who witnessed the sacking of Yenikale, near Kerch. '[T]he most civilised mode of warfare', he declared, 'is a curse that is altogether intolerable.' Tellingly, his understanding of the justice of

[132] [Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey], *Report of a Visit to Finland in the Autumn of 1856* (Birmingham, 1857?).
[133] Kozelsky, *Crimea*, pp. 148-50.
[134] [Anon.], 'The Capture of Kertch', *HP*, III/LXI (July 1855), p. 228; [Anon.], 'London, Seventh Month 1st, 1855', *The Friend*, XIII/151 (July 1855), p. 126.
[135] [Anon.], 'The War and the Ministers', *HP*, III/LXI (July 1855), p. 226 (*Herald*'s emphasis).
[136] 'London, Seventh Month 1st, 1855', *The Friend*, p. 127.

the war changed after witnessing its horrors. The following passage which the *Herald* quoted from his letter was highly suggestive. Here, the *Herald* was not interested, as was the case with Vicars, to argue that soldiers could never hold views as to the justice of wars. Rather, the message was that a first-hand experience of the war's horrors was the ultimate solvent of overblown moralistic dictums about the conflict with Russia:

> With all the exaggeration of my ideas with regard to the righteousness of the present war, it is impossible to look around and see what suffering is brought upon the heads of the innocent as well as the guilty without being ready to curse war, with all that uphold or look with a favourable eye upon it.[137]

FURTHER CRITIQUES

Religion, as we have seen, lay at the heart of the peace movement's critiques of war. But this does not mean that peace advocates failed to consider the various other grounds upon which the 'war party' defended Britain's resort to arms. On the contrary, the peace movement's religious case against war was complemented by a range of context-specific arguments aiming to undermine popular ideas feeding into justifications of the war. Pointing to Britain's imperial expansionism, peace advocates challenged the hypocritical view that Britain was a power with distinctive duties placing her at the vanguard of international morality. They also attacked the notion that Britain was fighting Russia for justice, liberty, and civilization against despotism and barbarism, as well as for the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Turkey; for upholding the balance of power; and for derailing the aggressive designs of a stronger power against a weaker one. The question of the justice of the war intersected with all these points. Religious periodicals such as the *Herald* combined their Christian pacifist opposition to war with what Ceadel has pronounced a 'Cobdenite analysis of the international situation'.[138]

[137] [Anon.], 'The Sacking of Yenikale', *HP*, III/LXII (Aug. 1855), pp. 241-2.
[138] Ceadel, *Semi-Detached Idealists*, p. 41.

Cobden and the *Herald*'s editor Henry Richard developed a close relationship, so much so that material from the Peace Society's official organ resonated in Cobden's speeches, and vice versa.[139] Quakers and a host of peace-minded commentators similarly complemented their religious case against the war with Cobdenite ideas.

More than any other peace advocate, Cobden castigated Britain for her hypocritical stance of donning the mantle of international morality—whilst her own imperial forces were busy plundering the world—and then accusing Russia of aggression towards Turkey. In a speech at the Edinburgh Peace Conference in October 1853, Cobden conceded that Russia had invaded 'an unoffending power [i.e., Turkey]', but rejected the claim that Britain had a duty to fight against the injustice suffered by Muslims in Europe, since Britain was doing far worse to Muslims in Asia:

> We have trampled down an empire in Burmah [*sic*], and with as little ceremony, as little reason and justice, as a ruffian would go into the market-place, and kick down an apple stall. Are we, who do these things in the face of the world, to exercise God's vengeance on any other country for doing the same things?[140]

The Cobdenite case found its most cogent exposition in the *Herald*. The Peace Society's organ was unsparing in its onslaught against the 'war party'. Its editorial of March 1854 argued that Britain was in no moral position 'to assume the function of executing justice on Russia.'[141] The 'war party' expended much energy in portraying the conflict as one of justice and for defending the weak against the strong. What it was forgetting, however, was that Britons were guilty of bullying weaker nations.[142] In the aftermath of the first occasion of special national worship, the *Herald*'s front-page article turned the idea of humiliation on its head, asking whether it would not have been more becoming for them as a nation to reflect upon their own '*offences*'

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[139] Idem, 'Cobden and Peace', in Anthony Howe and Simon Morgan (eds), *Rethinking Nineteenth-Century Liberalism: Richard Cobden Bicentenary Essays* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 198-9.
[140] Peace Conference Committee, *Report of the Proceedings of the Peace Conference at Edinburgh, October 12th and 13th, 1853* (Edinburgh, 1853), p. 13.
[141] [Anon.], 'Why Are We to Flight with Russia?', *HP*, III/XLV (Mar. 1854), pp. 30-1.
[142] Ibid., p. 31.

rather than clamouring about Russia's "unprovoked aggression"?[143] Was the British invasion of Afghanistan in 1839, it further asked, 'an act of less atrocious injustice' than the Russian occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1853? Or was the so-called "massacre of Sinope" at the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war, 'a more unprovoked and murderous achievement than the destruction of the Danish fleet' and the British bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807? Or was the perceived Russian design to capture part of Turkey 'more a piece of unprincipled cupidity' than Britain's own plans to annex the Burmese Empire?[144] From a Cobdenite vantage point, the *Herald* denounced Britons for 'arraigning another nation before the bar of God, and invoking his help to bring down destruction upon it', when their own country was committing in Burma 'an act of unjust and unprovoked aggression, whose moral turpitude [could not] well be surpassed'.[145]

The Friend similarly excoriated the hypocrisy which underlay the observance of the day of humiliation. Britain, it stated, had plenty of reasons to humiliate herself, not least her manifold colonial crimes:

> With hands yet red with the blood of the Burmese and the Caffres, our country, united with a powerful neighbour [France], yet smoke-begrimed from the caves of Dahra and the massacres in Algeria, is about to sacrifice her people by the thousands, to check a brother spoliator [the czar] in his lust of conquest! Need enough for humiliation here![146]

Contemporary peace-mindedness thus closely intersected with anti-colonial rhetoric. Peace advocates repeatedly cited examples of colonial violence to challenge moralistic vindications of the Crimean War, and to attack Britons' cant about their professed moral superiority. In July 1854 the *Herald* reminded its readers that the British empire was built through aggressive and protracted expansionism, far worse than that of Russia:

> From the French we have taken Malta, the Mauritius, Canada, Nova Scotia, Dominica, Grenada, St Vincent, Tobago and St Lucia.

[143] 'War Prayers', *HP* (1854), p. 49.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] 'London, Fifth Month, 1st, 1854', *The Friend*, p. 86.

> From the Spaniards we have taken Gibraltar, Jamaica, Trinadad [*sic*], Honduras and the Falkland Islands.
> From the Dutch we have taken the Cape, Ceylon, British Guiana and St Helena.
> From the Danes we have taken Heligoland and some forts on the West Coast of Africa.
> From the Chinese we have taken Hong Kong.
> From the Burmese we have taken Aracan, Tavay and Pegu.
> From the Kaffirs we have taken in South Africa, a territory declared by Sir William Molesworth to be larger than the Austrian Empire.
> From the Sultan of Borneo we have taken Labuan and Sarawak.
> And in India, we have been plundering everybody.[147]

On this basis the *Herald* argued that, according to the much-invoked concept of the balance of power, Europe had to form a league against Britain, not Russia.[148] A host of peace-minded clerics weighed into the debate. James William Massie, Scottish independent minister and missionary whom the *Herald* extolled for his long advocacy of the Peace Society's principles, professed that Britain had much to be ashamed about her Indian rule.[149] Edmund Kell, a Southampton-based Unitarian minister, agreed.[150] Britons, according to the *Herald*, were so arrogant that they routinely chided others for extending their power, but took it for granted that they could do the same with impunity because their own power supposedly disseminated the blessings of Christianity, civilization, and commerce to the colonised.[151] This 'Christianising' and 'civilising' mission, the *Herald* later claimed, was far more pernicious as the many instances of misrule in India and elsewhere demonstrated.[152] Shortly after the end of the war, the *Herald* returned to the same subject. In the judgement of its front-page article of May 1856, Britain's self-complacency and self-adulation were placing her in a most perilous position because she was 'making enemies of all mankind'. There was only one way for Britain to cast

[147] [Anon.], 'What's to be Done Next?', *HP*, III/XLIX (July 1854), p. [75].
[148] 'Why Are We to Flight with Russia?', *HP*, (1854), p. 32.
[149] James William Massie, *The Contrast: War and Christianity* (London, 1854), pp. 50-1.
[150] Edmund Kell, *Peace, the Gift, the Injunction of Our Holy Redeemer. A Sermon* (London, 1855), p. 10.
[151] [Anon.], 'The Balance of Power', *HP*, III/XLVII (May 1854), pp. 55-6.
[152] [Anon.], 'An Example to Russia', *HP*, III/LXI (July 1855), pp. 226-7.

off the mantle of 'assumed moral superiority' which damaged her global reputation, and this was through genuine repentance and each person's reformation.[153]

A principal argument of the 'war party' was that Britain was fighting to maintain the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. This 'clap-trap cry', as Cobden privately pronounced it, was one of those factors complementing the view that the war was 'just'.[154] Turkish affairs became a topic of assiduous criticism on the part of the peace movement. In February 1854, the *Herald*'s front-page article argued that in supporting Turkey, Britain was propping up an abominable system. Using a language reminiscent of other critics of Turkey, the *Herald* claimed that the Sultan's refusal in 1849 to accede to the Austro-Russian demand for the expulsion of Kossuth and his associates—something which had generated a 'new-born admiration of Turkey' amongst Britons—could offset neither the terrible oppression suffered by Christian populations under the Turkish yoke, nor the hideousness of the 'system of misrule which ha[d] reduced the finest territories on the face of the earth [...] into "a desolate wilderness".'[155] Whatever politicians such as Palmerston were alleging about Turkey's reforms and progress, and whatever illusions people were under that in supporting her they were also fighting in the cause of freedom, progress, and civilization against tyranny and barbarism, plenty of evidence provided by authors who had visited that empire, as well as assessments by various commentators writing on Turkey's social, political, religious, and cultural fabric, pointed to the opposite direction. Travelogues, articles in the periodical press, and other publications offered analogous accounts about that empire. When these stories were pieced together they formed an image of inexorable imperial decline, corruption, misgovernment, irremediable decay, depopulation, lack of progress, barbarism, and religious bigotry. Added to these was the Turkish intolerance towards the '*Rayahs*'—the Christians comprising the

[153] [Anon.], 'The Mote in Our Brother's Eye and the Beam in Our Own', *HP*, III/LXXI (May 1856), p. 51.
[154] '[Letter from Richard Cobden] To William Hargreaves' (7 Oct. 1854), in Richard Cobden, *The Letters of Richard Cobden: Vol. 3:1854-1859*, ed. Anthony Howe and Simon Morgan (Oxford, 2012), p. 48.
[155] [Anon.], 'The Eastern Question.—The Condition of Turkey [Part I]', *HP*, III/XLIV (Feb. 1854), pp. [13]-14.

majority of the sultan's subjects—and a Muslim population whose social and moral condition was marked by 'depravity and degradation', exemplified in such practices as slavery and polygamy.[156] Most peace advocates shared these views. A pamphlet published in 1855 by an anonymous Anglican clergyman and circulated by the Peace Society, reminded its readers of 'the Montenegrin massacre of 1852-1853' committed by Turkey, whose scenes of butchery evoked those of the Greek war of independence of the 1820s. 'Might not the renewal of such scenes as these have been expected to make the English Government pause before they took up arms in defence of that Government, which they had both condemned and punished for similar offences at the battle of Navarino [in 1827]?'[157] For the peace movement, Turkey was not worth saving.

The fear of Russian expansionism, combined with the belief that Russian despotism and barbarism threatened to annihilate Turkey and European liberties and civilization, reinforced the notion of Britain's war being one of justice. From early on, the *Herald* discerned a parallel between the paroxysm which now gripped Britons and the one manifested during the wars with France.[158] In October 1854, whilst the Crimean and Baltic campaigns were underway, the *Herald* cited Cobden's view that 'this notion of the prodigious power of Russia was a delusion'.[159] Another of the *Herald*'s articles controversially argued that '[p]erhaps there is no people in the world so susceptible of being inoculated with a panic as the English people.'[160] It was in its comparative and cross-cultural analysis of Russia and Turkey that the *Herald* offered its most compelling case against the perceived threat of Russian barbarism deluging Europe. Long exposed to Greek intellect and culture as well as to the Christian religion, the Turks, claimed the *Herald*, did not achieve any progress. On the other hand, the 'Slavic race'

[156] Ibid., pp. 14-18; [Anon.], 'The Eastern Question.—The Condition of Turkey [Part II]', *HP*, III/XLIV (Feb. 1854), pp. 20-2.
[157] [Anon.], *Notes from France on the War with Russia* (London, 1855), pp. [3]-4.
[158] 'Why Are We to Flight with Russia?', *HP*, p. 32.
[159] [Anon.], 'How to Civilize Russia', *HP*, III/LII (Oct. 1854), p. 117.
[160] [Anon.], 'Is the Russophobia Rational?', *HP*, III/LXVIII (Feb. 1856), p. 14.

proved more than capable of embracing 'higher culture'. Slavic nations were 'a fresh and vigorous race, struggling, as all European races have had to struggle in turn, to emerge out of feudalism and selfdom in the broad light of liberty and progress.'[161] The *Herald* thus challenged preconceived understandings of 'barbarism' and 'civilization', and the manner in which they were applied, often in too unqualified a sense, to Britain's foe and ally.

In July 1855 the *Herald* observed that people's hostility towards Russia was 'combined with a strong sympathy for what are called "the oppressed nationalities".'[162] This 'sympathy' towards Poland, Hungary, and Italy sharpened the notion that Britain was contending for liberty and justice. Sympathetic ideas towards the oppressed nationalities saturated public opinion. James Martineau even went so far as to propose a new campaign in Poland.[163] Elizabeth Barrett Browning, whose residence in Florence shaped her awareness of the Italian question, expressed bitter disappointment when the war failed to bring about any changes in regard to Europe's oppressed peoples. 'Will nothing be done after all for Italy? nothing for Poland?', she asked.[164] Such liberal views were accompanied by a hostility towards continental despotism. Peace advocates recognised the popularity of ideas about the oppressed nationalities. The *Herald* blamed politicians such as Palmerston and Lord John Russell for exciting the public in favour of war against Russia, and for adding fuel to the idea of reconstituting these nationalities.[165] In August 1855, it warned that fighting for such utopian objects would lead to anarchy, with Britain potentially finding herself in a wider European war.[166] The 'transparent delusion' behind the claim that Britain was fighting for liberty was also one of the points that the Peace Society raised in an address to the British people. This address encouraged readers to ask

[161] 'How to Civilize Russia', *HP* (1854), p. 118.
[162] 'The War and the Ministers', *HP* (1855), p. 224.
[163] [James Martineau], 'Foreign Policy and the Next Campaign', *NR*, 2/3 (Jan. 1856), pp. 226-38.
[164] '[Letter] 3736. E[lizabeth] B[arrett] B[rowning] to Julia Martin (21 Feb. 1856), in Philip Kelley et al. (eds), *The Brownings' Correspondence*, *Volume 22* (Winfield, KS, 2015), p. 127.
[165] 'The War and the Ministers', *HP* (1855), pp. 224-5.
[166] [Anon.], 'The Oppressed Nationalities', *HP*, III/LXII (Aug. 1855), pp. 236-7.

themselves how could this claim be true when Britain was allied with the emperors of France and Austria, who were enemies of popular liberty? What the Peace Society therefore set out to do was to encourage people to think critically about the war, and not to be persuaded 'by *mere phrases*'.[167]

Faced with the most critical moment in its history until that time, the peace movement thus steadfastly defended its principles, deploying various print media to counter the professed grounds upon which Britain resorted to arms. Yet peace advocates proved ineffective in stemming the tide of pro-war sentiments. Severely tested by the Crimean War, their movement would only start recovering later in the century without, however, reaching its previous position of influence until the 1920s.[168]

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Religious argument was central to the peace movement's critiques of war between 1854 and 1856. Exposing the incompatibility of war and Christianity, peace periodicals of a religious orientation and a host of peace-minded clerical and other commentators presented a strong pacifist challenge to the 'war party'. The filtration of Cobdenite argument into anti-war rhetoric provided the peace movement with the necessary intellectual ammunition to challenge various popular ideas feeding moralistic vindications of the Crimean War, which drew on the language of just war. This idea and the principles of the peace movement also framed intellectual, political, and cultural debates involving Victorian society more generally into a wider 'war' of words and ideas. It is these debates, which form the focus of Part II, we will consider next.

[167] Peace Society, *To the People of the United Kingdom* (London, [1855]), p. 2 (*Peace Tracts 1855*).
[168] Ceadel, *Semi-Detached Idealists*, pp. 31-2.

PART II

Intellect, Politics, and Culture

CHAPTER FOUR

Intellectuals and Questions of War and Peace

Notwithstanding recent contributions to the historiography of the Crimean War that, collectively, exemplify a shift away from diplomatic and military history to a more sustained analysis of the war's cultural impact and place in the Victorian imagination, the dialogue between scholars of the war and intellectual historians has hitherto lacked intimacy. The question of how Victorian intellectuals responded to the war has yet to be addressed. This chapter aims to provide an answer. Whereas the previous chapters examined clerical intellectuals such as John Henry Newman, Robert Vaughan, James Martineau, and Charles Kingsley, this chapter focuses on three thematically-connected case studies of vocal lay intellectuals—even though religion played a role in their wartime thought. These intellectuals are Harriet Martineau, 'the quintessential Victorian woman of letters';[1] the historian E. A. Freeman, known for his contributions to Victorian 'higher journalism'; and Leone Levi, a now forgotten cross-disciplinary thinker recognised by contemporaries for his work on statistics, political economy, and commercial and international law. The chapter uncovers how these intellectuals engaged with questions of war and peace brought to the surface by the first European conflict four decades after the Vienna settlement. Each intellectual represents a specific strand of the spectrum of responses to the war: Martineau, that of the consistent apologist of war; Freeman, that of the ambivalent commentator who moved from a loosely pro-

[1] Linda H. Peterson, 'Harriet Martineau, Woman of Letters', in Ella Dzelzainis and Cora Kaplan (eds), *Harriet Martineau: Authorship, Society and Empire* (Manchester and New York, NY, 2010), p. 15.

to a passionately anti-war stance; and Levi, that of the individual who spoke fluently the language of the peace movement in a pacifist accent. These intellectuals made important interventions in debates. Because their overlooked responses enrich our understanding of the 'war' of words and ideas on the home front, they deserve close examination.

But what exactly was an 'intellectual'? From the outset, any attempt at answering this question apparently hits a dead end given that prior to the 1870s, as Thomas William Heyck has suggested, the word 'intellectual' was not applied to individuals and the concept did not exist.[2] Even the most cursory empirical research suggests that this is to overstate the case. Contemporaries used it earlier in the century, albeit rarely, for individuals of an acknowledged standing in the world of letters who intelligibly tackled subjects of general concern.[3] In fact, we can trace the English usage of the term 'intellectual' to the seventeenth century, although it was not until the first half of the nineteenth century that it gained, in its plural form, its 'portmanteau quality as a description of writers, scientists and artists in general'.[4] Lawrence Goldman has contended that 'British historians are generally rather shy of the word "intellectual" ', but in reality many continue to use it despite the lack of a consensual definition.[5] H. S. Jones applies it to Matthew Arnold who belonged to a group of thinkers grappling with how to uphold cultural authority in an age witnessing the march of democracy.[6] Others such as Julia Stapleton use this term in identifying those preoccupied with 'the notion of a public interest whose meaning [they] sought to amplify through wide and earnest debate'.[7]

A useful delineation of the role of intellectuals in the 'cultural' sense of the term has come from Stefan Collini. Intellectuals, according to Collini, are 'those who are regarded as

[2] Thomas William Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England* (London and New York, NY, 1982), p. 13.
[3] E.g., M. L. G., 'Miss Martineau—Intellectual Women', *The Tatler*, 59 (6 Oct. 1832), pp. 478-9.
[4] Clive E. Hill, 'Intellectuals, Elites and Meritocracy', in Claeys, *Encyclopedia*, p. 231.
[5] Lawrence Goldman, *Dons and Workers: Oxford and Adult Education Since 1850* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 8-9.
[6] H. S. Jones, *Victorian Political Thought* (Basingstoke, 2000), pp. 63-4.
[7] Julia Stapleton, *Political Intellectuals and Public Identities in Britain since 1850* (Manchester and New York, NY, 2001), p. 12.

possessing some kind of "cultural authority", that is, who deploy an acknowledged intellectual position or achievement in addressing a broader, non-specialist public.'[8] Elsewhere, Collini has used the alternative term 'public moralists' in explicating the role of educated and 'unusually articulate individuals' who laid claim to 'a title to be heard', and who sat in parliament; or held a position in the universities, the 'higher journalism', the legal sector, and the public service; or occupied more than one of these positions.[9] Scholars have also examined the genre of 'sage writing' as the preserve of intellectuals or, as Linda H. Peterson terms: men and women of letters. Sage writing, as 'a distinctive form of nonfictional prose' concerned with contemporary problems, arose with the growth of periodical literature.[10] The Victorian culture of sages was highly gendered. 'Proper ladies', writes Peterson, were expected to write only 'domestic treatises, devotional tracts, or sentimental poetry—literary genres beneath the designation "sage".'[11] Nonetheless, women carved out their own space in 'sage' or intellectual culture. Martineau, whose mode of writing exemplified the primary role of the sage, that is, 'dispensing truth, wisdom, and sometimes judgement', paved the path for women to become sage writers by showing that they were no less competent in 'masculine' rhetoric, and by challenging conventional notions about male and female 'capacities'.[12] Martineau was thus part of a group of women who stepped into the 'masculine' world of journalism, thereby extending 'the boundaries of what was assumed to be a woman writer's role in that world'.[13]

Scholars have thus been using various terms—'public moralists', 'sages', 'men of letters', 'women of letters'—essentially to designate the same thing. William Whyte has rightly argued that the boundaries between these categories are porous; all of them describe 'intellectuals':

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[8] Stefan Collini, *Absent Minds: Intellectuals in Britain* (Oxford, 2006), p. 47.
[9] Idem, *Public Moralists*, pp. 1-3, 13-50, 204.
[10] Linda H. Peterson, 'Sage Writing', in Herbert F. Tucker (ed.), *A Companion to Victorian Literature and Culture* (Malden, MA, 1999), pp. 373-4.
[11] Ibid., p. 380.
[12] Idem, 'Harriet Martineau. Masculine Discourse, Female Sage', in Thaïs E. Morgan (ed.), *Victorian Sages and Cultural Discourse: Renegotiating Gender and Power* (New Brunswick, NJ, and London, 1990), pp. 172, 175.
[13] Joanne Shattock, 'Women Journalists and Periodical Spaces', in Alexis Easley et al. (eds), *Women, Periodicals, and Print Culture in Britain, 1830s-1900s: The Victorian Period* (Edinburgh, 2019), p. 316.

those who enjoyed an acknowledged cultural authority, and who communicated their thoughts on matters of general concern to a wider public in their own characteristic, typically instructive and sometimes prophetic, voice.[14] Crucial for the purposes of this chapter, and indeed of the thesis as a whole, is the fact that intellectuals operated within a common cultural and discursive framework: scientists, churchmen, dissenters, freethinkers, and others rubbed shoulders in a shared intellectual space.[15]

For Victorians, to live 'intellectually' meant to operate on a higher, purposeful plain. In *Middlemarch* George Eliot defined 'intellectual life' as that 'which has a seed of ennobling thought and purpose within it'.[16] Harriet Martineau's *modus vivendi* exemplified these ideals. This is evidenced in her *Autobiography* which she took the task of completing in early 1855, after becoming convinced that she was dying of a disease of the heart. Her life story, which would not be published until 1877, followed a Comtean tripartite developmental model: commencing from her early religious years (1802-19), proceeding to a period of "metaphysical fog" (1819-39), and ultimately reaching the stage of positivist thought (1839-55).[17] The final product, according to Peterson, was an autobiography 'as spiritual quest' charting Martineau's 'de-conversion from Unitarian Christianity to agnostic materialism'. At the same time, it was a *Bildungsroman*, a 'disability memoir' recording her infirmities (especially her deafness), and a story of her becoming a professional author whose *raison d'être* was to "write on subjects of universal concern as to inform some minds and stir up others".[18] Contemporaries in Britain and abroad affirmed Martineau's exemplariness as a woman of letters. Deeply impressed by the knowledge she deployed in translating in 1853 his *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, Auguste

[14] William Whyte, 'The Antinomies of Sage Culture', in Hewitt, *Victorian World*, pp. 521-6.
[15] Ibid., p. 530.
[16] George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, ed. David Carroll, new edn (Oxford, 2019), p. 695 (first published 1871-2).
[17] Linda H. Peterson, *Victorian Autobiography: The Tradition of Self-Interpretation* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1986), p. 137.
[18] Idem, 'Introduction', in Harriet Martineau, *Autobiography*, ed. Linda H. Peterson (Peterborough, Ontario, 2007), pp. 7-22.

Comte added the product of Martineau's labours to the Positivist Library, preferring it to his own work.[19] For George Eliot, Martineau was 'the only English woman that possesse[d] thoroughly the art of writing', whilst Charlotte Brontë witnessed 'the unceasing activity of her colossal intellect' when she visited her in 1850.[20] Even before Brontë's visit, Martineau had become 'a well established author and a significant public intellectual', as Catherine Hall has noted.[21]

Martineau's lifelong commitment to addressing pressing issues with the aim of informing and stirring people's minds, her sense that she had a duty and a right to speak out, and her acknowledged cultural authority, make her a paradigmatic Victorian intellectual. Martineau was acutely conscious of the power of her intellect. 'Things were pressing to be said and there was more or less evidence that I was the person to say them.'[22] In her *Autobiography* which couched her de-conversion in Platonic terms—'the fresh air of Nature [...] after imprisonment in the ghost-peopled cavern of superstition'—Martineau credited her moral and intellectual progress to her 'truer' positivist vantage point, although the Unitarian tradition of liberalism and intellectualism she was brought up in undoubtedly played an earlier formative role.[23]

Between 1852 and 1866 Martineau wrote for the *Daily News*, the liberal-reformist metropolitan newspaper founded by Dickens. She proved astonishingly prolific in her fourteen-year career in that newspaper, producing one thousand six hundred and forty-two leaders.[24]

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[19] T. R. Wright, *The Religion of Humanity: The Impact of Comtean Positivism in Victorian Britain* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 66.
[20] 'G[eorge] E[liot] To Mr and Mrs Charles Bray and Sara Sophia Hennell [London, 2 June 1852]', in George Eliot, *The George Eliot Letters*, ed. Gordon S. Haight (9 vols, London and New Haven, CT, 1954-1978), ii (1954), p. 32; '[Letter from Charlotte Brontë] To the Revd P. Brontë [21 December] 1850', in Brontë, *Letters*, ii, p. 538.
[21] Catherine Hall, 'Writing History, Writing a Nation: Harriet Martineau's *History of the Peace*', in Dzelzainis and Kaplan, *Martineau*, p. 232.
[22] Harriet Martineau, *Autobiography*, ed. Linda H. Peterson (Peterborough, Ontario, 2007), p. 155.
[23] Ibid., p. 632; Odile Boucher-Rivalain, 'Harriet Martineau (1802-1876), from Unitarianism to Agnosticism', *CV&E*, 76 (2012), pp. 29, 34.
[24] Barbara Caine, 'Feminism, Journalism and Public Debate', in Joanne Shattock (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain 1800-1900* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 105.

She wrote around one hundred and eighty of them during the Crimean War.[25] It is thus surprising that these leaders have received scant attention. Her biographer has only briefly touched upon her response to the war.[26] Another account which dismissively portrays her as a virulent Russophobe with a 'geopolitically naïve pro-war stance', relies on dated interpretive frameworks and is divorced from the wider historical context.[27] A recent essay draws only on a few of her periodical articles.[28] According to Valerie Sanders, Martineau's journalistic output serves as 'a barometer of contemporary debate'; her leaders are, therefore, essential sources for the historian.[29] Contemporaries recognised their impact on the public sphere. In 1877 John Morley wrote that 'they made an impression that is still alive in its consequences upon some of the most important social, political, and economical matters.'[30] In its first section, this chapter examines Martineau's leaders to reconstruct her views on war and its morality, as well as her invectives against the peace movement. Notwithstanding Martineau's certainty in 'the extinction of theology by a true science of human nature' and her controversial views about the historical origins of Christianity ventilated in her *Eastern Life, Present and Past* (1848),[31] her understanding of what rendered war 'just' largely corresponded to that of clergymen. Indeed, Martineau's views on religion in its relationship to war were mild. Writing to the editor of the *Daily News*, Frederick Knight Hunt, she confessed that her leader on the war's first day

[25] Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle (ed.), *Harriet Martineau in the London* Daily News: *Selected Contributions, 1852-1866* (New York, NY, and London, 1994), p. 141. I use Arbuckle's Appendix which lists Martineau's contributions to the *DN*.
[26] R. K. Webb, *Harriet Martineau: A Radical Victorian* (London, 1960), pp. 318-21.
[27] Lauren M. E. Goodlad, 'Geopolitics and the Victorian Geopolitical Unconscious', in Hewitt, *Victorian World*, pp. 179-80.
[28] Lesa Scholl, 'Brewing Storms of War, Slavery, and Imperialism: Harriet Martineau's Engagement with the Periodical Press', in Easley et al., *Women, Periodicals, and Print Culture*, pp. 491-7.
[29] Valerie Sanders, ' "I have an all important review to write": Harriet Martineau's Journalism', in idem and Gaby Weiner (eds), *Harriet Martineau and the Birth of Disciplines: Nineteenth-Century Intellectual Powerhouse* (Abingdon and New York, NY, 2017), para. 3 [Calibre E-book viewer EPUB]. Retrieved from [https://bodleian.ldls.org.uk].
[30] [John Morley], 'Harriet Martineau', *MM*, 36/211 (May, 1877), p. 59.
[31] Martineau, *Autobiography*, p. 647. In *Eastern Life* Martineau argued that the origins of Judaism and Christianity can be traced in ancient Egyptian religion: 'The ground gained by the human mind was never lost; for out of this Valley of the Nile issued Judaism: and out of Judaism issued, in due time, Christianity': *Eastern Life, Present and Past* (3 vols, London, 1848), i, p. 336.

of humiliation was 'as religious (& in all sincerity) as any sermon in the land.'[32] The press became Martineau's 'pulpit' from which she 'preached' historical and ideological war 'sermons'. In this sense, Laura Schwartz's argument that English 'freethinking feminists' were not entirely dissociated from Christian culture is applicable to Martineau, and thus pertinent to this chapter.[33]

It could be asked why other women such as George Eliot and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, whose intellectual stature in Victorian society has also been recognised, do not form part of this chapter?[34] Unlike Martineau, Eliot was less vocal about the war. Some of Eliot's ideas were aired in her *Westminster Review* article which savaged evangelical premillennialism, as we have seen. Other references appeared in some reviews in the same quarterly, and a few brief comments are also found in her journals.[35] Barrett Browning offered a detailed commentary on the war, but her views were made in private. Despite writing under the journalistic cloak of anonymity, Martineau ventilated her views in the public sphere. Both volume and exposure thus justify the chapter's focus on Martineau.

Martineau's thought is only part of the story. The views of E. A. Freeman present another. Recent scholarship has acknowledged Freeman's public intellectual status. According to H. S. Jones, Freeman's numerous contributions to 'higher journalism', his 'speaking out' to a wider public from a position of cultural authority, and his engagement with pressing issues which he invariably historicized, established his position as an intellectual.[36] One subject that

[32] '[Letter from Harriet Martineau] To Frederick Knight Hunt' (Apr. 1854), in Harriet Martineau, *The Collected Letters of Harriet Martineau*, ed. Deborah Anna Logan (5 vols, London, 2007), iii, p. 316.
[33] Laura Schwartz, *Infidel Feminism: Secularism, Religion and Women's Emancipation, England 1830-1914* (Manchester, 2013), p. 15.
[34] Deirdre David, *Intellectual Women and Victorian Patriarchy: Harriet Martineau, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, George Eliot* (Ithaca, NY, 1987).
[35] Nancy Henry, *George Eliot and the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 40; George Eliot, *The Journals of George Eliot*, ed. Margaret Harris and Judith Johnston (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 18, 269-70. See also Chapter Six, p. 253.
[36] H. S. Jones, 'Historical Mindedness and the World at Large: E. A. Freeman as Public Intellectual', in G. A. Bremner and Jonathan Conlin (eds), *Making History: Edward Augustus Freeman and Victorian Cultural Politics* (Oxford, 2015), p. 309.

preoccupied Freeman was the Eastern Question. His response to the Eastern crisis of the 1870s has been well examined.[37] Yet the historiographical focus on this period is responsible for the neglect of Freeman's thought during the Crimean War. Most scholars have suggested that Freeman was opposed to this conflict.[38] This ignores Freeman's earlier pro-war stance which he expounded in his letters to the *Spectator*—a journal whose 'leading position amongst the weekly press of the metropolis' was affirmed by Mitchell's *Newspaper Press Directory*.[39] Freeman's journalistic writings are valuable historical sources. His *Manchester Guardian* obituarist surmised that they were probably "of greater influence than his more elaborate historical works."[40] Examining Freeman's war-related *Spectator* letters—he wrote eleven between October 1853 and May 1856—the chapter's second section serves as a corrective to extant historiography. Situating Freeman's thought on a more complex trajectory of definition and redefinition, it uncovers his earlier support of the war and its justice, before illuminating his *volte-face* in the spring of 1855 which he outlined in the *Spectator* and the high-church *Guardian*.

In its third section the chapter examines how Leone Levi grappled with the problem of war in relation to international law. An Italian Jew who became a naturalized British citizen in 1847 and who converted to Christianity, Levi remains a forgotten intellectual. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* offers only a glimpse into his remarkable life.[41] In 1887 the *Leisure Hour* extolled him as one of Britain's 'most eminent and useful public men in all

[37] Vicky Randall, *History, Empire, and Islam: E. A. Freeman and Victorian Public Morality* (Manchester, 2020), Part II; William Kelley, 'Intellectuals and the Eastern Question: "Historical-Mindedness" and "Kin Beyond Sea", c. 1875-1880' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2017); idem, 'Past History and Present Politics: E. A. Freeman and the Eastern Question', in Bremner and Jonathan Conlin (eds), *Making History*, pp. 119-36.
[38] Only Randall has acknowledged, albeit in passing, the ambivalence in Freeman's thought: *History, Empire, and Islam*, p. 123.
[39] Charles Mitchell, *The Newspaper Press Directory* (London, 1856), p. 30.
[40] Quoted in Jones, 'Historical Mindedness', p. 299.
[41] G. R. Rubin, 'Levi, Leone (1821–1888), jurist, political economist, and statistician', *ODNB*, (23 Sep. 2004) [https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2648/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16551] (23 May 2021).

matters of statistics and in various departments of political economy.'[42] In 1855 he published a pacifist treatise entitled *The Law of Nature and Nations as affected by Divine Law*. In his efforts to show that war was unlawful for Christians, Levi posited divine law above international law. Periodicals extensively reviewed his treatise, thereby generating a lively debate. Despite its intrinsic historical interest and its significance in wartime intellectual thought, Levi's work has fallen into obscurity. This chapter is the first to examine it systematically by placing it in its proper context.

Although the chapter concentrates on Martineau, Freeman, and Levi, it does not ignore the wider intellectual context within which they operated. Martineau's leaders cannot be properly understood without considering the bigger picture of public responses to the war. Freeman's criticism of the war can only be fully illuminated when examined alongside Sir Arthur Hallam Elton, 7th Baronet, with whom Freeman collaborated in writing the anti-war *Tracts for the Present Crisis*, as well as Gladstone, whom Freeman admired. Finally, Levi's ideas cannot be appreciated in isolation from those of other writers on international law such as Montague Bernard and the Revd William Whewell. The chapter thus uncovers how the wartime thought of the three main figures it examines was fashioned in dialogue with other intellectuals and commentators.

MARTINEAU'S 'WAR[S] OF OPINION'

Such was Martineau's acknowledged intellectual standing following the publication of her *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1832-34) expounding what Thomas Carlyle famously denounced as 'dismal science', that the Whig government used her as an adviser whilst commissioning her works on poor laws and taxation to broadcast its legislative agenda.[43]

[42] [Anon.], 'Professor Leone Levi', *LH* (Oct. 1887), p. 713.
[43] Kathryn Gleadle, *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender and Political Culture in Britain, 1815-1867* (Oxford, 2009), p. 51.

Martineau's public intellectual status became intimately linked to her role as popular educator. Her career in the Victorian world of letters would be defined by her efforts to instruct the public not only in political economy, but also in history, liberalism, sociology, disability, women's issues, mesmerism, abolitionism, and imperialism. Her *Illustrations* which imparted 'the leading truths of Political Economy' to the masses;[44] her *Household Education* (1849) which stressed that 'everything possible should be done to improve the quality of the mind of every human being';[45] and her conviction about the necessity of her translation of Comte's *Cours* in a more 'accessible' form,[46] are examples of Martineau's concern for universal intellectual advancement. In this regard, her work was permeated by a didactic ethos.

In 1863 Walker & Wise of Boston, Massachusetts, contacted Martineau to discuss the republication of her *History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace: 1816-1846* (1849-50), together with her *Introduction to the History of Peace*.[47] For this American edition Martineau decided to extend the chronological scope from 1846 to 1854, thereby 'carry[ing] on the pacific period to its proper close'.[48] For Martineau the year 1854 marked an historic caesura, one which had ended four decades of European peace. The Crimean War, she wrote in this new edition, 'was a war accepted on behalf of a good cause, and there could scarcely have been a better or a more natural close to the forty years' peace.'[49] This periodisation of British history was not the product of hindsight. As early as January 1854, Martineau wrote in a *Daily News* letter that the generation after 1815 had not experienced a European war.[50] The feeling shared by Martineau and most contemporaries that they were living through a transitional period,

[44] Harriet Martineau, *Illustrations of Political Economy*, 3rd edn (9 vols, London, 1832-34), i (1832), p. xii.
[45] Idem, *Household Education* (London, 1849), p. 240.
[46] Idem, *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte* (2 vols, London, 1853), i, pp. vii-viii.
[47] Deborah Anna Logan, 'Introduction', in Harriet Martineau, *Harriet Martineau's Writing on British History and Military Reform*, ed. Deborah Anna Logan (6 vols, Charlottesville, VA, 2005), i, p. xi.
[48] Harriet Martineau, *History of the Peace: Being a History of England from 1816 to 1854. With an Introduction 1800 to 1815* (4 vols, Boston, MA, 1865-6), iv (1866), p. 547.
[49] Ibid., p. 597.
[50] [Harriet Martineau], 'If the Czar Fights, What Should be Done?', *DN*, 2400 (28 Jan. 1854), p. 4. In this letter Martineau adopted the *nom de plume* of 'ONE WHO REMEMBERS GEORGE THE THIRD'.

freighted this first major European conflict after the Napoleonic Wars with a sense of anxiety. At the same time, the ventilation of this new war to the public by the media added to the novelty of the situation. 'The action of the press', wrote Martineau with uncanny prescience, 'will be in the end, we think, the crowning interest of the war, in the eyes of the philosophical historian of a future age.'[51] These were the words of an insider. As a leader-writer of the *Daily News*, Martineau was distinctly aware of the communicative power of the press during an age which increasingly came to see it as the 'fourth estate'.[52]

Martineau's didactic journalism situated pressing questions in historical context. Writing in a Whig-historiographical mould, she turned to the past to make sense of the world around her and to find pointers for the future.[53] Gender biases, however, meant that the position of women historians remained precarious. The 'fitness' of women as historians, writes Alexis Easley, 'was hotly debated, and the work of male historians was privileged by the critical establishment'.[54] Even in this male-dominated field, Martineau demonstrated that women could write history. She also became an apostle of history's pedagogical mission, and would have almost certainly endorsed G. H. Lewes's comment in an 1850 review of her *History*, that '[h]istory in its wide survey teaches us general principles'.[55] Martineau's response to the Crimean War was steeped in history. Her historical investigation of the period following the 1815 Vienna settlement led her to predict a 'war of opinion in Europe'—an idea she borrowed from George Canning.[56] This 'war', Martineau surmised, would be between 'Oriental Despotism', exemplified in Russia's political system, and 'the Western principle of Self-

[51] [Idem], 'London, Tuesday, Dec. 12', *DN*, 2672 (12 Dec. 1854), p. 4.
[52] F. Knight Hunt, *The Fourth Estate: Contributions towards a History of Newspapers, and of the Liberty of the Press* (2 vols, London, 1850).
[53] Alexis Easley, 'Rewriting the Past and Present. Harriet Martineau, Contemporary Historian', in Sanders and Weiner, *Harriet Martineau*, para. 1.
[54] Alexis Easley, *Literary Celebrity, Gender, and Victorian Authorship, 1850-1914* (Newark, DE, 2011), p. 97.
[55] [G. H. Lewes], 'The Thirty Years' Peace', *BQR*, 22 (May, 1850), p. 356.
[56] Martineau, *History of the Peace*, ii (1865), pp. 344-5.

government by Representation'.[57] The outbreak of the Crimean War seemed to confirm her expectations, which is why her leaders conveyed a sense of urgency.[58]

In common with most clerical and lay commentators, Martineau also understood the war in ideological terms. Although Jonathan Parry never mentions her in his *Politics of Patriotism*, Martineau offers a perfect instance of his argument that contemporary discussion on foreign affairs revolved around Britain's duties 'in the global struggle between liberalism and autocracy'.[59] Most Victorians would have agreed with this contrast thus drawn between Britain, which stood for 'rational liberty', self-government, civilization, and other virtues, and Russia which represented 'absolute and irresponsible power' and barbarism. This found expression a year before the allied declaration of war in a front-page article of the *Illustrated London News*.[60] Similar themes resonated in public meetings. In the crowded London Tavern on 30 December 1854, Dickens proposed a toast to the health of Queen Victoria, the 'constitutional Sovereign of a free people' who 'fully appreciate[d] the national resolution never to allow the light of civilization and freedom to be quenched in the darkness of any irresponsible will'.[61] Articles in periodicals also commented on the perceived threats Russia posed to Europe. 'Russia', wrote the liberal essayist W. R. Greg in the Free-Church aligned *North British Review*, 'is the incarnation of encroaching and conquering absolutism'.[62] Employing almost the same phraseology, one of Martineau's earlier leaders stated that the czar 'is the incarnation of the despotic principle of government which must and will come up against the representative principle from time to time, till the latter is established over the whole broad platform of Western Europe.'[63]

[57] Idem, *Introduction to the History of Peace. From 1800 to 1815* (London, 1851), p. ii.
[58] [Idem], 'London, Monday, Nov. 27', *DN*, 2659 (27 Nov. 1854), p. 4.
[59] Parry, *Politics of Patriotism*, p. 212.
[60] [Anon.], 'England and Russia', *ILN*, XXII/615 (2 Apr. 1853), p. [241].
[61] Charles Dickens, *The Speeches of Charles Dickens*, ed. K. J. Fielding (Oxford, 1960), pp. 169-70.
[62] [W. R. Greg], 'The Significance of the Struggle', *NBR*, 24/47 (Nov. 1855), p. 268.
[63] [Harriet Martineau], 'London, Saturday, Oct. 8', *DN*, 2304 (8 Oct. 1853), p. 4.

Martineau's historically-informed and ideological leaders set out to educate the public on this European 'war of opinion' and the threat posed by Russia. One of her earlier leaders published on 15 June 1853 argued that Russia was separated from Western Europe by a thousand years of civilization. Pointing reproachfully to Russia's past, Martineau reminded her readers that Peter the Great and Catherine the Great had unsuccessfully tried to fill up this void, with Russia continuing to be

> rude, heterogeneous, ill-compacted, and only outwardly disciplined in her great strength; despotic, violent, on the side of physical rule; dead, or not yet alive, on the side of rational political government. Government [was], with her, a religious institution, upheld by arms—the EMPEROR standing before the eyes of his people as their warrior priest, and in their catechism as a god.[64]

This system of governance was at variance with Western liberal values. Throughout the war, Martineau advanced the same comparative framework juxtaposing British liberalism and constitutionalism with Russian despotism.[65] The czar, she further argued in her leader of 15 June 1853, did not merely seek to make Western principles of government subservient to those of the East, but also to fulfil the 'antique purpose of annexing Turkey to his empire'.[66] Again, history provided valuable context: the origins of Russia's policy towards Turkey could be traced in Peter the Great's (forged) will, commanding his successors to conquer Turkey.[67]

Elsewhere Martineau excoriated Orthodox Christianity. This faith, she argued, exemplified 'ignorance, licence, debasement, indolence, and wretchedness', adding that the Porte's Greek subjects were 'wiser and better than others of their communion, precisely because Ottoman influences have improved them'.[68] In a *Westminster Review* article of January 1854, she juxtaposed Protestantism's 'liberalizing influence' with the despotism and barbarism sustained

[64] [Idem], 'London, Wednesday, June 15', *DN*, 2205 (15 June 1853), p. 5.
[65] [Idem], 'London, Friday, Aug. 11', *DN*, 2567 (11 Aug. 1854), p. 4; [Idem], 'London, Tuesday, Dec. 4', *DN*, 2978 (4 Dec. 1855), p. 4.
[66] [Idem], 'London, Wednesday, June 15'.
[67] Ibid.
[68] [Idem], 'London, Monday, March 6', *DN*, 2431 (6 Mar. 1854), p. 4.

by Orthodoxy. 'But where the Greek church exists, the old lust of dominion, and temper of despotism remain, an antique barbarism, side by side with a progressive world. And thus it is now with Russia, because instead of Luther's innovations, it had Peter's.'[69] Other intellectuals expressed similar views. In his contemporaneous review of Henry Hart Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, A. P. Stanley contrasted the 'stationary and immutable' Eastern Church to the 'progressive and flexible' Western Church.[70] Martineau's article was thus an instance of a wider tendency amongst learned Victorians to demonstrate the superiority of a progressive West, animated by Protestantism, vis-à-vis the East, stymied by Greek Orthodoxy.

In her commentaries about Turkey, Martineau gave serious consideration to religious themes. Even before Shaftesbury's speech in the Lords in March 1854 which presented the Porte as more tolerant towards Protestantism than Russia, Martineau had written that: '[T]he Porte is more Christian in its morality and its temper than the Czar'.[71] For all her vehemence against 'the superstitions of the Christian mythology', Martineau thus echoed evangelical convictions on war.[72] Martineau continuously avowed her favourable views on Turkey. Sometimes she commented on the increasing religious toleration of the Porte, and at other times she fervently contested the idea that Turkey was 'the sick man of Europe'. This sickness, she argued, was 'functional' rather than 'organic'.[73] Turkey's vitality, whose source Martineau identified to be the principle of local self-government, never diminished. The empire faced significant problems, she conceded; but its expanding and improving commerce, its successful decentralised system of governance, the patriotism of its people, and the valour of its soldiers suggested that the argument that Turkey was marching towards its decline was erroneous.[74]

[69] [Idem], 'England's Foreign Policy', *WR*, 61/119 (Jan. 1854), p. 194.
[70] [A. P. Stanley], 'Latin Christianity', *QR*, 95/189 (June, 1854), pp. 49-50.
[71] 'England's Foreign Policy', *WR*, p. 228.
[72] Martineau, *Autobiography*, p. 636.
[73] [Idem], 'London, Monday, June 26', *DN*, 2527 (26 June 1854), p. 4.
[74] Ibid.

Martineau was also warm towards Britain's other ally, France. She was, however, ambivalent about Napoleon III. In another of her *Westminster Review* articles, she praised Napoleon's conduct, and reminded her readers that he had been chosen 'by a democratic vote'—the plebiscite after the *coup d'état* of 1851. Yet she also portrayed him as a despot keeping the French people in subjugation.[75] She remained, nonetheless, hopeful for a political change in France, and called upon the British and French to cultivate a sense of brotherhood. In a *Daily News* leader shortly before the war's outbreak, Martineau argued that the French people wanted to put a stop to Russian aggression, as much as Britons did.[76] Here she also confessed her distrust towards Austria as a potential ally, seeing her as a power standing between barbarism and civilization, and oppressing the Hungarians and Italians.

These were the broad contours of the historical and ideological context according to which Martineau responded to the war. This context framed her moralistic vindication of the war. Notwithstanding her views 'which the vulgar w[oul]d call atheistical', Martineau morally justified Britain's recourse to war in much the same way as various clerical commentators such as her brother, James Martineau, did.[77] This was even though in 1851 the Revd Martineau had publicly fell out with her when he attacked in a *Prospective Review* article entitled 'Mesmeric Atheism' the *Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development*, which she co-authored with Henry Atkinson. Matthew Arnold would later ruminate on the 'hatreds' of James and Harriet.[78] But the Revd Martineau's article also registered a painful sense of loss. He grieved that his sister 'prostrated [herself] at the feet' of Atkinson, that 'hierophant of the new Atheism', and abandoned 'her early faith in moral obligation, in the living God, in the immortal

[75] [Harriet Martineau], 'The Anglo-French Alliance', *WR*, 63/123 (Jan. 1855), pp. 14-15, 23.
[76] [Idem], 'London, Thursday, Mar. 2', *DN*, 2428 (2 Mar. 1854), p. 4.
[77] Oxford, HMC, MS. H. Martineau 1: Letter from Harriet Martineau to Philip Pearsall Carpenter (11 Feb. 1855), fo. 57r.
[78] '[Letter from Matthew Arnold] To Jane Martha Arnold Forster' (10 Oct. 1854), in Matthew Arnold, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Cecil Y. Lang (6 vols, Charlottesville, VA and London, 1996-2001), i (1996), p. 295.

sanctities'.[79] Even though the familial and theological chasm between the Martineau siblings remained unbridgeable, both supported the war and its justice.

In Harriet Martineau's judgement, Britain's war against Russia was morally justifiable and one 'of principle'.[80] The way she engaged with the justice of the war closely corresponded to how sermons deployed the vocabulary of 'just war' to demonstrate that those conditions rendering recourse to war 'just'—fighting with a just cause, for defensive purposes, or to uphold justice and right; turning to war as a last resort; and fighting without any selfish interests—had been met. Written in a sermonizing tone, her leader of 26 April 1854 on the first day of humiliation reflected her moralistic interpretation of the war. This day, she explained, was about 'setting our house in order, and arranging our affairs, and clearing our hearts and minds, before going out to fight in a good cause'.[81] She also registered the idea that 'being called to battle for the right' embodied lofty sentiments.[82] In another of her leaders, Martineau went so far as to argue that the bereaved could find consolation in the Anglo-French union 'in the cause of justice and universal national security'. Neither peacetime rapport nor free commerce, she averred, could do as much as 'a war, which every man engaged in feels to be just' to bring the two nations together.[83] The claim she made shortly after that the war 'was entered upon with reluctance' and that there were no interests involved other than 'in discharg[ing] [...] good faith, and on behalf of the independence of nations', would have found in agreement not only clergymen, but also most of the press.[84] Martineau's conviction in the justness of the war persisted throughout its duration; indeed, she would never tire of reminding her readers of its 'moral necessity'.[85]

[79] [James Martineau], 'Mesmeric Atheism', *PR*, 26 (Apr. 1851), p. 234.
[80] [Harriet Martineau], 'London, Friday, July 13', *DN*, 2229 (13 July 1855), p. 4.
[81] [Idem], 'London, Wednesday, April 26', *DN*, 2475 (26 Apr. 1854), p. 4.
[82] Ibid.
[83] [Harriet Martineau], 'London, Monday, Nov. 13', *DN*, 2647 (13 Nov. 1854), p. 4.
[84] [Idem], 'London, Tuesday, Dec. 12', p. 4.
[85] [Idem], 'London, Thursday, Dec. 6', *DN*, 2980 (6 Dec. 1855), p. 4.

That such an outspoken commentator as Martineau, driven by her intellectual duty to educate the public about a war she considered morally justifiable, would be critical of the peace movement, was hardly surprising. Whilst preaching about the European 'War of Opinion', Martineau threw herself into the trenches of another 'war' of opinion: that between peace advocates and their critics. Martineau's comment in the American edition of her *History* about 'the utter helplessness of the so-called Peace party' against 'the spirit and resolution of the country in regard to resisting the aggressions of Russia', as well as the blame she assigned to the Quaker deputation to St Petersburg for 'precipitating the war by misleading the Czar in regard to public opinion', demonstrate her polemical stance.[86] This became clear from the outset of the crisis. In a leader of 8 October 1853, shortly before the Edinburgh Peace Conference, Martineau attacked the peace movement's proposals for disarmament and arbitration, and urged civilised Europe to meet the Russian threat with a vigorous reponse, 'not with the cornucopia in one hand and peace tracts in the other'.[87] After the conference, she lambasted the idea that war hampered 'progress'—a crucial word in her intellectual lexicon.[88] In her leader of 20 October 1853, she criticised the argument that war and progress were antagonistic. Based on her survey of contemporary British history, Martineau concluded that the wars against revolutionary and Napoleonic France did not hinder national progress in any sense; the opposite was true. Britain, Martineau surmised, would continue in her path of progress, even if people were called upon 'to pour out some life-blood and treasure in securing the principles and laws that have made and maintained [them] the favoured people that [they] are'.[89]

[86] Martineau, *History of the Peace*, iv, p. 590.
[87] [Idem], 'London, Saturday, Oct. 8', p. 4.
[88] In her third-person obituary published in 1876 which she penned herself, Martineau stated that '[s]he saw the human race [...] advancing under the law of progress': 'Harriet Martineau. An Autobiographic Memoir', *DN*, 9418 (29 June 1876), p. 2.
[89] [Idem], 'London, Thursday, Oct. 20', *DN*, 2314 (20 Oct. 1853), p. 4.

On 12 December 1854 the *Daily News* carried an article denouncing the conduct of Quakers as 'unworthy and unpatriotic', and dismissing their doctrine of non-resistance as utopian.[90] This was the line of argument Martineau would adopt in one of her postbellum leaders. 'As long as it is clear that the combative faculties form an integral portion of human nature, and as long as the evidence is as clear as it is that the abeyance of those faculties makes way for fatal physical and moral evils, we shall stoutly resist non-resistance.'[91] As a fervent resister of non-resistance, Martineau found herself at the heart of the 'war' of words and ideas. Between November and December 1854, she made her most important interventions in the debate. Her leader of 23 November 1854 had a tone of alarm: either a Russian agent seeking 'to break up our unanimity in a great and noble national course of action', she conjectured, or a member of the Peace Society, posted an anonymous placard entitled 'Dear Bread and War' in Manchester and Birmingham.[92] The placard blamed the high price of bread on war, and, to Martineau's annoyance, its author had cited her *Introduction to the History of the Peace* to show the poor condition of the working and trading classes during the French war. Martineau dismissed the causal link between war and bread prices, and told her readers that the anonymous placard misconstrued her argument: the corn laws were actually to be blamed for aggravating the situation during the French war.[93] On 7 December 1854, the *Daily News* published an address by Joseph Sturge, the Birmingham Quaker corn-merchant and future president of the Peace Society, to the working classes of his city, where he commended the anonymous individual who posted the placard. Sturge expressed his disagreement with Martineau, who had written an eponymous letter to the *Birmingham Journal* attacking once more the placard's message.[94] She then struck back by denouncing Quakers as 'pious snobs', by criticising their mission to

[90] [Anon.], 'The Society of Friends', *DN*, 2672 (12 Dec. 1854), p. 4.
[91] [Harriet Martineau], 'London, Tuesday, April 22', *DN*, 3098 (22 Apr. 1856), p. 4.
[92] [Idem], 'London, Tuesday, Nov. 23', *DN*, 2656 (23 Nov. 1854), p. 4.
[93] Ibid.
[94] [Joseph Sturge], 'Mr. Joseph Sturge on the Russian War', *DN*, 2668 (7 Dec. 1854), p. 3.

St Petersburg, and by blasting Sturge's address as a specimen of 'the seditious tendencies of peace men'.[95]

Later in December, at a time when passions were running high as Victorian society was trying to digest disturbing revelations about happenings on the battlefront, Martineau turned her guns on Cobden and Bright. Her leader of 27 December criticised the spirit of the parliamentary speeches of the two MPs because of the emphasis they placed on the "butchery" of the war and the suffering it was causing. It was true, she conceded, that mourning clothes were 'now so disproportionate to the gay in our public assemblages of all kinds'. Yet 'it would be infinitely more terrible', she resolved,

> if the inner man of whole nations were clothed in blackness and darkness like that which reigns in the mind and heart of the Russian serf [...] The grave yawns wide and deep for our soldiers and our friends; but, since such are the terms, we had rather bury our dead by hundreds or thousands than consign whole nations, for long generations, to that fearful sepulchre of Russian rule which the Czars are for ever whitening—gilding the cross which they have set up on its summit—and ever filling it fuller of dead men's bones and all uncleanness.[96]

The essence of her sartorial metaphor was that the higher ethical purpose embodied in the war demanded sacrifices to safeguard present and future generations. Martineau also dismissed as short-sighted the peace advocates' reprobation of the war's "butchery", because it ignored the fact that history taught of individuals 'who ha[d] relieved the savage sense of butchery, by implicating with it a moral nobleness'—as was the case with the ongoing war.[97] Britain 'ha[d] to do what is morally right', she declared, irrespective of the cost.[98]

Throughout the war Martineau remained firm in her belief about its justice. Her stance reflected mainstream opinion. Many pro-war commentators bemoaned the pain caused by the war, but sought to rationalize it according to a moral paradigm. Things were, of course, more

[95] [Harriet Martineau], 'London, Thursday, Dec. 7', *DN*, 2668 (7 Dec. 1854), p. 4.
[96] [Idem], 'London, Wednesday, Dec. 27', *DN*, 2685 (27 Dec. 1854), p. 4.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.

complex. For E. A. Freeman, another intellectual who, in common with Martineau, ventilated his views in the press, this 'visible' "butchery" became a decisive factor in his change of heart as he moved from a loosely pro- to a passionately anti-war position.

FROM SUPPORT TO OPPOSITION: E. A. FREEMAN

On 16 May 1855, the high-church *Guardian* carried a letter signed by 'E. A. F.' The author was the thirty-one-year-old Edward Augustus Freeman, future Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. His letter protested against the liturgical use on Sundays of the 'Prayer in Time of War and Tumults', from the Book of Common Prayer, because it seemed unbefitting to the circumstances. The problem with using this prayer, Freeman claimed, was its assumption that war was 'just' and 'defensive'. 'It supposes', he complained, 'some invader, like the Norman of the eleventh, or the Spaniard of the sixteenth century, to have landed, or to be about to land, upon our coasts.' Given the fact that, in Freeman's eyes, Britain assumed the position of the aggressor by invading Russia, the prayer's plea to God to protect the nation against its enemies amounted to 'solemn mockery'. In the same letter Freeman made clear that he was no pacifist. He did accept the necessity of war in some cases, but not in this case:

> [I] believe that nothing but the defence of our own liberty (or, possibly, in some exceptional cases, the defence of the liberty of some other nation) can ever justify the horrors of warfare; and [...] that the last excuse in which Christian blood ought to be spilt is in the futile if not impious attempt to patch up the loathsome tyranny of infidel barbarians.[99]

[99] [E. A. Freeman], 'The War and the Prayer in Time of War. *To the Editor of the Guardian*', *The Guardian*, 493 (16 May 1855), p. 375. This letter marks a new discovery, so it is worth explaining how the conclusion as to its authorship has come to be. First, Freeman typically signed his letters to editors as 'E. A. F.' This was the case with his *Spectator* letters: see W. R. W. Stephens, *The Life and Letters of Edward A. Freeman* (2 vols, London, 1895), i, p. 186. Second, Freeman's liberal high churchmanship drew him to a coterie of like-minded intellectuals such as R. W. Church, future dean of St Paul's, and Montague Bernard, Chichele Professor of International Law and Diplomacy at All Souls College, Oxford from 1859, who clustered around the *Guardian*. Also, from 1848 until his death in 1892, Freeman contributed reviews in the *Guardian*: James Kirby, 'From Tractarian to Democrat: The Intellectual Formation of E. A. Freeman', in Bremner and Conlin (eds), *Making History*, pp. 43-4. Third, by the time he wrote this letter Freeman had become an outspoken opponent of the war.

Freeman's letter was followed by a second on 30 May 1855, as a response to a reader criticising his views.[100]

Freeman's *Guardian* letters alone would suggest that he was opposed to the Crimean War. For most historians this has been axiomatic.[101] The evidence from Freeman's publications during the Eastern crisis of the 1870s that these historians are mostly familiar with is, indeed, substantial. Here one finds Freeman parading his intense hostility towards the infidel and barbarian Turk oppressing the Christians.[102] Freeman showed an indignant face whenever he reflected on the Crimean War. 'To me the names of Alma, of Balaklava, and of Inkerman', he mused in 1875, 'are names of national humiliation [...] records of blood shed by English hands in the cause of wrong.'[103] 'Whether it was right and holy that Christian blood should be shed by Christian hands for no cause but to keep down the yoke of the misbeliever upon unwilling Christian nations, judge ye', he threw at his audience in a History lecture at Oxford more than a decade later.[104]

Freeman's name has thus been registered in historical consciousness as that of a virulently anti-Turkish pundit. His hatred of 'the Turk' would define his public life. It would catapult him alongside Gladstone to a leading position in the Eastern Question Association during the 1870s, and would resonate in his lectures at Oxford during the 1880s.[105] James Bryce's obituary of Freeman in the *English Historical Review* of July 1892, would consolidate the image of an

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[100] [E. A. Freeman], 'Peace or War. *To the Editor of the Guardian*', *The Guardian*, 495 (30 May 1855), p. 419.
[101] Kelley, 'Intellectuals and the Eastern Question', pp. 39-40; idem, 'Past History and Present Politics', p. 120; Paul Stephenson, 'E. A. Freeman (1823-1892), a Neglected Commentator on Byzantium and Modern Greece', *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 4 (2008), pp. 128-9; C. J. W. Parker, 'The Failure of Liberal Racialism: The Racial Ideas of E. A. Freeman', *HJ*, 24/4 (1981), p. 832; Marilyn Lake, ' "Essentially Teutonic": E. A. Freeman, Liberal Race Historian. A Transnational Perspective', in Catherine Hall and Keith McClelland (eds), *Race, Nation and Empire: Making Histories, 1750 to the Present* (Manchester, 2010), p. 58.
[102] Edward A. Freeman, 'Present Aspects of the Eastern Question', *FR*, 20/118 (Oct. 1876), pp. 409-23; [idem], 'The Turks in Europe', *BQR*, 128 (Oct. 1876), pp. 441-71; idem, 'The English People in Relation to the Eastern Question', *CR*, 29 (Feb. 1877), pp. 489-515.
[103] Idem, 'The True Eastern Question', *FR*, 18/108 (Dec. 1875), p. 747.
[104] Idem, *Four Oxford Lectures 1887* (London, 1888), pp. 26-7.
[105] Eastern Question Association, *Report of Proceedings of the National Conference at St. James's Hall, London. December 8th, 1876* (London, [1876]), pp. 76-9; E. A. Freeman, *The Chief Periods of European History: Six Lectures* (London, 1886), pp. 165-71.

individual who '[e]ver since the days of the Crimean war [...] had been opposed to the traditional English policy of supporting the Sultan', and who severed his links with the *Saturday Review* after it assumed a pro-Turkish stance.[106] Other important factors feeding Freeman's hatred were his concern about the condition of the Porte's Christian subjects, his philhellenism, classicism, and sympathy for the Byzantine Empire, and his sustained interest in the Eastern Church.[107]

Scholars have also stressed the importance of history and race in the development of Freeman's thought and his negative attitude towards the Ottoman Empire. As an undergraduate at Trinity College, Oxford during the early 1840s, Freeman came under the influence of Tractarianism, but his conception of history as it developed after attending Thomas Arnold's inaugural lecture was liberal Anglican. As Freeman would famously profess in his own inaugural lecture at Oxford more than four decades later: 'It was from Arnold that I first learned the truth which ought to be the centre and life of all our historic studies, the truth of the Unity of History.'[108] This truth was encapsulated in Freeman's well-known maxim "History is past politics; politics are present history".[109] What Arnold had taught Freeman was 'that history is one, and that every part of it has a bearing on every other part'.[110] From Arnold, Freeman also learned the 'theory of the transmission of civilization in terms of race', which posited that the German race had transmitted Greece's intellect and Rome's laws to modern Europe, and that these were subsequently fused with the 'moral and spiritual perfection of Christianity'.[111] Arnold's singling out of the Greeks, Romans, and Teutons was a formative intellectual lesson for Freeman, later underpinning his own theory of the Aryan race.[112]

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[106] James Bryce, 'Edward Augustus Freeman', *EHR*, 7/27 (July, 1892), p. 502.
[107] Kelley, 'Past History and Present Politics', pp. 120, 129-31.
[108] Edward A. Freeman, *The Methods of Historical Study: Eight Lectures Read in the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1884* (London, 1886), pp. 5-6.
[109] Parker, 'The Failure', p. 826.
[110] Edward A. Freeman, *Comparative Politics: Six Lectures Read before the Royal Institution in January and February, 1873* (London, 1873), pp. 293-4.
[111] Duncan Forbes, *The Liberal Anglican Idea of History* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 67-8.
[112] Randall, *History, Empire, and Islam*, p. 10.

The ‘comparative method’, moreover, found in Freeman a zealous devotee.[113] Its apostles included Friedrich Max Müller, Oxford Taylorian Professor of European Languages and Literature, who practised ‘comparative philology’ and whose ideas acquired a public profile during the Crimean War following the publication of his *Languages of the Seat of War in the East* aiming to assist British officers with Eastern languages;[114] and the jurist Sir Henry Sumner Maine, whose ‘comparative jurisprudence’ proposed that developments in Indian and European legal institutions pointed to a shared Aryan origin. The ‘comparative method’ would afford Freeman the intellectual tools to develop his theory of the Aryan race—understood in ‘cultural’, not biological terms—and would pave the path to his own study of ‘comparative politics’.[115] All these intellectual currents had a bearing on Freeman’s attitude towards the Ottomans. In his *Ottoman Power in Europe* (1877), Freeman professed that ‘all the nations of Europe belong to one common Aryan stock’, whereas the Ottoman Turks to a ‘Turanian stock’. The Ottoman Turks, Freeman claimed, had no share in the race, ideas, history, feelings, languages, culture, habits, and religion pertaining to Aryan Europeans.[116] Little wonder, then, that historians unhesitatingly situate Freeman in the camp of critics of the Crimean War. This, however, is to simplify a more complex situation. Freeman’s biographer, W. R. W. Stephens, dean of Winchester, recognised the complexities in Freeman’s responses to the Crimean War as early as 1895.[117] Yet most historians have overlooked this point, despite resorting to Stephens’s book as a first point of reference.

It was Freeman’s ‘absorbing and combative interest in foreign affairs’, as J. W. Burrow has put it, that induced him to write letters to the press.[118] This was evident from late 1853 when

[113] S. Collini, D. Winch, and J. W. Burrow, *That Noble Science of Politics: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Intellectual History* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 209-46.
[114] F. Max Müller, *The Languages of the Seat of War in the East*, 2nd edn (London, 1855), pp. iii-vi.
[115] Randall, *History, Empire, and Islam*, pp. 56-78.
[116] Edward A. Freeman, *The Ottoman Power in Europe, its Nature, its Growth, and its Decline* (London, 1877), pp. 4, 52-5; Oded Y. Steinberg, *Race, Nation, History: Anglo-German Thought in the Victorian Era* (Philadelphia, PA, 2019), p. 125.
[117] Stephens, *Life and Letters*, i, pp. 148-53.
[118] J. W. Burrow, *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 157.

Freeman, in common with Martineau and others, started paying attention to the situation in the East. From October of that year until after the end of the war, Freeman outlined his views in eleven war-related letters to the editor of the *Spectator*, a journal supportive of the war.[119] In his first letter of 29 October 1853, Freeman asserted his intellectual right to be heard, feeling 'like a University preacher, who has to let out the accumulated wisdom or folly of years, and must have his full say, now or never'.[120] This style of intellectual 'preaching' would define his historically-informed contributions throughout the war. Freeman opined that Britain should support Turkey against Russia. The latter was 'the embodiment of modern centralized despotism, the foe alike of political and civil liberty, the despoiler of Poland and Sweden, the abettor of Austria, the general enemy of all which [his] political notions [taught him] most warmly to reverence.' Though Martineau would have almost certainly endorsed this view, she would have taken issue with Freeman's attitude towards the Turk whom he considered 'the ancient enemy of the religion and civilization of Europe'.[121] Nonetheless, Freeman's comparison of the sultan and the czar led him to conclude that the former was 'the lesser evil of the two'. One reason for this was that Russia, whose despotism Freeman deemed worse than Turkey's, would impede the creation of a future Christian state or states south of the Danube. Other reasons included his belief that it was in Europe's interests that the Russian advance be stopped, and that Britain was bound—so he thought—by a treaty to protect the Porte. Russia's demand for a religious protectorate in Turkey, Freeman added, was a violation of the Porte's independence. He thus reluctantly accepted that Britain 'must keep faith with [the Turk], barbarian and infidel though he be'.

Although Freeman was 'intellectually convinced' that Britain should support 'the Turk against the Muscovite', he confessed that he could neither 'love the former' nor 'altogether

[119] E.g., [Anon.], 'War Moralities', *The Spectator*, 27/1381 (16 Dec. 1854), p. 1314.
[120] [E. A. Freeman], 'Russians, Turks, Greeks, Slaves, and Danes', *The Spectator*, 26/1322 (29 Oct. 1853), p. 1038.
[121] Ibid., p. 1037.

hate the latter'. The 'Grand Turk', he explained, might not have been 'so bad a despot as the Grand Muscovite, but he [was] but a despot after all', oppressing Greeks and Bulgarians, and ruling an 'essentially Oriental and barbarous' empire.[122] Freeman was thus acutely aware of the awkward fact that Britain's Muslim ally in the war against Russian despotism was also a despot. Shortly before the declaration of war, Freeman expressed his surprise at that 'abstract love of Turks' manifested across society, a principal source of which, he claimed, was evangelicalism. 'Puritanism and "Turkism" ', he declared in one of his *Spectator* letters shortly before the war's outbreak, 'have kissed each other under the auspices of Lord Shaftesbury.'[123] From the outset of the crisis, therefore, Freeman was ambivalent about it. His belief that Britons ought to support the Turks rested on shaky foundations, something which explains the rapidity with which it would soon collapse.

On the one hand, Freeman retained throughout his career an 'extreme aversion to militarism'.[124] On the other hand, he would come to the conclusion that 'success is only honourable in a moral sense when the cause in which the success is won is a just cause'.[125] In his *Spectator* letter of 2 December 1854, Freeman declared that '[o]n the principles on which European nations [had] acted for centuries, the war [was] undoubtedly just'. In common with most pro-war commentators, Freeman also praised the British government for exhausting all means before resorting to arms.[126] The authority who shaped Freeman's thought was the eighteenth-century Swiss jurist, Emer de Vattel. As we have seen in the introduction to the thesis, Watkin deployed Vattel's *Le droit des gens* against Bright to justify Britain's war. Intellectual historians have recognised the significance of Vattel in British public and political

[122] Ibid., p. 1038.
[123] [Idem], 'The Revolt in Epirus', *The Spectator*, 27/1343 (25 Mar. 1854), p. 337.
[124] Bryce, 'Freeman', p. 509.
[125] Edward A. Freeman, 'National Morality', *PrR* [New York], 54 (Nov. 1878), p. [653].
[126] [Idem], ' "What are the Greeks?" ', *The Spectator*, 27/1379 (2 Dec. 1854), p. 1259.

debate on the justification of war, especially during the later eighteenth century.[127] More recently, Jennifer Pitts has uncovered the continuing relevance of Vattel in the nineteenth century, and the use of Joseph Chitty's 1834 English edition in the debates of the first Opium War.[128] Vattel would once again resurface as a point of reference during the Crimean War. In the House of Lords on 25 May 1855, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon, cited Vattel in response to Earl Grey's protracted anti-war speech.[129] Such was the interest generated by the Bright-Watkin debate in late 1854, that few pundits failed to weigh in. Freeman also took notice. As his *Spectator* letter of 2 December 1854 reveals, Freeman consulted the work of the Swiss jurist and found in it a confirmation of his views regarding the justice of the Crimean War.[130] Unlike Watkin and Clarendon who cited specific passages from Vattel's work, Freeman did not spell out exactly what he took Vattel to mean. It is almost certain, nonetheless, that Freeman accepted Vattel's argument that when an ambitious state commits an act of injustice or oppression, other states could justifiably resort to arms against it.

Yet around this time Freeman also began doubting whether the British had any right to waste blood 'in any cause but that of [their] own national existence'.[131] These doubts were fuelled by his growing scepticism towards Britain's 'disreputable allies'.[132] He was also becoming more acutely aware of the absurdity behind the talk of fighting against Russian despotism, when Britons themselves were allied with two other despots, the sultan and Napoleon III, whilst courting the alliance of the Austrian Emperor. 'Nicholas is a despot', Freeman reasoned, 'and therefore, in my eyes, as a thorough hater of despots, he is an enemy; but why he is to be

[127] Richard Whatmore, 'Vattel, Britain and Peace in Europe', *Grotiana*, 31/1 (2010), [doi:10.1163/187607510X540231], pp. 104-6.
[128] Jennifer Pitts, *Boundaries of the International: Law and Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 2018), pp. 69-70, 119-20, 133-8.
[129] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 138, cols. 1146-7 (25 May 1855).
[130] [Freeman], ' "What are the Greeks?" ', p. 1259.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.

considered a worse despot than Napoleon or Francis Joseph, is a distinction quite too subtile for me.'[133]

By April 1855 Freeman had completely changed his mind. The *Spectator* of 21 April published a letter in which he outlined the reasons for his *volte-face*. His initial justification of the war was based on five grounds. First, he thought that Britain was obligated to support Turkey's integrity and independence, due to a supposed treaty between the two countries. Second, that it was in Europe's interests to stop Russia's advance. Third, that it was better for the Porte's Christian subjects that the weaker Turkish despotism be not replaced by Russia's stronger despotism. Fourth, that 'the war was evidently just' based on Vattel's principles. And fifth, that individuals such as Gladstone, for whom Freeman bore great respect, supported the war.[134]

Freeman deeply valued Gladstone's opinions. Besides their shared high-church allegiances, politically speaking Freeman was a 'Gladstonian Liberal'.[135] In part, Freeman's change of mind reflected Gladstone's own developing response to the war. When in February 1854 Lord Aberdeen let Gladstone know of his qualms about his government declaring war, Gladstone responded by saying that Britain '[stood] [...] upon the ground that the Emperor has invaded countries not his own, [and] inflicted wrong on Turkey'.[136] Gladstone, whose attitude towards the morality of war was shaped by Aristotle, Dante, Bishop Butler, as well as St Augustine, remained convinced of the Crimean War's 'original justice', as his handwritten notes for his Commons speech of 24 May 1855 show.[137] However, in this speech Gladstone also argued that the objects of the war declared more than a year previously had been gained, and Britain should

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[133] Ibid.
[134] [Idem], 'Peace or War', *The Spectator*, 28/1399 (21 Apr. 1855), p. 407.
[135] G. A. Bremner and Jonathan Conlin, '1066 and All That: E. A. Freeman and the Importance of Being Memorable', in idem, *Making History*, p. 6.
[136] *Gladstone Diaries*, iv (1974), p. 595.
[137] Roland Quinault, 'Gladstone and War', in idem, Roger Swift, and Ruth Clayton Windscheffel (eds), *William Gladstone: New Studies and Perspectives* (Farnham, 2012), pp. 236-7; London, BL, Gladstone Papers: Vol. DLXIX. Add MS 44654, fo. 72r: Notes for a Speech on the War (24 May 1855). See also, E. F. Biagini, *Gladstone* (Basingstoke, 2000), p. 35.

now abandon her plans of further punishing Russia.[138] This was the time when the Vienna Conference negotiations during which Russia offered proposals which could have led to peace, were deemed to have failed.[139] Political tensions in Britain were running high, and Gladstone, who had recently resigned from Palmerston's ministry, added fuel to the fire. With a sense of foreboding, he proposed in the Commons that now that the original objects of the war had been attained and Russia had renounced all her offensive claims, Britons faced the danger of their just war becoming 'unjust', if they perpetuated it for military glory and success.[140] Gladstone's speech echoed the views of others, including his friend Robert Phillimore, renowned lawyer and MP for Tavistock, who similarly condemned in the Commons the continuation of war for Britain's glory and Russia's humiliation 'as unchristian, unlawful, and contrary to the first principles of international justice'.[141] The same concern that Britons 'were in danger of being led on from a just and righteous into an unrighteous and unjustifiable war' was voiced by Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, in a debate in the Lords on 25 May 1855.[142] Gladstone, amongst others, thus sounded the alarm about the perceived change in the war's moral character. Yet Gladstone never withdrew his support. Shortly before the signing of the Treaty of Paris, he openly avowed that the war 'was undertaken for no purposes of aggrandisement, but to serve the ends of policy, of humanity, and of justice'.[143]

It is likely that Freeman found in Gladstone's critical stance during the spring of 1855 a reassuring confirmation of his own *volte-face*. However, Freeman had made up his mind before Gladstone's speech in parliament. His *Spectator* letter of 21 April 1855, a month before the

[138] Richard Shannon, *Gladstone: God and Politics* (London, 2008), p. 102. Gladstone believed that the objects of the war, *viz*. 'the abolition of Russian rights in the Principalities, and the destruction of Russian claims upon Greek Christians under Ottoman sway', had been gained by January 1855 'when Russia agreed to three out of the Four Points' of negotiation: Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, i, p. 545.
[139] Conacher, *Britain and the Crimea*, pp. 29-56.
[140] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 138, cols. 1041, 1064-8 (24 May 1855).
[141] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 138, col. 1033 (24 May 1855).
[142] Ibid., col. 1169 (25 May 1855).
[143] [Anon.], 'Easter Banquet at the Mansion-House', *MC*, 27846 (25 Mar. 1856), p. 5. Three decades later Gladstone wrote that 'as compared with most wars, the war of 1854-6 will hold in history no dishonourable place': 'The History of 1852-60, and Greville's Latest Journals', *EHR*, 2/6 (1887), pp. 293.

speech, makes this clear. Regarding the first ground according to which he had initially justified the Crimean War, Freeman now saw that there was no treaty binding Britain to protect Turkey, admitting that he had been deluded as to this matter. Moreover, although he continued to believe that the Porte's Christian subjects would be in a worse position if Ottoman despotism were to be replaced by Russian despotism, he became less confident that 'the difference between the two tyrannies [was] so great', or whether it was in Britain's business to interfere and waste the lives of her sons to maintain the *status quo*. At the same time, Freeman became ambivalent about Vattel's philosophy of war. 'According to Vattel's principles we were clearly justified in assisting Turkey, but, even according to his principles, we were under no obligation to do so.' Besides, the opinions of someone who had lived in an age when wars were being fought 'on the slightest pretexts is not to be tied round the neck of another generation, which certainly has in many respects advanced on its predecessor in humanity and general civilization'.[144] Bit by bit, Freeman dismantled his earlier rationale for supporting the war.

The key to understanding what triggered Freeman's reconsideration of the grounds upon which he had previously justified the war, is his 'exposure' to its horrors. 'Two years ago', he confessed in the *Spectator*,

> war was a thing of which I had read in books or heard of at a distance, but the horrors of which I had never realized. Individually, I believe the war touches me as little as any man. There is not a man in the British army whose death could cause me personally a moment's sorrow [...]. But I can feel for others, and for my country. Such awful scenes of bloodshed and misery, such waste of life and health, such desolation of households, ought not to be inflicted without some very weighty cause.[145]

Freeman accordingly re-evaluated his view that it was in Europe's interest to stop Russia, stipulating that war was justifiable only to uphold national liberty, or to assist oppressed nations. This was the same argument he would make in his *Guardian* letter quoted at the

[144] [Freeman], 'Peace or War', p. 407.
[145] Ibid., p. 408.

beginning of this section. Freeman's belief that Russia had abandoned her dangerous pretensions, and that after the Vienna Conference the war 'ha[d] completely changed its character' turning from a defensive war in support of Turkey to an aggressive war against Russia, further reinforced his changing views.[146]

There was, however, another significant change in Freeman's stance which historians have also overlooked. In his *Spectator* letter of 19 January 1856, Freeman wrote that '[t]he championship of peace' in the journal's correspondence columns was no longer in his hands, but in those of Sir Arthur Hallam Elton, 7th Baronet.[147] Boasting a venerable descent (he was nephew of the historian Henry Hallam), Elton was educated at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, and between 1836 to 1841 served in the 14th Regiment of Infantry.[148] An individual of 'rare intellectual power', Elton was a writer, novelist, and poet whose ancestral home, Clevedon Court, welcomed not only Freeman, but also Thackeray, Tennyson, Bagehot, and others.[149] In 1857 he became MP for Bath, a seat he would lose two years later due to his opposition to Palmerston's China policy. During his military service, Elton began exhibiting signs of peace-mindedness. His sonnet of 1840, 'On the War Mania of France', asked 'Know ye who feign to arm for a just cause / How horrible is blood?'.[150] During the Crimean War, he stepped into the peace party, and wrote anti-war letters to the *Spectator*.[151] In common with Martineau and Freeman, Elton was conscious of the communicative power of the press. He accordingly tapped into it to promote peace, although this went further than mere letter-writing. In his correspondence with Freeman, Elton confessed that he tried 'to get hold of daily papers & to work them on the peace side'.[152] Elton also published two pamphlets in 1855, one arguing

[146] [Idem], 'States and Nations', *The Spectator*, 28/1417 (25 Aug. 1855), p. 883.
[147] [Idem], 'The Scandinavian Alliance', *The Spectator*, 29/1438 (19 Jan. 1856), p. 74.
[148] [Anon.], 'Death of Sir Arthur Hallam Elton, Bart., of Clevedon Court', *BM* [Bristol], 11051 (15 Oct. 1883), p. 8.
[149] Manchester, JRL, Papers of Edward Augustus Freeman, EAF/1/7: 'In Memorial. Arthur Hallam Elton'.
[150] Arthur Hallam Elton, *Poems of Past Years* (London, 1856), p. 40.
[151] Idem, 'Why not Peace?', *The Spectator*, 28/1430 (24 Nov. 1855), p. 1214.
[152] EAF/1/7: FA1/7/157. Letter from Elton to Freeman (30 Dec. 1855), p. [2].

that the war was a blunder, whilst the other challenging the idea that Britain's war was 'just'.[153] His most notable publications were his *Tracts for the Present Crisis*: two series of sixty-seven short tracts sold one penny each, and also published in collected editions. Elton secured the insertion of some these tracts in the press, thereby giving them a wider circulation.[154] On 13 January 1856, he wrote to Freeman proposing that they 'combine [their] forces', and that Freeman send him an article which he could then publish as a tract.[155] Freeman evidently agreed, for in the second series we find six tracts signed by him.

A central theme in the tracts that Elton wrote was that the state had to address 'the condition-of-England question' and fulfil its duties to the destitute masses, before embarking on 'insane expeditions to foreign lands'.[156] Religion was another crucial theme. Elton privately confessed to Freeman his disgruntlement with the warlike stance of many clergymen.[157] In the *Tracts*, the baronet criticised them for neglecting 'the distinctive features of the religion of the New Testament'.[158] Impatient with his compatriots' rationales for vindicating the war, Elton also pointed to the problematic alliance of Britain with 'strange bed-fellows'—in other words, for fighting against Russia, 'the presumed embodiment of despotism', whilst being allied with two other despotic powers, Turkey and France.[159]

Freeman's contributions in the second series of the *Tracts* were highly polemical. To the charge of 'advocates of bloodshed' that the peace party was 'unpatriotic', Freeman responded that peace advocates were in fact 'far more patriotic' that their detractors, for they 'wish[ed] to hinder [their country] going on any further in a foolish and wicked course'.[160] 'We peace men',

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[153] Arthur Hallam Elton, *Where are we Drifting? or a Plain Question for the British People on the War with Russia* (London, 1855); [Idem], *An Inquiry into the Alleged Justice and Necessity of the War with Russia* (London, 1855).
[154] [Arthur Hallam Elton], 'Tracts for the Present Crisis', *MC*, 27691(26 Sept. 1855), p. 3.
[155] EAF/1/7: FA1/7/158. Letter from Elton to Freeman (13 Jan. 1856), p. [2].
[156] Arthur Hallam Elton, *Tracts the Present Crisis*, 1st series, 2nd edn (Bristol, [1855]), pp. 11, 27-8.
[157] EAF/1/7: FA1/7/161a. Letter from Elton to Freeman (11 Mar. 1856), pp. [1-3].
[158] Elton, *Tracts*, 1st series, p. 125.
[159] Ibid., p. 159.
[160] Idem, *Tracts for the Present Crisis*, 2nd series (Bristol, [1856]), pp. 81-2.

Freeman declared, 'see neither justice nor wisdom in slaughtering people who have never done or threatened us the slightest harm.'[161] He also dismissed alarmist accounts about Russia's aggrandizement as grossly hypocritical. 'I am afraid', Freeman wrote sarcastically, 'of damaging my maps with constant application of compasses, to find out exactly how many thousand miles [Britain's] frontier has advanced in the direction of every body in general'.[162] Freeman famously confessed in 1891 that he was 'no lover of "empire" ', but here we see some of his earlier anti-imperialist sentiments.[163] Freeman additionally reminded readers that by guaranteeing the Ottoman Empire's integrity, Britain was essentially ensuring the oppression of Christians.[164]

Freeman made more widely known his views regarding Islam and the Turks in various other publications. In a *North British Review* article of August 1855, he argued that Islam was 'essentially aggressive'. Simultaneously, he juxtaposed Christianity's adaptability 'to every phase of the ceaseless progress of the Western mind', to 'the creed of Mahomet' which 'ha[d] stereotyped the old Asiatic mind in all the characteristics [despotism, polygamy, and slavery] which it displayed before his coming'.[165] A year later, Freeman's *History and Conquests of the Saracens* expressed his wish 'to see the Cross gleaming upon the dome of St. Sophia'.[166] In the *Saturday Review* of 24 May 1856, he accused E. S. Creasy, Professor of History at University College, London, and author of the *History of the Ottoman Turks* (1854-6), of partiality because of 'his extreme love for the Turks and their Sultan Mahmoud'.[167] One can only imagine

[161] Ibid., p. 82.
[162] Ibid., p. 146.
[163] Edward A. Freeman, 'Britannic Confederation. II.—The Physical and Political Basis of National Unity', *SGM*, 7/7 (1891), p. 357.
[164] Elton, *Tracts*, 2nd series, p. 99.
[165] [E. A. Freeman], 'Mahometanism in the East and West', *NBR*, 23/46 (Aug. 1855), pp. 460, 472.
[166] Idem, *The History and Conquests of the Saracens* (Oxford, 1856), p. 247.
[167] [Idem], 'Creasy's History of the Ottoman Turks. *Second Notice*', *SR*, 2/30 (24 May 1856), pp. 88-9.

Freeman's outrage upon reading Creasy's vibrant optimism about the future of the Ottoman Empire, and his sentimental lauding of the Crimean War.[168]

Contrary to the prevailing historiographical narrative, Freeman's response to the war was thus far from monolithic. In contrast to Martineau's consistency, Freeman's stance changed from loosely pro- to passionately anti-war. But at no point did Freeman flirt with pacifism. He was prepared to accept the justice of wars in some cases, but not in this case. Even though Freeman's stance developed into one of intense criticism, it never fell under the category of what contemporaries labelled 'extreme' or 'abstract'. This was not the case with Leone Levi, an intellectual who preached pacifist ideas of a Quaker mould—ideas that Freeman never accepted, and that Martineau deeply resented.

WAR, PEACE, AND INTERNATIONAL LAW: LEONE LEVI

Leone Levi (Fig. 4.1) remains a forgotten Victorian intellectual. The inscription on his tombstone in London's Highgate cemetery, where he was buried in 1888, presents him to the visitor as follows:

> In memory of Leone Levi, LL.D. Knight of the Orders of St Maurice and St Lazarus, and of the Crown of Italy. *Professor of Commercial Law, King's College London*. Eminent as a statistician, zealous in diffusing knowledge, helpful in every good work, ardent as a friend. Born at Ancona, Italy, 6th June 1821. Died at Highbury, 7th May 1888. *He being dead yet speaketh.*[169]

Levi was born into an Italian Jewish middle-class family. In 1844, he set off for Liverpool, and three years later became a naturalized British citizen. Shortly after, he converted to Christianity and joined English Presbyterianism. His naturalization certificate registered him as a 'general

[168] E. S. Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks: from the Beginning of their Empire to the Present Time* (2 vols, London, 1854-6), ii (1856), pp. 477-8.
[169] I visited Levi's grave on 10 Nov. 2019, after locating it by paying a fee to *Deceased Online: The Central Database for UK Burials and Cremations* [https://www.deceasedonline.com].



Fig. 4.1. Leone Levi. By Elliott & Fry. Albumen carte-de-visite, circa 1873. 3 5/8 in. x 2 3/8 in. (92 mm x 60 mm). Given by Adam Scott, 1922. Photographs Collection. National Portrait Gallery x20031 [https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw124157/Leone-Levi], Academic Licence.

merchant'.[170] Commerce became a practical and an intellectual passion of his life. In 1849 he helped found the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, and between 1850 and 1852 he published his seminal *Commercial Law: Its Principles and Administration*. This received gold medals for science and art from the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria. Prince Albert also took notice. After inviting Levi to Windsor, the prince accepted a copy of the first volume of *Commercial Law* from the hands of its author. Thereafter, the prince wrote to him further encouraging his work, and suggesting that its subject fitted the ethos of his own scheme for an Exhibition—soon to be the Great Exhibition.[171] Levi's book intended 'to bring nations together by commerce, and intercourse regulated by laws founded on the eternal principles of justice'.[172] In 1859, seven years after his appointment as Professor of Commercial Law at King's, he was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, and two years later he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Tübingen. Meanwhile, he developed an interest in statistics, eventually making important contributions to the Royal Statistical Society.[173] In Victorian Britain, statistical enquiry became part of efforts to cultivate 'a new science of society'.[174] As an eminent statistician hoping to improve society, Levi thus operated at the cutting edge of contemporary intellectual endeavour. He was also fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and a member of the Statistical Society, the Society of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, the Law Amendment Society, the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, the Royal Geographical Society, and the International Statistical Institute. His correspondents included Gladstone, as well as Cobden, whose Manchester-School principles of free-trade and peace he

[170] London, TNA, HO 1/24/521: Naturalization Papers: Levi, Leone, from Ancona. Certificate 521 issued 16 January 1847.
[171] Leone Levi, *The Story of my Life. The First Ten Years of my Residence in England, 1845-1855* (London, 1888), pp. 55-8, 162-4.
[172] Ibid., p. 68.
[173] [Anon.], 'Professor Leone Levi, LL.D.', *JRSS*, 51/2 (June, 1888), p. 340.
[174] Lawrence Goldman, 'Victorian Social Science: form Singular to Plural', in Martin Daunton (ed.), *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 2005), p. 97.

warmly supported.[175] An individual with vibrant internationalist views, Levi was a firm believer in universal progress. He also promoted an Esperanto-like language, advocated the unification of money, heights, and measures, and preached the idealistic notion that the telos of history was 'that great era of the perfect unity of the human family'.[176] Levi published articles on various subjects, especially economic, and even contributed an article in one of the first issues of *Nature*, in which he reflected on the 'brilliant future open[ing] itself for the cultivation of science'.[177] Levi's life in Victorian intellectual culture was nothing short of remarkable; historians can no longer ignore it.[178]

During the Crimean War, Levi expounded pacifist ideas of a Quaker mould. But how did he, a newly converted English Presbyterian, come to advocate Quaker pacifism? The clue is in his autobiographical *Story of my Life*, printed in 1888 for private circulation. In 1851, whilst living and researching in Edinburgh, Levi befriended a Quaker named Mr Whigham. In Mr Whigham's family Levi 'saw the exhibition of Quakerism in its most attractive aspect'. Quakerism exerted an influence beyond itself, and its principle which left in Levi the deepest impression 'was that Christianity and war were incompatible with one another'.[179] For Levi this was a 'revelation'. During the same year, he wrote to the London Peace Congress expressing his support. Thereafter, he became closely associated with the peace movement.[180] The Crimean War saw Levi taking an active role in supporting the cause of peace. In 1855 he

[175] London, BL, Gladstone Papers: Vol. CCCVIII. Add MS 44393: Letter from L. Levi to W. E. Gladstone (5 Mar. 1860), fo. 189r; London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. XVI. Add MS 43662: Letter from L. Levi to R. Cobden (19 Feb. 1864), fo. 292; Leone Levi, *On Richard Cobden. An Introductory Lecture* (London, 1865); Idem, *Peace the Handmaid of Commerce* (London, [1876]), pp. 1-2.
[176] Idem, *The Prospective Results of International Exhibitions. A Lecture* ([London, 1856]), pp. 11-12, 20-5, 31-2.
[177] Idem, 'Our National Expenditure', *FR*, 42/252 (Dec. 1887), pp. 867-78; Idem, 'A Scientific Census', *Nature*, 1/4 (Nov. 1869), p. 100.
[178] Lawrence Goldman has touched upon Levi as an eminent statistician only in passing: *Victorians and Numbers: Statistics and Society in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Oxford, 2022), pp. xlix-lviii, 244-55. A more focused account is Annamaria Monti, 'Leone Levi (1821-1888) and the History of Comparative Commercial Law', in William Eves et al. (eds), *Common Law, Civil Law, and Colonial Law: Essays in Comparative Legal History from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2021), pp. 236-59.
[179] Idem, *Story of my Life*, p. 67.
[180] During the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Levi took part in a peace deputation to Bismarck in support of arbitration: [Anon.], 'The Congress', *The Times*, 29300 (6 July 1878), p. 12.

attended a peace meeting with Cobden, Bright, Sturge, Richard, and others. He also published a pacifist treatise entitled *The Law of Nature and Nations as affected by Divine Law,* examining war—and capital punishment—according to divine law and the law of nations or, as he also termed, 'international law'.

International law, the term coined by Jeremy Bentham as a substitute for the 'law of nations' denoting "the mutual transactions between sovereigns",[181] entered in Victorian Britain what Jennifer Pitts has pronounced 'a period of disciplinary consolidation'.[182] The first university chairs in international law were created, several treatises were published, and professional societies and academic journals were established.[183] International law was not confined to the academy, but was part of intellectual and political culture more broadly.[184] The early 1850s proved to be a fruitful period for the cultivation of this promising 'science'. In 1854 Robert Phillimore published the first volume of his monumental *Commentaries Upon International Law* positing international law as the law enacted not 'by the will of any common Superior upon earth', but 'by the will of God', and which found expression 'in the consent, tacit or declared, of Independent Nations.'[185] A year previously, the polymath scholar and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, the Revd William Whewell, produced an abridged translation of Grotius's *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (1625). Whewell felt that the same sentiment which had first inspired the creation of the original work—a 'deep and earnest love of Peace'—was now apparent.[186] The Crimean War would soon dispel Whewell's wishful thinking. His translation of Grotius would be eventually drawn into debates. For the *Athenaeum*, this was a timely

[181] Casper Sylvest, 'International Law in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *BYBIL*, 75/1 (2005), p. 13.
[182] Jennifer Pitts, 'International Law', in Mark Bevir (ed.), *Historicism and the Human Sciences in Victorian Britain* (Cambridge, 2017), p. 240.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Casper Sylvest, 'The Foundations of Victorian International Law', in Duncan Bell (ed.), *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. [47]-8.
[185] Robert Phillimore, *Commentaries Upon International Law* (4 vols, London, 1854-61), i (1854), p. [v].
[186] William Whewell, *Hugonis Grotii De Jure Belli et Pacis. Libri Tres. Accompanied by an Abridged Translation* (3 vols, Cambridge, 1853), i, p. xii.

contribution appearing right when Victorian society was becoming engrossed by 'every question relative to war and peace'.[187] In the conclusion to one of her *Westminster Review* articles, Martineau cited Whewell's translation to buttress her rationale for supporting the coming war.[188] A review in *Fraser's Magazine* quoting liberally from the translation, went on to outline the requisites for a just war, before concluding that 'no war can be juster than that in which England and France, as the allies of Turkey, are now actually engaged'.[189] Martineau and various reviewers were not alone in drawing on international law. As we saw, Freeman, Lord Clarendon, and Watkin invoked Vattel's authority, whilst some clergymen sometimes cited Grotius in their sermons. International law thus afforded intellectual ammunition in the wartime debates.

It was Grotius's *magnum opus* that provided Levi an argument for his 1855 treatise *The Law of Nature and Nations as affected by Divine Law*. One of the editions of Grotius's *De Jure Belli et Pacis* that Levi used was Whewell's abridged translation of 1853. It was to Whewell that Levi dedicated—with permission—his treatise. Levi believed that Grotius's theories required 'further consideration'. He was not entirely satisfied with how the Dutch jurist had tackled the question of war. As he would put it in a future work: 'The critical point in International Law, doubtless, is the lawfulness or unlawfulness of war, and it is unfortunate that the great authority of Grotius was not more decisively expressed against a system so fraught with misery and destruction.'[190] Levi's treatise of 1855 intervened in the debates between the peace movement and its critics. Its aim was to 'perform much substantial good'.[191] In common with Martineau and Freeman, Levi deployed his cultural authority and role as a public intellectual to provide guidance on war, its morality, and its place in Christian society.

[187] [Anon.], 'Hugonis Grotii De Jure Belli et Pacis Libri Tres', *The Athenaeum*, 1380 (8 Apr. 1854), p. 435.
[188] [Martineau], 'England's Foreign Policy', *WR*, p. 232.
[189] [Anon.], 'International Law. *Grotius On War and Peace*', *FM*, 49/292 (Apr. 1854), pp. 484-5.
[190] Leone Levi, *International Law. With Materials for a Code of International Law* (London, 1887), p. 4.
[191] Idem, *The Law of Nature and Nations as affected by Divine Law* (London, 1855), p. xii.

Levi was not the first thinker on international law to examine this subject. Other nineteenth-century commentators considered war and the question of its justice within the framework of international law. An early case in point was James Mill, whose essay 'Law of Nations' of 1825 published in the *Supplement to the Encyclopaedia Britannica*, delineated those 'conditions necessary to render [war] just', as well as 'what ought to be regarded as just and unjust in the modes of carrying it on'.[192] During the Crimean War, Travers Twiss, Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, discussed Britain's resort to arms in the language of international law. 'Our lot', stated Twiss in his *Two Introductory Lectures on the Science of International Law* published in 1856, 'has been cast in a period when the study of International Law commends itself at once to us, for Western Europe has taken up arms to avenge a great offence against the Law of Nations.'[193] Others focused the question of the conduct of war. A contributor to the *Cambridge Essays* of 1855 wrote that in the face of such a large-scale conflict, 'the question naturally arises in thoughtful minds—By what principles our statesmen ought to be guided in directing the war, and our generals and admirals in carrying it on?', or: 'How can the conduct of war be best reconciled with the laws of God?'[194] Lay thinkers on international law had, then, much in common with clerical intellectuals such as Kingsley who, as shown in the second chapter, were preoccupied with establishing the 'right' way to fight wars, according to Christian principles. The same concern is evident in the essay 'The Growth of Laws and Usages of War' by Montague Bernard, soon-to-be Chichele Professor of International Law and Diplomacy at All Souls College, Oxford, published in the *Oxford Essays* of 1856.[195] In a remarkable passage at the opening of his essay, Bernard wrote that the Crimean

[192] James Mill, *Essays on I. Government, II. Jurisprudence, III. Liberty of the Press, IV. Prisons and Prison Discipline, V. Colonies, VI. Law of Nations, VII. Education* (London, [1825]), pp. 19, 21.
[193] Travers Twiss, *Two Introductory Lectures on the Science of International Law* (London, 1856), p. 60.
[194] Charles Buxton, 'The Limitations to Severity in War', in *Cambridge Essays, Contributed by Members of the University* (London, [1855]), p. 110.
[195] Bernard was a member of the *Guardian* coterie of liberal high churchmen which included Freeman.

War's widely publicised horrors induced contemporaries—including himself—seriously to consider its ethical dimensions:

> No one, I suppose, can have witnessed the long succession of stirring and affecting scenes of which our memories are full,—the battles, bombardments, sieges,—the movements of armies, leaving rifled houses and gardens, and sometimes smoking ruins, behind them—the wholesale destruction of the means of subsistence on coasts inhabited by fishermen and peasants,—the countless miseries, calamities, crimes, which hover in the train of this great scourge of God,—without sometimes anxiously asking himself *not only whether the war was just, but whether it was being waged as war should be waged by an educated and Christian nation*.[196]

Although Levi shared with Bernard the fact that the circumstances of Britain's conflict with Russia compelled them to examine questions in regard to its morality, Levi was interested more generally in 'the question of the inviolability of human life', rather than the laws and conduct of war which primarily concerned Bernard.[197]

The thrust of Levi's argument in his treatise of 1855 was that international law ought 'to assert in its authoritative voice the criminality of war itself, and its incongruity with the best interests of mankind'. Crucially, that divine law, the revealed will of God which 'establishes sanctions far above all human institutions', should be the guiding light of international law.[198] It was a thing to be regretted, Levi remarked, 'that Jurisprudence has drawn little of late from so high a source'. The law of nations or international law, he explained, comprised of a set of morally binding yet unenforceable principles and rules regulating international relations. Under this law, war, 'the highest trial of right' that states resort to only after all peaceful ways to resolve a conflict fail, was solely authorised by necessity, and was justifiable only for defensive purposes, or for the recovery of possessions.[199] These were some of the conclusions Levi derived from his reading of Grotius. Yet there were plenty of examples, lamented Levi, of

[196] Montague Bernard, 'The Growth of Laws and Usages of War', in *Oxford Essays, Contributed by Members of the University* (London, 1856), p. 88 (emphasis added).
[197] Levi, *Law of Nature and Nations*, p. ix.
[198] Ibid., pp. xi, 19, 34.
[199] Ibid., pp. 60, 76.

professedly ‘just wars’ which had been undertaken according to the slightest pretexts. Britain, for example, had much to be ashamed from her ‘unjustifiable and criminal’ wars in India and the Cape.[200]

The main question for Levi was: what did divine law teach about war? Packing his footnotes with biblical texts and references from Quaker authorities, Levi set out to answer this question. The Old Testament brimmed with accounts about Israel’s wars; but these wars were divinely sanctioned, so they ought to be distinguished from other wars. On the other hand, the New Testament—‘[a] new Code of Morals [...] that forms at once the standard by which the Christian life is to be regulated, and the law which a Christian is to obey’—embodied a pacific spirit.[201] ‘Can a man’, asked Levi, ‘thoroughly imbued with [the] precepts [of the Sermon of the Mount] look without horror to the cruelties, the bloodshedding and crimes attending war?’ Elsewhere in his treatise Levi re-examined specific episodes in the gospel to prove the unlawfulness of war for Christians. Levi argued that Jesus’s reprobation of Peter proved ‘that the use of the sword was guilty in the sight of God’.[202] ‘[H]ow beautifully’, he remarked, Jesus ‘drew from that very circumstance a most important lesson for the government of man’. The law of nature and nations, conceded Levi, admitted the ‘right’ of self-defence. But this ‘right’ received no sanction from divine law because it went against ‘those maxims of self-denial so repeatedly urged as a duty, and to those evidences of Christian character so beautifully illustrated in Scripture’.[203] Jesus’s injunction to ‘Resist not evil’ was not meant to stop people ‘from restraining a maniac, or an insane, or an intoxicated person, or from administering any necessary correction’; but this injunction was, nevertheless, ‘directed against the use of physical or material force to destroy or impair the life, intellect, moral sentiment, or absolute welfare of those who may have committed evil against us.’ This led Levi to advocating an

[200] Ibid., pp. 77-8.
[201] Ibid., pp. 82-7.
[202] Ibid., pp. 87-8.
[203] Ibid., p. 93.

extreme form of non-resistance. If, proclaimed Levi, we find ourselves at a situation of having either to take away the life of an assailant, or to consent to our own injury and death, our duty 'is not to consider our own welfare, or what might seem to us the most reasonable course to pursue, but what is the express will of God,—what he enjoins and what he prohibits.'[204] The principles of international law, Levi concluded, ought to be imbued with the irenic ethos of divine law, which was of higher authority.

Levi's treatise attracted much attention in the press. The Quaker *Friend* deemed it 'especially valuable', and the Peace Society's *Herald* praised it for positing divine law above the law of nature and nations.[205] The *Herald* later urged its readers to get copies of the treatise, to place them in libraries, and to lay them on the tables of Literary and Mechanics' Institutes. The Peace Society was convinced that Levi's work could influence the minds of a wider non-specialist audience, including working-class people attending Mechanics' Institutes. The *Herald* also informed its readers that they could apply to get copies from the Peace Society's office in New Broad Street. Levi himself was anxious to give his ideas a wide circulation, so he offered his work at a much lower price.[206]

The *British Quarterly Review* gave it a favourable review.[207] But this this an exception amongst pro-war periodicals. The *Athenaeum* described Levi's views as 'so weak and contradictory', whilst *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* stated that 'Divine law, as illustrated by the facts of Bible history, does countenance war, and Divine justice puts the sword into the hand of the avenger of blood, whether the avenger be an individual or a nation.'[208] The Edinburgh *Caledonian Mercury* criticised it for seeking 'to carry out but too literally the Divine injunction,

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[204] Ibid., p. 36.
[205] [Anon.], 'Notices of New Books, &c: *The Law of Nature and Nations, as affected by Divine Law*. By Leone Levi. London: Cash', *The Friend*, XIII/155 (Nov. 1855), p. 210; [Anon.], 'Reviews: *The Law of Nature and Nations as affected by Divine Law*. By Leone Levi', *HP*, III/LXIV (Oct. 1855), p. 266.
[206] [Anon.], 'Mr. Leone Levi's Work on "The Law of Nature and Nations as affected by Divine Law" ', *HP*, III/LXXVII (Nov. 1856), p. 132.
[207] [Anon.], 'The Law of Nature and Nations, as affected by Divine Law', *BQR*, 44 (Oct. 1855), pp. 594-5.
[208] [Anon.], 'The Law of Nature and Nations as affected by Divine Law', *The Athenaeum*, 1452 (Aug. 1855), p. 972; [Anon.], 'The Law of Nature and Nations as affected by Divine Law', *TEM*, 22 (Oct. 1855), p. 634.

"Resist not evil" '.[209] Nowhere was the response more critical than in the essay 'The Divine Law on Capital Punishment and War', signed by 'P.S.' and carried by the learned *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record* of October 1856. This essay's argument was premised on a biblical exegesis similar to that of sermons. The doctrine of non-resistance which informed Levi's ideas, claimed the author of this essay, went against society's interests and had never been sanctioned by Jesus and the apostles. That Jesus's words in the Sermon on the Mount were not to be understood literally, the essay stated, was clear from His remonstrance with the soldier who hit Him on the hand with the palm.[210] God thus never willed His people to consent to their own destruction when attacked; by extension, war was not forbidden. Pointing to the wars of Old Testament Israel, the essay's author asserted that war *was* scriptural. The absence of any explicit condemnation of the profession of the soldier in the New Testament was further proof that war and Christianity were compatible. Recent examples of heroic and pious servicemen such as Captain Hedley Vicars, moreover, belied the Peace Society's claim that soldiers were essentially murderers. The only profession condemned in the New Testament, added the essay's author scornfully, was that of the lawyer: ' "Woe unto you, also, lawyers! for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers" (Luke xi. 46).'[211]

Whilst the peace movement warmly supported Levi's argument, many reviewers criticised it for its pacifist bent. Levi's absolutist ideas, they judged, were misplaced: Christianity and war were reconcilable. Levi's treatise, and the critical responses to it, thus formed part of a revealing episode within the wider 'war' of words and ideas.

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[209] [Anon.], 'Literature: The Law of Nature and Nations as affected by Divine Law. By Leone Levi. London: W. & F. G. Cash, 1855', *CM* [Edinburgh], 20630 (10 Nov. 1855), p. [3].
[210] 'If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me?' (John 18:23).
[211] P.S., 'The Divine Law on Capital Punishment and War', *JSL*, 4/7 (Oct. 1856), pp. 39, 53-5.

Faced with the first major war on European soil after four decades of peace, lay intellectuals donned their mantles of cultural authority to educate the public on questions of war and peace that acquired a new urgency. The intellectuals that this chapter has examined were 'public moralists' and 'preachers' in their own right; purveyors of truth and morality, who guided society through intractable moral issues raised by war. Of course, Martineau, Freeman, and Levi were not the only interested commentators for whom the war mobilized their energies. In Elton's Tracts, Freeman singled out two individuals as the 'greatest patriots in England'.[212] These were John Bright and Richard Cobden, the radical parliamentarians Martineau attacked in the *Daily News*, and with whom Levi rubbed shoulders in peace meetings. It is the principles and politics of peace of these two individuals that the thesis will next seek to illuminate.

[212] Elton, *Tracts*, 2nd series, p. 82.

CHAPTER FIVE

'A CRIME':
Bright, Cobden, and the Politics of Peace

> Well, if you go into war now you will have more banners to decorate your cathedrals and churches. Englishmen will fight now as well as they ever did [...] You may raise up great generals [...] Then there may be titles, and pensions, and marble monuments to eternise the men who have thus become great; but what becomes of you and your country, and your children?
>
> ❧ JOHN BRIGHT, EDINBURGH PEACE CONFERENCE, 1853[1]

> [H]ow can I better escape from the humbling spectacle of a nation given up to the dominion of its fiercest animal passions, *whilst flattering itself it is wielding the sceptre of justice*, than in taking refuge in my *nursery*, where the children, if not more logical, are at least less hypocritical than those of a larger growth whose 'fe, fa, fi, fo, fum' is now resounding from our streets, theatres, churches, & chapels?
>
> ❧ RICHARD COBDEN TO WILLIAM HARGREAVES, 7 OCT. 1854[2]

Two decades after the end of the Crimean War, John Bright and his son Philip, the youngest of his children with his second wife, Elizabeth Leatham, were driving down Pall Mall in London. At one point they passed by John Bell's Guards' Memorial in Waterloo Place erected in 1861 to commemorate the brigade of Guards—one of those 'marble monuments' Bright had foreseen in his speech quoted above. It was then that the boy asked his father what the word 'CRIMEA' on the pedestal meant (Fig. 5.1). After a moment of silence, Bright replied: 'A CRIME'.[3] This sharp, epigrammatic response the popular free trader, famous orator, and long-

[1] John Bright, *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy*, ed. James E. Thorold Rogers (London, 1880), p. 464.
[2] Howe and Morgan (eds), *Letters of Cobden: Vol. 3*, p. 47 (Cobden's emphasis).
[3] G. M. Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright* (London, 1913), p. 252.



Fig. 5.1. ‘The Guards’ Memorial.—(Designed by John Bell)’, *IT*, 12/318 (4 May 1861), p. 287.

-term radical and Liberal politician gave to his son, encapsulated his attitude towards a war which had stigmatised his political life—in November 1854 his Manchester constituents burned him in effigy, and three years later he lost his seat in parliament—and which had adversely affected his health, leading him shortly before the Treaty of Paris to a nervous

breakdown. That the Crimean War was 'a crime' was not a conclusion Bright arrived at in hindsight. In his letter to Watkin of 29 October 1854, he forthrightly declared: 'I will have no part in this terrible crime. My hands shall be unstained with the blood which is being shed.'[4] Earlier that year, he couched his denunciation of the first day of humiliation in terms which suggested that Britain was committing a national crime by resorting to arms against Russia; a crime all the more terrible because religion was being invoked to vindicate it. 'Humiliation is indeed admirably suited to the occasion', Bright wrote in his diary on 26 April 1854, 'for what feeling is more appropriate when we engage in the slaughter of our fellow-men,—for no definite object, for no object in which we have any real interest,—from whom we have rec[eive]d no injury, nor indeed so much as an insult?'[5]

Peace-minded contemporaries and some future commentators agreed with Bright's view that the war was 'a crime'.[6] Richard Cobden, MP for the West Riding of Yorkshire until he too lost his seat in 1857, shared the sentiments of his political partner and friend. Shortly after the war's conclusion, Cobden reflected on how Lord Aberdeen, 'by his own confession', had been dragged into it without believing in it. 'Can there be a greater crime in the eye of the historian than this?', pondered Cobden.[7] This war, he declared in a public letter of 1855, was one which '[he] believe[d] to be more unnecessary, rash, and aimless, than any in our history, and which, for the visionary objects avowed by its advocates, has no parallel since the crusades'.[8] Cobden's profound exasperation at, and his hankering for finding a sanctuary away from, the offensive sanctimony and belligerence of his compatriots, resonated in his letter to William Hargreaves quoted at the start of the chapter. Yet Cobden proved indefatigable in his campaign

[4] Bright, 'Mr. Bright upon the War', *The Times*, p. 10.
[5] Idem, *Diaries of Bright*, pp. 169-70.
[6] J. Passmore Edwards, *The War a Blunder and a Crime* (London, 1855); G. H. Dyer, *Richard Cobden, the Friend of the People*, 2nd edn (London, [1884]), p. 13.
[7] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. XXXI. Add MS 43677: Copy of letter from Richard Cobden to J. B. Smith (12 Aug. 1856), fo. 54r.
[8] [Richard Cobden], 'Mr. Cobden on the Army and the War', *MP*, 25535 (6 Nov. 1855), p. 3.

to inject reason in an impassioned debate. The same was true for Bright, even though both men were aware that their status as national heroes and the popularity they had gained as apostles of free trade during the active years of the Anti-Corn Law League, were rapidly waning in the face of a popular war. Palmerston, their main political adversary who embodied the warlike sentiments of public opinion, confessed in private during January 1856 that '[t]he British nation is unanimous in this matter' of vigorously prosecuting the war further; 'I say unanimous, for I cannot reckon Cobden, Bright, and Co. for anything'.[9] This was an uncharitable, but not misplaced remark. Cobden himself was conscious that peace advocates were in the minority. 'It is no use blinking the fact that there are not a score of men in the House', he confessed to Bright in September 1854, '& but few *out of the ranks of the "Friends"* [Quakers] in the country, who are ready to take their stand upon the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of other countries'.[10] And yet the two parliamentarians did not 'hold their peace'.[11] There were some moments of doubt such as when Bright reasoned during the autumn months of 1854 that the nation was 'not in a state to hear the truth', and that it was 'best to rest quiet' until the end of the war when the public, exhausted by the war's costs, would supposedly be more receptive to peace principles.[12] Nonetheless, Bright and Cobden, as two of the figureheads of the 'peace party' leading the parliamentary opposition to the war, constantly challenged the case of the 'war party'. The draped figure atop the Guards' Memorial extending her wreaths was that of 'Honour', but for the two men there was nothing honourable about that war which they deemed a grievous error, and contrary to their country's interests.

[9] Quoted in Evelyn Ashley, *The Life and Correspondence of Henry John Temple Viscount Palmerston* (2 vols, London, 1879), ii, p. 325.
[10] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. IV. Add MS 43650: Letter from Richard Cobden to John Bright (14 Sept. 1854), fo. 18v (Cobden's emphasis).
[11] Ibid.
[12] London, LSF, Temp MSS 892/5: Letter from John Bright to Montagu Clifton (5 Nov. 54) (unnumbered pages); London, BL, Sturge Papers: Vol. II. Add MS 43723: Letter from Bright to Sturge (4 Sept. 1854), fo. 28v.

This chapter offers new perspectives on the peace principles of the two Manchester-School leaders. Whilst historians have correctly argued that Cobden was not a pacifist in the absolutist sense, their interpretation that Bright's peace thinking was also non-pacifist depends on a selective reading of the material. The chapter begins by demonstrating that the Quaker peace testimony was the ultimate source of Bright's opposition to warfare, although in some specific cases Bright showed that he was not a full-blown non-resistant. The chapter also examines more holistically Bright's and Cobden's arguments against the Crimean War in the political milieux in which they operated, both inside and outside parliament.

The historiography on the war and British politics is sizeable. Several political biographies and other works have enriched our understanding of how individual politicians or political parties responded to the war.[13] Historians have thus served well the Aberdeen coalition; Palmerston and his first ministry; and Derby, Disraeli, and the Conservative Party. Bright and Cobden have also attracted much historiographical attention. What we know about their wartime views, however, comes mainly from biographies and other general studies.[14] Although these works have correctly treated the Crimean War as a significant episode in the political careers of the two men, most of them are dated—some over a century old—and therefore not

[13] J. B. Conacher, *The Aberdeen Coalition 1852-1855: A Study in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Party Politics* (Cambridge, 1968); J. R. Vincent, 'The Parliamentary Dimension of the Crimean War', *TRHS*, 31 (1981), pp. 37-49; Muriel E. Chamberlain, *Lord Aberdeen: A Political Biography* (London, 1983), pp. 472-516; Geoffrey Hicks, *Peace, War and Party Politics: The Conservatives in Europe, 1846-59* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 139-65; Angus Hawkins, *The Forgotten Prime Minister: The 14th Earl of Derby* (2 vols, Oxford, 2007-8), ii, pp. 81-132; Ann Pottinger Saab, 'Foreign Affairs and New Tories: Disraeli, *The Press*, and the Crimean War', *IHR*, 19/2 (1997), pp. 286-311; Miloš Ković, *Disraeli and the Eastern Question* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 54-63; David Brown, *Palmerston: A Biography* (New Haven, CT and London, 2010), pp. 360-96.

[14] Trevelyan, *Life of John Bright*, pp. 215-52; John Morley, *The Life of Richard Cobden* (2 vols, London, 1881), ii, pp. 149-79; A. J. P. Taylor, *The Trouble Makers: Dissent over Foreign Policy 1792-1939* (London, 1957), pp. 50-63; Herman Ausubel, *John Bright: Victorian Reformer* (New York, NY, 1966), pp. 65-77; Donald Read, *Cobden and Bright: A Victorian Political Partnership* (London, 1967), pp. 117-32; N. McCord, 'Cobden and Bright in Politics 1846-1857', in Robert Robson (ed.), *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain. Essays in Honour of George Kitson Clark* (London, 1967), pp. 87-114; Keith Robbins, *John Bright* (London, 1979), pp. 100-17; Wendy Hinde, *Richard Cobden: A Victorian Outsider* (New Haven, CT and London, 1987), pp. 236-51; Nicholas C. Edsall, *Richard Cobden, Independent Radical* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1986), pp. 269-90; Asa Briggs, *Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes, 1851-67* (London, 1954; repr. 1996), pp. 165-93; A. J. P. Taylor, 'John Bright and the Crimean War', *BJRL*, 36/2 (1954), pp. 501-22; Taylor, *Decline of British Radicalism*, pp. 241-69; Anthony Howe, 'Richard Cobden and the Crimean War', *HT*, 54/6 (2004), pp. 46-51.

integrated with later interpretive frameworks such as Ceadel's seminal typology of 'pacifism' and 'pacificism' which helps distinguish between the varieties of Victorian peace thinking.[15] As in the third chapter, this chapter employs Ceadel's organising concepts to examine Bright's and Cobden's principles of peace.

The existing historiography on the two parliamentarians is inadequate for several other reasons. First, it is very limited. There have been only two focused studies dealing specifically with either Bright or Cobden during the Crimean War. One is A. J. P. Taylor's essay on Bright, which is around seven decades old, and the other is Anthony Howe's article of 2004 on Cobden published in *History Today*.[16] Second, extant studies are relatively narrow in scope, given that most have not analysed the speeches of both men in a sustained way. Historians have typically focused on Bright's celebrated 'Angel of Death' Commons speech of 23 February 1855 which solemnly captured the pain of bereaved families, but other speeches by the two parliamentarians await closer examination. Third, historians have made no effort to elucidate the views of Bright and Cobden regarding the questions of the justice of the Crimean War and of the morality of wars in general. At the same time, recent scholarly literature on the Crimean War has failed to engage with the peace thinking of either Bright or Cobden. Figes's widely cited monograph mentions them only twice in passing, whilst misleadingly labelling them as 'pacifists'.[17] This suggests that historians of the war have not bothered to engage with the complexities in the peace thinking of Cobden and especially of Bright. Thus, whilst one could have readily assumed that Bright and Cobden already occupy a conspicuous place in recent scholarship on the war, a survey of the historiography dispels such an assumption. The absence of a meaningful dialogue between historians of the Crimean War on the one hand, and

[15] On 'pacifism' and 'pacificism' see Chapter Three.
[16] Taylor, 'Bright and the Crimean War'; Howe, 'Cobden and the Crimean War'.
[17] Figes, *Crimea*, pp. 149, 152.

biographers of Bright and Cobden and scholars of the peace movement on the other, is a major problem this chapter seeks to redress.

The chapter comprises two sections. The first intervenes in the historiographical debate about the nature of Bright's peace thinking, whilst the second examines in detail the responses of both Bright and Cobden to the Crimean War. The principal question the first section addresses is: Was the Quaker Bright a pacifist? In other words, did Bright accept the absolutist position of his religious denomination which opposed any form of violence according to the doctrine of non-resistance, or was he closer to being a 'pacificist' such as Cobden—that is, a liberal, peace- and reform-minded individual wanting to abolish war through practical means such as free trade, but who was otherwise unprepared to disallow the possibility of defensive or 'just' warfare, and who eschewed 'extreme' pacifism? In Cobden's case, things are much clearer. Time and again, he stated that even if he bore great respect for Quakers—Anglican though he was—and for their vital contribution to the peace movement, he did not accept their principle of non-resistance. This was because Cobden came to see its absolutism as a disadvantage to his political campaign in favour of peace, free trade, and reform. Cobden was also acutely aware that his political adversaries deliberately misrepresented his views as Quaker-like, 'abstract', and impractical in the world of politics, even if he repeatedly stressed that he approached questions of war and peace as 'a practical man'.[18] Cobden understood well that to hold absolutist ideas of a Quaker mould in parliament was simply an untenable position to be in. Scholars have thus rightly suggested that Cobden was not, at least from 1841, a pacifist, and that ideologically speaking we could best categorize him as a 'pacificist'.[19] On the other hand, historians have been divided about Bright. The majority agree that Bright had never

[18] Richard Cobden, *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy by Richard Cobden, M.P.*, ed. John Bright and James E. Thorold Rogers (2 vols, London, 1870), ii, pp. 404-5, 417.
[19] Ceadel, 'Cobden and Peace', pp. 190-1. Cf. Anthony Howe, 'Two Faces of British Power: Cobden Versus Palmerston', in David Brown and Miles Taylor (eds), *Palmerston Studies* (2 vols, Southampton, 2007), ii, p. 175.

been a pacifist, either in his public or private life.[20] Two historians, however, take a different view. In her dated but still useful monograph, *The Quakers in Peace and War*, Margaret E. Hirst has persuasively argued that although Bright posited Blue-Book arguments, 'his personal abhorrence to war' was evident in most of his speeches, and in many cases he even adverted to the peace testimony of the Religious Society of Friends.[21] The historian of the peace movement Peter Brock has posited a more nuanced argument in showing that even if Bright espoused the absolutist idea of the influential early-nineteenth-century Quaker writer, Jonathan Dymond, that war was an unlawful way to resolve international conflicts, he different from Dymond and his co-religionists by being more tolerant towards the use of force in *domestic* matters.[22] Elsewhere Brock has reasserted his contention that Bright was a pacifist in private, though not a complete non-resistant.[23] The first section of the chapter amplifies the arguments of Hirst and Brock. It contends that we can classify Bright as a pacifist, even if he explicitly denied the 'extreme' position of his religious denomination. To make this case, it is necessary that we consider Bright's long-term views on war and peace to situate his responses to the Crimean War in context. It is only by engaging in the first place with the historical and historiographical problem concerning Bright's peace thinking that we can gain a better appreciation of the complexities in his principles, and thus be better equipped to understand why he framed his opposition to the Crimean War the way he did.

The chapter's second section offers a systematic examination—organised thematically—of Bright's and Cobden's opposition to the war. The two political partners challenged the arguments of the 'war party' mainly by delivering speeches in the House of Commons. It was

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[20] Trevelyan, *Life of John Bright*, p. 218; J. T. Mills, *John Bright and the Quakers* (2 vols, London, 1935), ii, p. 211; Briggs, *Victorian People*, pp. 178-9; Taylor, 'John Bright', p. 506; Read, *Cobden and Bright*, p. 117; Ausubel, *John Bright*, pp. vii, 58, 240-1; Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, pp. 223-4; Ceadel, *Origins of War Prevention*, p. 350.
[21] Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, p. 275. See also, idem, 'John Bright and War', *FQE* (Jan. 1916), pp. 25-65.
[22] Brock, *Pacifism in Europe*, pp. 354-5. See also, Keith Robbins, 'John Bright: Quaker Politician', in his *Politicians, Diplomacy and War in Modern British History* (London, 1996), p. 32
[23] Peter Brock, *Varieties of Pacifism: A Survey from Antiquity to the Outset of the Twentieth Century* (Syracuse, NY, 1998), p. 53.

a fact universally acknowledged that Bright's oratory transcended that of other parliamentarians. An observer once called him 'the prince of English speakers'.[24] Even some of his detractors recognised this defining quality of his public life. Matthew Arnold famously censured Bright in *Culture and Anarchy* (1869) for his perceived philistinism, but also pronounced him 'that fine speaker'.[25] Historians have recognised the political impact of Bright's oratory and its moralistic flavour.[26] During the Crimean War, Bright's oratory reached new heights.[27] On the other hand, what Cobden lacked in oratorical finesse he made up for in the robust arguments of his speeches which he delivered with aplomb. For Cobden, the Eastern Question was not *terra incognita*. In the spring of 1837, he travelled to Turkey, Greece, and Syria to see for himself the condition of the Ottoman Empire. During the 1830s and 1840s, he also closely engaged with the Eastern Question in his contributions to *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* and pamphlet writing.[28] Cobden would deploy this first-hand knowledge during the debates of 1854-6.

The 'pacificist' ideology which informed Cobden's opposition to war was indelibly connected to the Manchester-School principles of arbitration for international disputes, a system he had once called 'more rational, just, and humane, than the resort to the sword'; non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries; economy and the reduction of taxation and military expenditure; and free trade.[29] Cobden linked these principles to Britain's national

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[24] J. Morrison Davidson, *Eminent Radicals in and out of Parliament* (London, 1880), p. 24.
[25] Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, ed. Jane Garnett (Oxford, 2006), p. 31. Though Bright would not have given any credence to what Arnold had to say about his outlook on culture, or about his oratory, he would have certainly endorsed Arnold's description of the Crimean War years later as 'foolish and prejudicial': 'The Nadir of Liberalism', *NC*, 19/111 (May 1886), p. 649.
[26] Eugenio F. Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone, 1860-1880* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 43, 375-6; Patrick Joyce, *Democratic Subjects: The Self and the Social in Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 98-104.
[27] William Robertson, *The Life and Times of the Right Hon. John Bright* (Rochdale, 1877), p. 250.
[28] [Richard Cobden], 'Letter to Mr. Tait from Richard Cobden, Esq., (The "Manchester Manufacturer") on the Eastern Question', *TEM*, 8/86 (Feb. 1841), pp. 78-84; [Idem], 'The Affair of the Vixen.—Circassia and England', *TEM*, 5/50 (Feb. 1838), pp. 120-5; [Idem], 'Interviews with Mehmet Ali', *TEM*, 5/59 (Nov. 1838), pp. 695-701; [Idem], *England, Ireland, and America. By a Manchester Manufacturer*, 3rd edn (London, 1835); [Idem], *Russia; by a Manchester Manufacturer* (Edinburgh, 1836).
[29] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 106, col. 62 (12 June 1849); Elisabeth Wallace, 'The Political Ideas of the Manchester School', *UTQ*, 29/2 (1960), pp. 122-38.

interests. Commerce was 'the grand panacea', he believed, and free trade the ultimate pacifier of nations, 'the International Law of the Almighty'.[30] In his triumphant speech of January 1846 in Manchester's Free Trade Hall, Cobden struck a tone of optimism in announcing—in Newtonian parlance—that he expected the 'free-trade principle' to 'act on the moral world as the principle of gravitation in the universe—drawing men together, thrusting aside the antagonism of race, and creed, and language, and uniting us in the bonds of eternal peace'.[31] For Cobden, cotton was at the heart of the Manchester-School gospel of progress, social transformation, and expanding trade.[32] Not surprisingly, the names of Cobden—a calico painter—and Bright—whose family was in the cotton-spinning business—became synonymous not only with free trade, but also with this raw material. But for the Manchester School disciples there was an enemy threatening their cherished principles. This enemy, Cobden had confessed in private in 1836, was the aristocracy and its 'accessories': the colonies, the army, the navy, the established church, and, before 1846, the Corn Laws.[33] From early on, as Anthony Howe has noted, Cobden developed the idea that 'traditional aristocratic diplomacy was to be superseded by the spontaneous pursuit of the common good by the peoples of Europe, inspired by British example'.[34] In seeking to curb the pernicious influence of landed aristocracy and its establishment 'accessories' by promoting free trade and peace, by preaching non-intervention, by pressing for the reduction of military expenditure, and by mobilising the "middle and industrious" classes under his reformist banner, Cobden synthesised his 'pacificism' with his Manchester-School liberalism and radical political agenda.[35] Bright's

[30] [Cobden], *England, Ireland, and America*, p. 45; [Louis Mallet], 'The Political Writings of Richard Cobden', *NBR*, 46/91 (1867), p. 86.
[31] [Anon.], 'The "Triumph" to Messrs Cobden and Bright, at the Free Trade Hall', *MT*, 900 (17 Jan. 1846), p. 6.
[32] Briggs, *Victorian People*, p. 175.
[33] [Letter from Richard Cobden to Thomas Dick (7 Oct. 1836)], in Richard Cobden, *The Political Writings of Richard Cobden* (London, 1886), p. 2.
[34] Anthony Howe, *Free Trade and Liberal England 1846-1946* (Oxford, 1997), p. 71.
[35] Peter Cain, 'Capitalism, War and Internationalism in the Thought of Richard Cobden', *BJIS*, 5/3 (1979), p. 239.

critique of British foreign policy was animated by this Manchester-School credo too, though some of his speeches during the Crimean War also embodied a Christian pacifist ethos.

Participating in various public meetings in their constituencies and elsewhere was another way in which Bright and Cobden made a stand. Historians have not fully appreciated this point, which is why it has been wrongly assumed that the two men 'all but disappeared from the public platform'.[36] Cobden, and especially Bright, did not abandon the public platform, even though the former felt that they 'ha[d] a far better hearing in Parliament than in the Country'.[37] Their tactic of exploiting the platform to advance their anti-war cause was reminiscent of their earlier campaign in the Anti-Corn Law League. This section also draws on their private correspondence to elucidate their views and anxieties, as well as their motivations for opposing the Crimean War. Examining the ideas of the two leading figures of the 'peace party' opens a window into the war's political debates. Reconstructing these debates illuminates the wider 'war' of words and ideas on the home front which dealt a significant blow to peace advocates, and which eventually became a cautionary tale for their movement.

BRIGHT'S PEACE PRINCIPLES: A HISTORICAL AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PROBLEM

> I have been asked on several occasions, "What do you think about the doctrine of the Peace Society, or of your own Religious Body, in their opposition to all War however necessary or however just it may seem to be, or however much you are provoked and injured?"[38]

Thus wrote Bright during 1889, the final year of his life, in the introduction to a new edition of Jonathan Dymond's essay, *War*, originally published in 1829 in his *Essays on the Principles*

[36] Edsall, *Richard Cobden*, p. 274.
[37] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. IV. Add MS 43650: Cobden to Bright (5 Jan. 1855), fo. 86v.
[38] John Bright, 'Introductory Words', in Jonathan Dymond, *War: Its Causes, Consequences, Lawfulness, etc.* (Manchester and London, [1889]), p. [iii].

of Morality, and on the Private and Political Rights and Obligations of Mankind.[39] The question to which many intrigued and perplexed Victorians sought an answer—did Bright accept the 'extreme' peace principle?—is the same question that has been occupying the minds of his biographers and historians of the peace movement for over a century. This section addresses this question. Before doing so, it is necessary first to revisit Cobden's thinking on war and peace to place the long-term complexities of Bright's principles in context.

Cobden, as we have seen, was not a pacifist but a 'pacificist' from at least the 1840s. His view that the absolutist nature of pacifism impeded his campaign to push his Manchester-School agenda in parliament, led him into the 'pacificist' camp. By 1851, Cobden was warning the pacifist Henry Richard, secretary of the Peace Society, that if the peace movement's 'agitation [were] to be based exclusively upon the non-resistant principle, it [would] cease to occupy its present position in the domain of practical politics'.[40] Cobden's parliamentary speeches during the Crimean War reflected his principles. In the House of Commons on 20 February 1854, just over a month before Britain's declaration of war, he fervently praised the Quakers. 'There is a religious party', he announced to MPs, 'whose virtues far transcend their numbers, who religiously believe that by the tenets of the New Testament they are forbidden, under any circumstances, even in self-defence, to take away human life. For that body I have the greatest respect'. Cobden, however, simultaneously stated that he '[would] not deal with the question of peace and war as an abstract question', thereby separating his position from Quaker absolutism.[41] In another of his parliamentary speeches, Cobden 'claim[ed] [...] the same standing ground in discussing this question of peace or war as any other hon. Gentleman', adding that he '[would] deal with it as a politician, strictly on the principles of policy and

[39] Jonathan Dymond, *Essays on the Principles of Morality, and on the Private and Political Rights and Obligations of Mankind*, 2nd edn (2 vols, London, 1830), ii, pp. 376-470.
[40] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. XI. Add MS 43657: Letter from Richard Cobden to Henry Richard (4 Nov. 1851), fo. 112v.
[41] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 130, col. 943 (20 Feb. 1854).

expediency'. Most revealingly, he confessed that he was 'prepared to assume that wars may be inevitable and necessary'. This was the nub of his 'pacificism'. In the same speech, Cobden protested against the habitual perversion of his views, categorically refusing 'to be classed by individual Members of this House with those who are necessarily opposed to all wars whatever'—i.e., the pacifists, whom most Victorians typically referred to as 'non-resistants' or 'peace-at-any-price' individuals. The distortion of his views and those of other peace advocates, grumbled Cobden, was 'but a device to represent a section of this House as advocates of notions so Utopian that they must be entirely shut out of the arena of modern politics'.[42] Though Cobden knew that his political opponents invariably used this 'device' to invalidate his arguments and those of his allies, he did not remain passive. Thus, when Bright concluded a speech in the Commons on 13 March 1854, and Palmerston immediately after dubbed him 'the hon. and *reverend* Gentleman'—a jibe dismissing Bright's views as religious and therefore impractical—Cobden rose indignantly to protest against Palmerston's use of that 'flippant and undeserved' 'epithet'.[43] Cobden never stopped repeating in his speeches that his stance on questions of war and peace was far from Quaker absolutism.[44] This was a point Goldwin Smith, a Manchester-School follower, would confirm in 1895: 'We did not preach defencelessness, a tame submission to wrong. Cobden said that in a just war, though he could not serve in the field, he would serve in the hospital.'[45]

Bright's case is more complex. Whilst some contemporaries such as Palmerston considered him a purveyor of 'extreme' principles reflecting those of his religious denomination, others believed that he was never an absolutist. During the Crimean War, pro-war pundits typically used the term 'peace at any price' to describe Bright's position and that of the Manchester

[42] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 138, col. 1410 (5 June 1855).
[43] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 131, col. 680 (13 Mar. 1854) (emphasis added).
[44] [Anon.], 'The Representation of Manchester', *The Times*, 22633 (20 Mar. 1857), p. 5.
[45] Goldwin Smith, 'The Manchester School', *CR*, 67 (Mar. 1895), p. 379.

School in general.[46] Even some peace advocates were convinced of Bright's absolutism. In his *Tracts for the Present Crisis* examined in the previous chapter, Sir Arthur Hallam Elton distanced himself from what he perceived to be Bright's position 'hold[ing] that all war is unjustifiable'.[47] Some years after the war, its first major historian, Alexander W. Kinglake, argued that not only Bright but also Cobden 'had forfeited their hold upon the ear of the country' because 'in former years they had adopted and put forward, in their strenuous way, some of the more extravagant doctrines of the Peace Party'; this, Kinglake argued, meant that they were generally understood as opponents of all war.[48] Not everyone agreed with Kinglake, something which suggests the development of a historiographical point of contention from early on.[49] Even Gladstone, in whose cabinet Bright served as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster from 1880 until 1882, considered him *not* as one holding 'all use whatever of military force to be unlawful', but as one 'who in regard to any particular use of force would look upon it for a justifying cause'.[50] This was from a letter Gladstone wrote to Bright in July 1882 following the latter's decision to resign his ministerial office in response to the British bombardment of Alexandria—a revealing fact in itself. Still, there were those who disagreed with Gladstone's belief that his disillusioned minister was not an absolutist. A few months later, for example, the editor of the *Spectator* responded to a reader's letter with the following: 'We do not understand Mr. Bright to oppose the Egyptian War in particular, but all wars.—ED. *Spectator*.'[51] After Bright's death in 1889, the Congregationalist divine R. W. Dale wrote an obituary in which he argued that Bright 'refused, indeed, to acknowledge that he ever insisted on the doctrine of non-resistance as containing a law which in the present moral

[46] Grumbler, 'The Bright Side of War', *FM*, 52/309 (Sept. 1855), pp. 297-8.
[47] Elton, *Tracts*, 1st series, p. 117.
[48] Alexander W. Kinglake, *The Invasion of the Crimea: Its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan* 3rd edn (8 vols, Edinburgh and London, 1863-87), i (1863), p. 418.
[49] George Barnett Smith, *The Life and Speeches of the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P.* (2 vols, London, 1881), i, p. 360.
[50] London, BL, Gladstone Papers: Vol. XXVIII. Add MS 44113: Copy of letter from W. E. Gladstone to John Bright (14 July 1882), fo. 179r.
[51] [C.S.], 'Mr. Bright. (To the Editor of the "Spectator.")', *Spectator*, 55/2830 (23 Sept. 1882), p. 1225.

condition of mankind can be a law to statesmen.'[52] Another obituarist in the *Fortnightly Review* also dismissed the charge brought against Bright that because he was a Quaker he was an advocate of "peace at any price", as 'a mistake; certainly an undue exaggeration.'[53]

The quagmire of conflicting assertions about Bright's peace principles becomes even more convoluted when we consider his own pronouncements on the subject. There are numerous instances during the Crimean War of Bright declaring that the basis of his opposition rested not on Quaker absolutism, but on the same principles discussed by the nation at large. In common with Cobden, Bright was sensitive to the fact that his critics eagerly awaited to delegitimise his arguments. Thus, in a debate in the Commons in late December 1854, Bright pre-empted Palmerston by announcing that he would discuss the war on the same principles as him:

> It is very easy for the noble Lord the Member for Tiverton [Palmerston] to rise and say, that I am against war under all circumstances [...]. I am not afraid of discussing the war with the noble Lord on his own principles. I understand the blue books as well as he.[54]

Bright thus met the Treasury bench and pro-war MPs on their own ground, mainly by positing utilitarian arguments to criticise Britain's foreign policy. His choice of the non-pacifist vantage point was deliberate; only in this way could he effectively contribute to political debate without critics shutting down his arguments. More than a year after the end of the war, Bright explained this tactic to Joseph Sturge in a letter of 24 September 1857, at a time when news about the Indian Mutiny flooded Britain:

> I have never advocated the extreme peace principle, the non-resistance principle in public, or in private—I don't know whether I could logically maintain it. I opposed the late [Crimean] war, as contrary to the national interests, & the principles professed & avowed by the nation—& on no other ground. It was because my arguments could not be met that I was charged with being for "peace at any price"—& by this our opposition to the war was much damaged.[55]

[52] R. W. Dale, 'Mr. Bright', *CR*, 55 (May 1889), pp. 643-4.
[53] Karl Blind, 'John Bright. (Personal Recollections.)', *FR*, 45/269 (May 1889), p. 654.
[54] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 136, col. 892 (22 Dec. 1854).
[55] London, BL, Sturge Papers: Vol. II. Add MS 43723: Bright to Sturge (24 Sept. 1857), fos. 85v-86r.

Historians have often cited this letter as conclusive evidence that Bright's own admission proved the fact that he was not a pacifist. These historians tend to forget, however, that Bright had nothing to gain by admitting to Sturge, a staunch pacifist, that he personally accepted 'the extreme peace principle' of the Religious Society of Friends. Nonetheless, Bright's follow-up comment that he did not think it right for the British government to 'rest quiet, & allow every Englishman in India to be murdered', seems to indicate that he was not a non-resistant.[56] As one of his Victorian biographers observed, Bright 'never opposed any of the measures considered necessary for subduing the outbreak and restoring order.'[57]

Bright's responses to warfare in later decades seem further to suggest that he was not a pacifist. Although he advocated neutrality on Britain's part during the American Civil War, Bright was unequivocal in his support of the United against the Confederate States.[58] We also saw that Bright's decision to resign his office in Gladstone's cabinet in 1882 elicited mixed responses. Although Gladstone thought that his minister was not a non-resistant, the *Spectator* portrayed him as such. In a letter of 30 September 1882 carried by the same journal, Bright sought to make clear his views once again:

> I have not opposed any war on the ground that all war is unlawful and immoral. I have never expressed such an opinion. I have discussed these questions of war—Chinese, Crimean, Afghan, Zulu, Egyptian—on grounds common to and admitted by all thoughtful men, and have condemned them, with arguments which, I believe, have never been answered. I will not discuss the abstract question.[59]

Less than a year later, Bright told an audience of three hundred and fifty in Birmingham's town hall that '[u]nless you can come to the time when men, in obedience as they believe to the will of God, will submit to every sacrifice, I do not see myself, and have never said, how war can

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[56] Ibid.
[57] B. Rhodes, *John Bright Statesman & Orator. A Popular Sketch of his Life and Work* (London and Manchester, [1885]), p. 32.
[58] John Bright, *A Liberal Voice from England. Mr. John Bright's Speech at Rochdale December 4, 1861, on the American Crisis* (New York, NY, 1862), pp. 6-7.
[59] Idem [and Thomas Rippon], 'Mr. Bright. (To the Editor of the "Spectator.")', *Spectator*, 55/2831 (30 Sept. 1882), p. 1253.

be always escaped.'[60] At a lecture delivered by a member of the Peace Society at the Westminster Meeting-House in February 1887, Bright again refused to discuss 'the abstract principle', explaining that he considered each war on its own basis. He concluded that 'there is probably not a single war in which we have been engaged from the time of William III [...] that might not have been without difficulty escaped'.[61] Though Bright condemned Britain's wars, he did so from a non-absolutist point of view.

If the analysis ended here, the proposition that Bright was not a pacifist would have been tenable. But things are more complex than historians have often assumed. In January 1853, Bright delivered a speech at the Manchester Peace Conference, in which he made several revealing remarks. Though he put himself forward as 'a practical man'—a characteristically Cobdenite 'pacificist' phrase—Bright also suggested that his own personal views on the question of peace differed from those he avowed in the public sphere:

> I shall not read the Sermon on the Mount to men who do not acknowledge its authority; nor shall I insist upon *my reading* of the New Testament to men who take a different view of it; nor shall I ask the members of a church [Church of England] whose articles [i.e., 37th Article] justify the bearing of arms, to join in any movement founded upon what are called abstract Christian peace doctrines.

And he continued:

> But I will argue this question on the ground which our opponents admit, which, not professing Christians only, but Mahomedans and heathens, every man of intelligence, of common sense and common humanity will admit;—I will argue it upon this ground, that war is probably the greatest of all human cal[a]mities; that expenditure in itself of the resources of the people is an evil; and that peace is the soil upon which industry, morality, intelligence and civilization, all prosper.[62]

[60] [Anon.], 'The Bright Celebration', *The Times*, 30847 (15 June 1883), p. 10.
[61] [Anon.], 'Mr. Bright on Foreign Policy', *The Times*, 32003 (23 Feb. 1887), p. 10.
[62] [John Bright], 'Speech of John Bright, M.P.', *AP* [Boston, MA], 10/21 (Sept. 1853), p. 338 (emphasis added).

It is impossible not to see in this passage Bright drawing a distinction between his own private views on war, and the political and economic arguments he posited in public debate, as Hirst convincingly argued.[63]

On more than one occasion Bright intimated that Christianity and war were irreconcilable. In his speech to the Edinburgh Peace Conference in October 1853, he said that on every Sabbath more than twenty thousand places of worship in Britain 'are thrown open, in which devout men and women assemble that they may worship Him who is the "Prince of Peace".' 'Is this a reality? or is your Christianity a romance?', Bright threw at his audience, whilst expressing the hope that the British churches 'not only accept and believe in the prophecy [of Isaiah], but labour earnestly for its fulfilment, that there shall come a time [...] when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more".'[64] During the Crimean War, Bright shared the sentiments of Friends in their denunciation of the first day of humiliation. In a letter to George Wilson, chairman of the late Anti-Corn Law League, a few months later, Bright went on to question the religious faith of his countrymen: '[W]hat strange pleasures & excitements for a Christian (?) people!'[65]

Bright continued to espouse the view that war and Christianity were incompatible, as evident from his speeches during the Eastern crisis of the 1870s. In St. George's Hall, Llandudno, in November 1876, Bright suggested that the primary role of established clergy and dissenting ministers was to convey the irenic ethos of Christianity, and thus to form a public opinion which would 'bring clearly to the minds of statesmen the conviction that they are not rulers of the cities of Greece, or of the marauding hordes of ancient Rome, but [...] the Christian rulers of Christian people.'[66] If everyone agreed that at the heart of the teachings of the New

[63] Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, p. 275.
[64] Bright, *Speeches on Questions of Public Policy*, pp. 464-5.
[65] Manchester, MCL, Wilson Papers: GB127.M20/Index/459, Vol. 21: Letter from John Bright to George Wilson (9 Sept. 1854) (unnumbered pages).
[66] [Anon.], 'Mr Bright at Llandudno', *NE* [Darlington], 2146 (23 Nov. 1876), p. 3.

Testament was 'that which would lead to amity amongst people, and to love and justice and mercy and peace on the whole of God's earth', Bright pronounced in Manchester's Free Trade Hall two years later, then they should either 'get rid of [their] Christianity, or get rid of [their] tendency and willingness to go to war.'[67]

It could be argued that we are perhaps reading too much into the above. After all, during the Crimean War Cobden also denounced the bellicosity of the ' "Saint" party'.[68] On another occasion during the war, he expressed the desire to cross-examine the pro-war proprietor of the *Leeds Mercury*, Edward Baines, 'with the New Testament in hand'.[69] Cobden's readiness to censure professing Christians who assumed a belligerent disposition probably stemmed from his earlier pacifist thinking which he discarded by the 1840s, and from his reading of, and commenting on, articles of the Peace Society's *Herald of Peace*.[70] Yet unlike Cobden, who was less keen openly to avow his views on war and religion because he knew this would play into the hands of his critics, Bright appeared throughout his political career more blatant in his condemnation of war as essentially un-Christian. The light of the Quaker peace testimony which guided him was simply too bright for him to contain.

One of the most illuminating pieces of evidence as to the pacifist bent of Bright's thinking comes from a lecture he delivered at the Manchester Reform Club in early October 1876. Here Bright offered some reflections on the Crimean War with the hope that the experiences of that conflict would provide moral guidance to the nation at this critical moment. At one point in his speech, Bright explained the basis of his opposition to the Crimean War: 'I do not know why I differed from other people so much, but sometimes I have thought it happened from the education I had received in the religious sect with which I am connected.' This statement pointed explicitly to the source of Bright's convictions. Tellingly, Bright also outlined the

[67] [Anon.], 'Mr. John Bright on the Crisis', *MT* [Manchester], 1064 (4 May 1878), p. 3.
[68] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. XI. Add MS 43657: Cobden to Richard (16 Oct. 1854), fos. 234v-235v.
[69] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. XI. Add MS 43657: Cobden to Richard (29 Dec. 1854), fos. 248v.
[70] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. XI. Add MS 43657: Cobden to Richard (10 Jan. 1855), fo. 259r.

peace testimony of the Religious Society of Friends, and juxtaposed it with the doctrine of the Church of England. 'Our creed, so far as we comprehend it, comes pure and distinct from the New Testament. We have no 37th Article [...] which declares that it is lawful for Christian men at the command of the civil magistrate to wear weapons or arms and to take part or to serve in the wars'. He concluded that the Crimean War, 'even not upon the principles of [his] sect, but upon the ordinary principles of all moral and Christian men', was 'unnecessary', 'impolitic', and 'unjust'.[71]

Bright's views on Jonathan Dymond's works reflected his personal pacifism more than anything else. It has been seen that Dymond was an influential Quaker intellectual of the early nineteenth century whose writings lucidly expounded the peace testimony of his religious denomination. Bright was familiar with Dymond's works, and on various occasions he recommended them to others. In June 1855, Bright promised to send Dymond's *Essays* to the peace-minded Lady Mary Catherine Carr, wife of Lord Hobart and daughter of the former Bishop of Bombay, when she confessed to him at a dinner party in London's Carlton Gardens that 'she wishe[d] to examine more the arguments against all war'.[72] Similarly, in the autumn of 1879 a person named Alexander H. Urquhart asked Bright his opinion on war. Bright advised him 'not to trouble [himself] with the abstract question', yet at the same time he commended Dymond's essays as 'the best argument against war'.[73] Crucially, Bright's preface to the 1889 edition of Dymond's essay on war leaves little doubt as to where his peace principles rested. Dymond's essay presented a spirited vindication of Quaker absolutism, with one of its principal arguments being that 'the general character of Christianity is wholly incongruous with War, and that its general duties are incompatible with it.'[74] 'I know of no better book', Bright

[71] [Anon.], 'The Eastern Question', *MT* [Manchester], 982 (7 Oct. 1876), p. 2.
[72] London, UCL, MS OGDEN/65 (2). Bright Letters: Letter from Bright to Margaret Elizabeth Leatham (24 June 1855) (unnumbered pages).
[73] John Bright, *The Public Letters of the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P.*, ed. H. J. Leech (London, 1885), pp. 238-9.
[74] Jonathan Dymond, *War: Its Causes, Consequences, Lawfulness, etc.* (Manchester and London, [1889]), p. 81.

announced to the reader in the preface, 'dealing with morals as applied to nations than Dymond's Essays. As the world becomes more Christian, this book will be more widely read, and the name of its author more revered.'[75] Echoing the response to his son Philip in front of the Guards' Memorial, Bright wrote that '[i]f we may presume to ask ourselves, what, in the eyes of the Supreme Ruler, is the greatest crime which His creatures commit, I think we may almost with certainty conclude that it is the crime of War.'[76] Even though most scholars have failed to acknowledge this significant point, Bright's wholehearted endorsement of Dymond's work speaks volumes.

What conclusions can we therefore make about Bright's peace principles? There are no easy answers, of course, but the evidence suggests several things. In common with Cobden, Bright cautiously approached questions of war and peace from a 'practical' perspective, especially in parliament, as was the case during the Crimean War, to intervene in the debate without his opponents delegitimising his arguments. Yet unlike Cobden who was a 'pacificist', Bright's views were rooted in the Quaker peace testimony. Tellingly, those who attended the Quaker Westminster Meeting for worship on 25 February 1855 were 'very polite' to Bright, and seem to have regarded him 'as the champion of peace.'[77] After the Manchester electorate did not return Bright to parliament in 1857, Cobden drew a link between his friend's Quakerism and his peace principles. 'The Manchester people', wrote Cobden to Lord John Russell on 3 April, 'have used Bright atrociously [...] as they knew he was a [Q]uaker when they chose him they had no ground of grievance on account of his peace views.'[78] Cobden thus seems to have felt that Bright's principles ultimately derived from the teachings of the Friends. Upon entering parliament, Bright realised the importance of reconciling his Quakerism with politics. He

[75] Bright, 'Introductory Words', in Dymond, *War*, p. iii.
[76] Ibid., p. iv.
[77] London, UCL, MS OGDEN/65 (2). Bright Letters: Bright to Margaret Elizabeth Leatham (25 Feb. 1855) (unnumbered pages).
[78] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. XXXI. Add MS 43677: Copy of a letter from Richard Cobden to Lord John Russell (3 Apr. 1857), fo. 55.

accordingly tried to contain his personal pacifism. Bright's own 'struggle' perhaps reflected that of the Religious Society of Friends, whose exit from its quietist phase during the first half of the nineteenth century meant that its followers had to wrestle with worldly pressures and give their convictions a more practical orientation.[79] Contrary to the historiographical commonplace, it is thus reasonable to argue that Bright *was* a pacifist. There is, however, an important caveat. The fact that Bright was ready to advocate the suppression of the Indian Mutiny and the North's cause in the American Civil War, suggests that he was not a full-blown non-resistant in every sense. For Bright, all war was unlawful in the context of international disputes, but force could be used domestically to restore order.[80]

Having engaged with this historical and historiographical problem, we now have a better understanding of the complexities in Bright's peace thinking that scholars of the Crimean War have entirely overlooked. The preceding analysis has also offered valuable insights into Bright's politics of peace: the problem he (as well as Cobden) faced when preaching their anti-war gospel—their opponents dismissing their arguments as utopian—and the tactic they employed in political debate to overcome this problem—denouncing Britain's foreign policy according to principles accepted by the nation at large. Hence, we are in a position to embark on a more focused examination of the responses of the two political partners to the Crimean War.

'BRETHREN IN AFFLICTION': BRIGHT'S AND COBDEN'S RESPONSES TO THE CRIMEAN WAR

In the spring of 1851 Cobden was eminently gleeful about the Great Exhibition. In a letter to a correspondent shortly after the Exhibition's opening in May, Cobden remarked that the whole

[79] Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, pp. 193-4.
[80] Peter Brock has also added the Christian struggles against Turkey in 1876 and the cause of the Canadian radicals in the rebellion of 1838 to the list of 'domestic affairs' Bright approved of: *Pacifism in Europe*, pp. 352-5.

thing 'marks an era of visible progress'.[81] Less than three years later, new developments would force Cobden to reassess his idea of progress. Writing to Bright on 3 January 1854, Cobden admitted that current political affairs led him 'to the desponding conviction that we are not a *very* progressive animal.'[82] Just over a month later, Cobden told MPs in the Commons that the religious dispute in the Holy Places which sparked the war was 'enough to confirm the doctrine of the Cynic, that we are not progressive beings—that we move in cycles of instinct, which, after a lapse of 700 or 800 years, lands us back again at the time of the Crusades', only this time things were worse because Christians were fighting against other Christians 'in favour of the Mahomedans'.[83] This change in Cobden's mood reflected that of the wider peace movement ,whose principles were already being challenged by a belligerent spirit.

On the same day Cobden wrote to Sturge to dissuade him and the Friends from going to St Petersburg.[84] Cobden expressed his disappointment when he later found out that the Quaker deputation to the czar would go ahead, and advised Sturge to make it clear that the Friends represented 'bona fide a religious party in England' and had 'no connection with the government of the country or political body.'[85] Cobden felt that the foredoomed deputation would injure the peace movement, not least because the British public would misinterpret the motives of Quakers. He was proved right. The national press derided Quakers and denounced their deputation. Harriet Martineau, as seen in the previous chapter, even went so far as to accuse them of precipitating the war. But it was not just the Quaker deputation that drew the hostility of the press. Even before Britain's declaration of war, newspapers targeted Bright and Cobden, and spoke of them 'in the most contemptuous tone'.[86] The two peace men were

[81] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. XXII. Add MS 43668: Letter from Richard Cobden to W. Gardiner (10 May 1851), fo. 133r.
[82] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. IV. Add MS 43650: Cobden to Bright (3 Jan. 1854), fo. 59v (Cobden's emphasis).
[83] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 130, col. 919 (20 Feb. 1854).
[84] London, BL, Sturge Papers: Vol. I. Add MS 43722: Cobden to Sturge (3 Jan. 1854), fos. 8r-9v.
[85] London, BL, Sturge Papers: Vol. I. Add MS 43722: Cobden to Sturge (15 Jan. 1854), fos. 10v-11r.
[86] London, BL, Bright Papers: Vol. I. Add MS 43383: Letter from John Bright to Richard Cobden (25 Feb. 1854), fo. 296r.

regularly derided in leaders, articles, and correspondence columns as 'un-English' and unpatriotic Mammon-worshippers obsessed with cotton, commercialism, and material gain, and for having no interest in higher moral ideals. Cobden would later use the dramatic terms 'brethren in affliction' to describe the position in which members of the 'peace party' found themselves.[87] 'We of the Manchester School', Goldwin Smith would recount decades later, 'were against the Crimean War, and suffered by the war fever.'[88] The war was a time of political strain and crisis, but also proved to be a stress-test for the principles of Manchester-School men and everything the peace movement had achieved in previous years.

Notwithstanding widespread hostility from the press and public opinion; their isolation in radical and liberal circles which were becoming increasingly eager for a crusade against continental despotism on behalf of the oppressed nationalities; and their abandonment by many 'pacificists' who became convinced of the justness of the war, Bright and Cobden expressed their opposition to the war in various ways. Sometimes they acted independently. On 16 March 1854, less than a fortnight before Britain's official declaration of war, Bright wrote to Aberdeen in a last effort to stop the war.[89] In November of the same year, he contemplated sending to Henry Richard extracts confirming the arguments of his letter to Watkin, which he was anxious to give a wide circulation, and in December he prepared a memorial to Aberdeen.[90] Later in the war, Cobden published a pamphlet entitled *What Next and Next?* in which he sought, based on his speculation that the conflict would go on, 'to point out the great obstacles it will be necessary to surmount, and the sacrifices [Britons] shall be called on to endure, if [they] persevere in the attempt to humble Russia on her own territory.'[91]

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[87] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. XI. Add MS 43657: Cobden to Richard (8 Sept. 1854), fo. 231r.
[88] Goldwin Smith, *Reminiscences*, ed. Arnold Haultain (New York, NY, 1911), p. 287.
[89] London, BL, Aberdeen Papers: Vol. CCXIV. Add MS 43252: Letter from John Bright to Lord Aberdeen (16 Mar. 1854), fos. 234r-241v.
[90] London, BL, Sturge Papers: Vol. II. Add MS 43723: Bright to Sturge (11 Nov. 1854), fo. 31r; (29 Dec. 1854), fos. 35r-38r.
[91] Richard Cobden, *What Next and Next?*, 3rd edn (London, 1856), p. 46.

To a large extent the two political partners also tried to coordinate their efforts. They tactically utilised their access to the public platform and their position as parliamentarians to deliver speeches against the war. Most of these speeches gained considerable traction in the public sphere. Besides the Peace Society's *Herald*, a host of sympathetic and even hostile metropolitan and provincial newspapers reported them, sometimes providing commentary in leading and other articles. It was no coincidence that Martineau turned her guns primarily on the speeches of the two parliamentarians: this was where they most cogently expressed their peace message. Cobden hoped that his attendance at a debate in his constituency on 17 January 1855 would give him 'an excuse to deliver a speech which will be reported in the London & Yorkshire papers.'[92] In reporting his speeches, the press served as the chief amplifier of Cobden's arguments against the war. On his own part, Bright recognised the impact of some of his and Cobden's speeches on the national conversation.[93] His 'Angel of Death' speech of 23 February 1855, for instance, received 'compliments by everybody', even moving one woman in the galleries of the House of Commons to tears.[94] An awe-struck Disraeli confessed to Bright that he would have given everything to have made that speech.[95] Though they drew much bile from staunchly pro-war circles, Bright's speeches did not fail to touch a chord with many of his countrymen.

Acutely aware of their critics' readiness to delegitimise their arguments as utopian in the world of politics, both men openly avowed that they would discuss war in their speeches not on the basis of the 'abstract principle of peace at all price', but as a question of policy and on generally accepted principles. Following the Edinburgh Peace Conference of October 1853 in

[92] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. XI. Add MS 43657: Cobden to Richard (6 Jan. 1855), fos. 253v.
[93] London, BL, Bright Papers: Vol. II. Add MS 43384: Letter from John Bright to Richard Cobden (1 Jan. 1855), fo. 2r
[94] London, UCL, MS OGDEN/65 (2). Bright Letters: Bright to Margaret Elizabeth Leatham (23 Feb. 1855) (unnumbered pages); Manchester, MCL, Wilson Papers: GB127.M20/Index/477, Vol. 22: Letter from John Bright to George Wilson (27 Feb. 1855) (unnumbered pages).
[95] Bright, *Diaries*, p. 190.

which they addressed the Russo-Turkish crisis, Bright and Cobden shared the platform in late January 1854 at a reform meeting in Manchester's Albion Hotel. Both delivered speeches which set the tone for much of their opposition to the war. Cobden conceded that Russia committed an 'unjust aggression' upon Turkey. But was Britain responsible, he asked, to act as the world's 'policeman'? Even more importantly, Cobden challenged those eager for war to consider whether their talk of wanting to protect Turkey could be reconciled the fact of Britain having 'knocked over Mahometan dynasties like ninepins in India'? '[W]e ought to be careful how we throw stones, living, as we do, in glass houses.' Bright questioned the reasons for going to war, and in highly prophetic vein foresaw disasters ensuing from Britain's resort to arms. Besides arguing that a policy of non-intervention would not have led to such a crisis, he also reprimanded professing Christians for giving no consideration in their clamours for war to the slaughter attendant to it. 'No; we are not called upon to be the world's champion. Our hands are not clean enough', added Bright in a statement echoing the views of the wider peace movement.[96]

The public and parliamentary interventions of the two political partners throughout the war shared a number of major themes. First, there was the question of the origin of the war. Eager to demonstrate to MPs his pragmatism, Cobden addressed this question in his first major parliamentary speech on 20 February 1854. For Cobden, France was to blame: in attempting to gain "political capital", her emperor demanded that the Porte grand certain privileges to Latin Christians in the Holy Places, provoking Russia to demand similar concessions for the Orthodox. Britain's ally, Cobden concluded, was responsible for sparking the crisis in the East. A perusal of *ante-bellum* diplomatic papers also led him to the conclusion that the foreign policy of European powers, including Britain's, had been careless, to say the least, as the debacle with the Porte's rejection of the Vienna Note—part of the diplomatic efforts of

[96] [Anon.], 'Important Reform Meeting in the Albion Hotel, Last Evening', *MT*, 546 (25 Jan. 1854), p. 8.

European powers in the early stages of the war—demonstrated.[97] Bright would raise this same point in his Commons speech on 31 March 1854, as well as in his letter to Watkin.

At the same time, Bright and Cobden argued that nobody really knew what the objects of the war were. Was this a war 'on behalf of the balance of power', asked Cobden in the Commons just over a month before Britain's declaration of war, 'against the aggression of the Czar?' Was it 'the great contest between Cossackism and Republicanism'? Was it a war 'of united Europe opposing the encroachments of Russia'? If the answer to the latter was yes, then why did Austria and Prussia remain neutral? Britain had certainly no interest in this war. 'She is an island', declared Cobden, 'invulnerable by land and impregnable by sea, so long as her commerce flourishes as it does now, and is, in fact, the only nation which has nothing to fear from the aggressions of the Czar.' Finally, was this a campaign to prevent Russian advances in Asia which could potentially threaten British India?[98] For Cobden, this was utterly absurd. In his Commons speech shortly after Britain's declaration of war, Bright criticised the 'notion of "the balance of power" ', pronouncing it 'a mischievous delusion which has come down to us from past times'. If the balance of power were always to be followed as a legitimate basis to resort to arms, Bright argued, 'the pretence for war will never be wanting, and peace can never be secure.'[99]

The two 'peace party' leaders also set out to expose as false the view that Turkey had made efforts to reform her administrative system. Their motive was to press home the message that this country was not worth saving. The battle lines between supporters and critics of Britain's ally had been drawn fairly quickly. George Finlay, historian of Byzantium and Greece, summarised the conflicting interpretations of Turkish affairs in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* as early as February 1854:

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[97] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 130, cols. 918-21 (20 Feb. 1854).
[98] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 130, cols. 941-2 (20 Feb. 1854).
[99] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 132, cols. 257-8 (31 Mar. 1854).

> At the present moment we hear it asserted on all sides, that the Ottoman administration is making great progress in restoring energy and intelligence in the government. Yet there are some who insist that the progress is small; that it is an empire without roads, and a government without a people; a central administration which every subject, be he Christian or Mussulman, detests for its financial rapacity and systematic contempt for justice.[100]

In the former group was Palmerston and such outspoken Turcophiles as the diplomat and writer David Urquhart,[101] and in the latter group Bright and Cobden. Cobden grounded his arguments on his experiences from his travels to Turkey in 1837, which had opened his eyes to the fact that '*philo-Turk*' writers misled the English and European publics about Turkey's alleged 'rapid strides in the path of reform and civilisation.'[102] Cobden's condemnation of Turkey's treatment of Christians derived to a large extent from his 'distinct preference for Christian morality and civilization'.[103] Fighting in defence of Turkey, Cobden argued in his speech in the Commons on 20 February 1854, meant fighting 'for the domination of the Ottoman portion of the population of Turkey, and against the interests of the great body of the people of that country.'[104] Drawing on official documents, Cobden also sought to demonstrate the poor condition of the Porte's Christian subjects in order to disprove Palmerston's assertions about Turkey's alleged progress during the previous thirty years.[105] Returning to the same subject in the Commons towards the end of the year, Cobden showed how 'the testimony borne by every traveller, from Lamartine downwards, is that the Mahometan population is perishing—is dying out from its vices'.[106] Bright followed Cobden's footsteps, echoing his more authoritative opinions on the matter. In his letter to Watkin, Bright argued that Britain was not merely at war with the czar, but also with the Porte's Christian subjects whose sympathies lay with Orthodox

[100] [George Finlay], 'A Glance at Turkish History', *BEM*, 75/460 (Feb. 1854), p. 191.
[101] Miles Taylor, 'The Old Radicalism and the New: David Urquhart and the Politics of Opposition, 1832-1867', in Eugenio F. Biagini and Alastair J. Reid (eds), *Currents of Radicalism: Popular Radicalism, Organised Labour, and Party Politics in Britain, 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 33-4.
[102] [Cobden], 'Letter to Mr. Tait', *TEM*, p. 78.
[103] Goldwin Smith, 'Richard Cobden', *MM*, 12/67 (May 1865), p. 91.
[104] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 130, cols. 934-5 (20 Feb. 1854).
[105] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 130, cols. 923-32 (20 Feb. 1854).
[106] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 136, col. 811 (22 Dec. 1854).

Russia. Even more disgraceful in Bright's eyes was the fact that his country's Eastern policy focused on propping up the Ottoman despotic regime. In parliament shortly after the declaration of war, Bright also claimed that no one besides Palmerston insisted that Turkey was improving. And what of the ' "integrity and independence" of Turkey' Britain was supposedly fighting for? As Bright put it in his Commons speech of 31 March 1854, at least three foreign armies were at that time on Turkish soil, one hundred thousand Russian men were stationed in Bulgaria, whilst the British and French armies were approaching the Dardanelles. Various insurrections also sprang up in Turkish provinces, two hundred thousand men were 'under arms', Turkish finances were in disarray, and Turkey's allies were making extreme demands upon her. Could there be anything 'more destructive of the "integrity and independence" of Turkey' than all these, asked Bright?[107]

Whilst combating popular support for Turkey, Bright and Cobden set out to exorcise what they believed to be the false spectre of Russian barbarism and aggression, and to mollify their countrymen's grossly exaggerated fears about Russia. Comments such as those made in *Fraser's Magazine* in June 1854 that the czar 'has been worsening the despotic system of his empire, the better to wield it for conquest', and that 'the triumph of Russia would be the triumph of a species of barbarism', were typical of how most newspapers and periodicals conceptualized the Russian threat.[108] Seeking to expose the irrationality of his compatriots' phobias, Bright told MPs on 31 March 1854 that the idea of Britain fighting 'to repress and to curb Russian aggression' was based on 'catching words' that newspapers 'amplified', and which word of mouth passed around 'blind[ing] the eyes of multitudes'.[109]

Ever attentive to his cherished commercial interests, Cobden had earlier argued in the Commons that a comparison between the Russian and Turkish trades revealed that the former

[107] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 132, cols. 258-9 (31 Mar. 1854).
[108] [Anon.], 'The Personnel of the Russo-European Question', *FM*, 49/294 (June 1854), p. 648.
[109] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 132, col. 260 (31 Mar. 1854).

was more vital for Britain. 'There is no one foreign country whose trade is so important to us as Russia, excepting the United States'. In Cobden's eyes it was thus in Britain's interest not to go to war against Russia.[110] The origins of Cobden's thought on Russia can be traced in his pamphlet *Russia* of 1836. Here he argued that 'if the government of St Petersburgh [*sic*] were transferred to the shores of the Bosphorus, a splendid and substantial European city would, in less than twenty years, spring up, in the place of those huts which now constitute the capital of Turkey', thus creating a hotbed of civilization and prosperity where Christianity, 'operating instantly upon the laws and institutions of the country, would ameliorate the condition of its people'.[111] During the Crimean War, Cobden's critics saw in his relatively mild views on Russia an unpatriotic and treasonable disposition. Even Karl Marx, who was writing during this time in the *New York Tribune*, cast a critical eye on Cobden's 'Philo-Russian mania'.[112] Cobden's British detractors would have endorsed, if not amplified, Marx's term, especially after reading in Cobden's pamphlet of 1856 *What Next and Next?* his provocative encomium of the Russian people as 'perhaps, naturally, the least warlike people in the world'.[113]

Bright and Cobden also warned MPs and the public about the war's social and economic impact. The war, Bright reminded the House of Commons shortly before its outbreak, besides forestalling political reform and hitting trade, carried with it immense costs as Britain was called to expend much 'blood and treasure' on behalf of another country.[114] In his and Cobden's eyes, the culprits behind the inflammation of people's passions were primarily editors of newspapers and unscrupulous politicians (Palmerston and Russell), whose cavalier approach to foreign policy and their magniloquent phraseology seemed highly irresponsible. Initially

[110] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 130, col. 940 (20 Feb. 1854).
[111] [Cobden], *Russia*, p. 7.
[112] Karl Marx, *The Eastern Question: A Reprint of Letters Written 1853-1856 Dealing with the Events of the Crimean War*, ed. Eleanor Marx Aveling and Edward Aveling (New York, NY, 1969), p. 235 (first edn London, 1897).
[113] Cobden, *What Next and Next?*, pp. 18-19.
[114] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 132, cols. 264-5 (31 Mar. 1854).

Cobden was rather reserved in his criticism of Palmerston and Russell for 'minister[ing] to this excited feeling', but as the war continued he fulsomely urged the House 'to cast to the winds all the declamatory balderdash and verbiage' coming from the Treasury bench 'as to our fighting for the liberty and independence of the entire world.'[115]

This brings us to an increasingly popular pro-war narrative the two political partners also sought to subvert: that Britain, as the self-professed model of a liberal and constitutional state, was fighting for European liberties against despotism. Seeking to dispel what he believed to be an incongruous delusion, Cobden sharply threw at his constituents at the public meeting of 17 January 1855, that this was a war 'in which we have a despot for an enemy [czar], a despot for an ally [Napoleon III], and a despot for a client [the sultan]; and we have been for 12 months endeavouring to make an ally of another despot [Austrian emperor]'.[116] Moreover, people's concern about the oppressed nationalities drew attention away from pressing domestic issues. Britons' mission, Bright told the audience of a peace meeting in Manchester in April 1855, began first and foremost at home: they had to improve their own institutions, rather than expending their energies on liberal crusades abroad on behalf of other nations.[117]

In the aftermath of revelations about the mismanagement of the war and the poor condition of the British army, Bright and Cobden appealed to the emotions of their countrymen. Bright's soul, one London journalist would note decades later, 'was aroused at the horrors of the war'.[118] War was no longer 'a great historical fact' in the minds of people, as Bright put it at a 'peace party' meeting in Manchester during March 1855, but a dreadful, palpable reality.[119] In common with the publications of the peace movement, Bright and Cobden capitalized on an avalanche of information from graphic reports of war correspondents and letters of servicemen.

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[115] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 136, col. 816 (22 Dec. 1854); *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 138, col. 1411 (5 June 1855).
[116] [Anon.], 'Mr. Cobden at Leeds', *The Times*, 21954 (18 Jan. 1855), p. 7.
[117] [Anon.], 'Peace Meeting in the Town Hall', *MCLGA* [Manchester], 31/1768 (7 Apr. 1855), p. 9.
[118] [Malcolm Stark], *The Life of the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P. By a London Journalist* (London, [1879]), p. 7.
[119] [Anon.], 'The Peace Party at Manchester', *The Times*, 21996 (8 Mar. 1855), p. 8.

The new discursive context thus generated influenced Bright's and Cobden's methods of opposing the 'war party'. Their parliamentary speeches on 22 December 1854, which drew the ire of Harriet Martineau, followed a new tactic. In censuring the Ministry's policy, Bright pointed his finger to the sombre spectacle of newly vacant seats in the Commons, such as that of Colonel Robert Edward Boyle, MP for Frome, who lost his life in the Euxine, whilst reminding MPs that the galleries in the Lords were currently filled with ladies 'dressed in the deepest mourning'. On his part, Cobden read out a private letter from a friend in the Crimea claiming that the people on the home front did not even know half of the suffering of British troops.[120] It was Bright's 'Angel of Death' Commons speech of 23 February 1855 which more than anything else stirred the emotions of the country. In an emotionally charged and highly dignified tone, Bright also pleaded with the government earnestly to seek to put an end to the war through the Vienna Conference negotiations:

> The angel of death has been abroad throughout the land; you may almost hear the beating of his wings. There is no one, as when the first-born were slain of old, to sprinkle with blood the lintel and the two sideposts of our doors, that he may spare and pass on; he takes his victims from the castle of the noble, the mansion of the wealthy, and the cottage of the poor and the lowly, and it is on behalf of all these classes that I make this solemn appeal.[121]

The vivid religious imagery pervading Bright's affective speech gestures towards his Christian pacifist convictions which, despite his best efforts not to ventilate in political debate, penetrated the veneer of Cobdenite 'pacificism' and 'practical' considerations which he invariably overwrapped his speeches with. Sometimes he appeared more forthright, even in public, in proclaiming the unchristian nature of all war. Less than a month before his 'Angel of Death' speech, Bright spoke in a *soirée* in Manchester's Corn Exchange, where he criticised the religious 'war party', and denounced the insatiable appetite of religious newspapers for more

[120] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 136, cols. 817, 891-2 (22 Dec. 1854).
[121] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 136, col. 1761 (23 Feb. 1855).

bloodshed. 'I should like to know what affinity there is between the salvation of the soul and the mangling and slaughter of the body?' Warlike sentiments did not only taint the religious press, Bright added; one could hear in places of worship '[t]he sounds of blood [...] mingling not unfrequently even with the anthems to the Prince of Peace'.[122]

Cobden, and to some extent Bright, also weighed into the debate on the morality of wars in general and the justice of the Crimean War in particular. Comments such as that made by *The Times*'s leader on the first day of humiliation that Britons 'have undertaken to enforce justice and truth among nations; to be the public guardian of weakness and the scourge of tyranny' were anathema to the two peace advocates.[123] Bright thought it meaningless to talk about 'just wars', and refused to discuss the question of the justice of the Crimean War in parliament because 'every war undertaken since the days of Nimrod has been declared to be just by those in favour of it'.[124] In his letter to Watkin, Bright explicitly rejected the conceptual demarcation of wars into 'just' and 'unjust'. Even though he tried to stay out of discussions concerning the justice of the Crimean War, Bright would retrospectively condemn it as 'unjust', as we have already seen.

On his own part, Cobden was critical of such pompous phrases as Lord John Russell's 'May God defend the right!', which he uttered in parliament on 17 February 1854.[125] At the same time, he bemoaned the delusion entertained by many of his countrymen that they were '*wielding the sceptre of justice*', as he put it in his letter to Hargreaves quoted at the start of this chapter. In a speech on 17 January 1855 to his constituents, Cobden responded to those who assumed that he opposed the war 'on the ground that it [was] not a just war' by conceding that Russia had indeed wronged Turkey. The fact remained, however, that no attack had been made against Britain. '[T]he principle that we are to go to war on all occasions when injustice

[122] [Anon.], 'Soiree to the Members for Manchester', *BerkC* [Reading], XXXII/1528 (27 Jan. 1855), p. 6.
[123] [Anon.], 'London, Wednesday, April 26, 1854', *The Times*, 21725 (26 Apr. 1854), p. 8.
[124] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 132, col. 244 (31 Mar. 1854).
[125] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 130, col. 936 (20 Feb. 1854).

is done to another country', Cobden accordingly argued, was 'a hazardous doctrine' which could burden Britons with immense responsibilities.[126] This echoed his speech of 22 December 1854 in the Commons: 'Are we to be the Don Quixottes [*sic*] of Europe, to go about fighting for every cause where we find that some one has been wronged?'[127] What was more, Cobden reasoned that in most international conflicts 'there is generally a little wrong on both sides'; hence, it was almost impossible 'to choose between the two sides.'[128] Seeking to tame knee-jerk quixotism, Cobden urged prudence and sought to make his audiences, both in and out of parliament, to consider the interests of their country and to think more critically about the complex moral basis for military intervention.

In his private correspondence, Cobden further engaged with this issue. To the German philanthropist and educationist, Julie Schwabe, Cobden wrote a letter—a 'long sermon, the only one I fear which has been preached against the war', as he ironically described it—during October 1854, expressing his horror at the religious public's claims that God granted the allies a victory following what proved to be false rumours about the fall of Sebastopol, because their cause was 'just':

> I have been shocked at the bold assumption we have made that God is fighting for us, because we had, *as we thought*, obtained a victory. Now I am afraid that if the Russians were to succeed, with the aid of the winter [...] we should be presumptuous enough to deny to *them* the plea of Divine assistance [...]. And what is this but making Heaven a partial and unjust arbiter in this world's affairs? For if we lay down the principle that God gives the victory to us *because* our cause is a *just* one, is it not blasphemous to assume that He would allow *injustice* to triumph in the persons of our enemies?[129]

[126] 'Cobden at Leeds', *Times*, p. 7.
[127] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 136, col. 807 (22 Dec. 1854).
[128] Ibid.
[129] Julie Salis-Schwabe, *Reminiscences of Richard Cobden* (London, 1895), pp. 240, 242 (Cobden's emphasis). The letter is wrongly dated 7 Oct. 1855.

Those who saw the war as 'defensive', Cobden added, deluded themselves: Britain was invading another power, three thousand miles away, which had never sought to attack her. For Cobden, the narrative about 'defensiveness' was at best illogical, at worst, dishonest.

Cobden's critiques of the perceived justice of the Crimean War were formulated alongside his views about Britain's global presence and imperial practices. 'We are shocked and impelled to deeds of retributive slaughter against Russia', he fulminated in his letter to Julie Schwabe, 'for attempting to encroach upon the integrity and independence of Turkey, *we* who have despoiled Mahometan Governments of more territory than all the world beside!!'[130] He later asked another of his correspondents 'whether morality is a geographical question, and whether it can be right in us to hurl the bolts of God's vengeance upon another power for attempting to do precisely what we have been incessantly doing ourselves in India'? With his eye fixed on Britain's aggressive colonial wars, Cobden adamantly refused 'even to entertain the proposition that we are to set up ourselves to vindicate in God's name the abstract law of justice between nations.'[131] He deemed the presumptuousness and 'pharisaical self-sufficiency' exemplified in Britain's self-fashioning as a divinely sanctioned *arbiter mundi* highly offensive. Whilst Britain was making plans for the annexation of 'the Mahomedan Kingdom of Oude', Cobden explained to another correspondent in November 1855, the czar showed a similar desire of appropriating a part of the Ottoman Empire. Britons nonetheless 'cast upwards the white of [their] eye in token of pious horror, & then declare[d] [their] determination to resist such aggression even at the cost of a "just and necessary war".'[132]

The challenge Cobden posed against Britain's imperial aggrandizement and colonial warfare reflected the anti-war arguments of the Peace Society's *Herald*, as shown in the third chapter. The idea that Britain had failed to 'set a sufficiently pure example to be entitled to claim' the

[130] Ibid., p. 241.
[131] Ibid., p. 262.
[132] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. XIX. Add MS 43665: Letter from Richard Cobden to John Robertson (10 Nov. 1855), fos. 322v-323r.

God-given 'power and the responsibility of regulating the affairs and remedying the evils of other countries', would remain central in Cobden's political thought following the Crimean War.[133] More so than historian Gregory Claeys has recognised, Cobden's and Bright's mid-Victorian 'imperial scepticism' derived to a large extent from the fact that Britain's self-professed guardianship of international justice sat uneasily with what they considered to be her immoral and relentless expansionism.[134] Bright might have avoided dealing explicitly with the question of the justice of the war, but Cobden critically examined it in relation to Britain's imperial practices to expose the hypocrisy of pro-war narratives. In common with the Peace Society, Cobden thus held up a mirror in the faces of Britons showing them what he believed to be the obvious, if frequently distorted, truth about themselves and their country.

Few of Cobden's and Bright's countrymen would be persuaded to a look into this mirror. The popular tide of support for the war proved too strong to stem. There was, however, a cure to their compatriots' warlike sentiments, and this was in founding a new journal which would promote the principles of the Manchester School. As Cobden confided to Sturge in August 1855: 'I really know nothing more likely to advance the cause of peace than to have a cheap daily paper circulating throughout the country on our own side.'[135] Capitalizing on the abolition of the newspaper stamp in June 1855, Cobden and Bright, together with Sturge, coordinated their efforts to combat the war spirit by launching a new penny paper. This was envisaged not as another *Herald of Peace* advocating 'the abstract peace principle', but as an organ actively campaigning for peace and non-intervention in a market dominated by pro-war journals.[136] The launching of the one-penny *Morning Star* and *Evening Star* would eventually come on 17

[133] [Anon.], 'Messrs. Cobden and Bright at Rochdale', *MP*, 28063 (26 Nov. 1863), p. 6.
[134] Gregory Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire, 1850-1920* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 28-36.
[135] London, BL, Cobden Papers: Vol. X. Add MS 43656: Letter from Richard Cobden to Joseph Sturge (8 Aug. 1855), fo. 353r.
[136] London, BL, Sturge Papers: Vol. II. Add MS 43723: Bright to Sturge (2 Oct. 1855), fos. 47v-48r.

March 1856, days before the signing of the Treaty of Paris, with the aim of promoting peace, retrenchment, and reform.[137]

By the time the new penny papers were added to the arsenal of the peace movement, things had started to get worse. In late January 1856, Bright suffered a nervous breakdown, and a few months later Cobden was mourning for the death of his only son. The General Election of 1857 would mark, in Cobden's biblical allusion, the "stoning of the prophets".[138] 'I am free', wrote Bright in his farewell address of April 1857 to the Manchester electors who did not return him to parliament, 'and will remain free, from any share in the needless and guilty bloodshed of that melancholy chapter in the annals of my country.'[139] An increasingly despondent Cobden would look back to this period with bitterness and regret. In October 1862 he warned a large audience in his new constituency of Rochdale about 'the utter uselessness of raising one's voice in opposition to war when it has once begun'. In a perfect storm, mere eloquence was nothing but whistling in the wind. For what did Bright, Cobden asked, achieve? 'Why, they burnt him in effigy for his pains.'[140] More than a decade later, Bright echoed Cobden in stating that during the Crimean War '[t]he judgement of the nation was disturbed, argument was of no avail, facts that were true were disputed, passions were excited'.[141] This was to overstate things since, as this thesis has so far demonstrated, the wartime debate was much more complex, vigorous, and hospitable to a range of arguments than they would have us believe in such nihilistic remarks. But the fact remains that both men were much maligned by their critics during the war. For Cobden, the war also left behind a disturbing legacy. His pamphlet *The Three Panics* (1862), a searing critique of the irrationality of invasion scares, presented the war as a catalyst for

[137] [Anon.], 'London, Monday, March 17th, 1856', *MS*, 1 (17 Mar. 1856), p. 2.
[138] Quoted in E. W. Watkin, *Alderman Cobden of Manchester. Letters and Reminiscences of Richard Cobden* (London, New York, NY, and Melbourne, [1891]), p. 201.
[139] [John Bright], 'Mr. Bright's Farewell Address', *The Era*, 968 (12 Apr. 1857), p. 6.
[140] [Anon.], 'Mr. Cobden at Rochdale', *CJ* [Carlisle], 3355 (31 Oct. 1862), p. 6.
[141] John Bright, *Speeches of the Right Hon. John Bright, M.P., Delivered in Bradford, on the Occasion of the Inauguration of the Cobden Memorial, July 25, 1877* (London, [1877]), p. 25.

negative change. 'It was formerly said of us', he reflected, 'that we were a warlike, but not a military nation. The Russian war has gone far to make us both.'[142] In this and other regards, the Crimean moment seemed to have changed Britain forever.

*

"John Bright", said Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Britain's Ambassador to Constantinople, upon seeing the bombarded city of Sebastopol, "is fully borne out by all this [...] If this is a sample of the effects of war, who would not be willing to join his peace party? It is more like the crater of a volcano than a ruined city."[143] And yet, as this chapter has suggested, few outside the ranks of the peace movement appeared ready to espouse the anti-war gospel that Bright preached together with Cobden. However, even in the face of persistently hostile criticism from the press and public, the two Manchester-School men availed themselves fully at the opportunities before them, to demonstrate in political debate in and out of parliament, on pragmatic principles professed by their opponents and the nation at large, that the war was foolish, unnecessary, unjust, and contrary to British interests. For Bright and Cobden the Crimean War was, in other words, 'a crime'.

The two men would continue their political careers after the war: the former as MP for Birmingham and later a cabinet minister, soon earning the title "Tribune of the People" in the debates leading up to the 1867 Reform Act; the latter as MP for Rochdale, a persistent critic of Palmerstonian foreign policy, and an untiring internationalist whose efforts to promote commercial cooperation amongst nations would culminate in the Cobden-Chevalier treaty of 1860 with France.[144] Until the final years of his life, Cobden would keep alive the flame of his

[142] Richard Cobden, *The Three Panics: An Historical Episode*, 4th edn (London, 1862), p. 40.
[143] Quoted in James Henry Skene, *With Lord Stratford in the Crimean War* (London, 1883), p. 340.
[144] Simon James Morgan, *Celebrities, Heroes and Champions: Popular Politicians in the Age of Reform, 1810-67* (Manchester, 2021), p. 133.

campaign against 'the red-herrings' of 'the balance of power' and the 'Eastern Question' which, in his view, were drawing public attention away from pressing 'home questions'.[145] Nowadays, the two Manchester-School leaders are best remembered for their involvement with the Anti-Corn Law League. Arguably, it was their words and actions during the Crimean War which catapulted them to the firmament of Britain's finest politicians. Gladstone made this point in parliament following Bright's death in 1889. Although he disagreed with them about the Crimean War, Gladstone nevertheless

> felt profoundly what must have been the moral elevation of the men who, having been nurtured through their lives in the atmosphere of popular approval and enthusiasm, could at a moment's notice consent to part with the whole of that favour which they had hitherto enjoyed and which their opponents thought to be the very breath of their nostrils.[146]

For Gladstone, Bright and Cobden were not unpatriotic materialists as their wartime critics disparaged them, but 'splendid examples [...] to the whole of their contemporaries and to coming generations'.[147]

On 28 January 1856, shortly before suffering a nervous breakdown, Bright attended another *soirée* in Manchester's Corn Exchange given in his honour and that of Milner Gibson, the city's other MP. One of the major themes of Bright's speech was on the 'losses' of the war. Recalling the bellicosity of the pulpit, he announced that one of the greatest losses the country had suffered was 'moral'. This loss was also evident in the tone of contemporary poetry. Taking as his example Alfred, Lord Tennyson, Bright stated that 'such was the pestilent influence of these scenes of carnage on the mind so accomplished and so elevated as that man was, [that] he put forward a poem which his friends are anxious should never be spoken of'.[148] Here Bright alluded to the Poet Laureate's *Maud* (1855), a poem which drew national attention for its

[145] Oxford, BC, Mallet III A.8. Letter from Richard Cobden to Louis Mallet (16 Nov. 1864) (unnumbered pages).
[146] *Parl. Debs*, 3rd ser., vol. 334, col. 1170 (29 Mar. 1889).
[147] Ibid.
[148] [Anon.], 'Soiree at Manchester, Last Night', *LDP* [Liverpool], I/199 (29 Jan. 1856), p. 3.

attitude towards war and peace. It is to the world of poetry that the thesis will now turn. The study of poetry in the final chapter is supplemented by an examination of visual and material culture to uncover the variety of ways Victorians negotiated ideas of war and peace.

CHAPTER SIX

Literary, Visual, and Material Culture in Wartime Britain

> Well, here we are going to war; and really people after their long and dreary commercial period seem quite glad: the feeling of the war being just is of course a great thing.
>
> ❧ A. H. CLOUGH TO CHARLES E. NORTON, 20 FEB. 1854[1]

> 'JOHN BRIGHT, you're no more than a calico feller, / You're all made of cotton, like my umbereller / [...] To tell you the truth, 'tis my candid opinion, / You wouldn't oppose any foring dominion / [...] But Britons won't never give in to invaders, / To please you, nor none of your Manchester traders [*sic*]'.
>
> ❧ *PUNCH*, NOVEMBER 1854[2]

> No one should lightly encourage war [...] [E]ven verses tending (however feebly) to stimulate the war spirit of the time, should not be written [...] unless the writer conscientiously feels that the war is just and necessary, and its prosecution consistent with the interests of morality and right, as much as such a calamity can be.
>
> ❧ ERNEST JONES, *THE EMPEROR'S VIGIL* (1856)[3]

These quotations illustrate some of the major themes explored in this chapter on the war's literary, visual, and material culture. The poet A. H. Clough spoke for many contemporaries when he confided on 20 February 1854 to his friend Charles E. Norton, future Professor of the History of Art at Harvard, the gratification he derived from the coming war's perceived justness. The war, Clough surmised, seemed also to provide a respite from the incessant

[1] A. H. Clough, *Letters and Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford* (London, 1865), p. 269.
[2] [Anon.], 'Mrs. Grundy to Mr. Bright', *Punch*, XXVII/697 (18 Nov. 1854), p. 203.
[3] Ernest Jones, *The Emperor's Vigil, and the Waves and the War* (London, 1856), p. [iii].

commercialism driving Victorian society. Although not spelled out in his letter, Clough's comment echoed the idea that Britain's resort to arms could exorcise the spirits of selfish materialism and Mammonism supposedly conjured up by the Manchester School and its two leading teachers, Cobden and Bright. The lines of doggerel taken from the popular pictorial journal *Punch, or the London Charivari* of 18 November 1854, denounced Bright and his 'Manchester traders' for only caring about 'cotton spinning' and their gospel of free trade, non-intervention, and peace. Clough's belief in the justice of the war would have found another poet, the Chartist leader Ernest Jones, in agreement. Unlike Clough who did not compose any verses in relation to the war, Jones ventilated his views into two poetry collections, *The Battle Day* (1855) and *The Emperor's Vigil* (1856). Poetry afforded Jones an outlet for the expression of his cherished democratic ideals and aversion to Russian tyranny.[4] In the preface to his second collection, Jones commented on the morality of war and the ethical responsibility he felt that he bore towards society. Poets, argued Jones, should refrain from encouraging war or rousing people's feelings, unless they are satisfied about the war's justice and necessity, and that it is fought according to the principles of morality and right. The Crimean War, he thought, met these stipulations, hence his invocation of the muse. Clough's comment, *Punch*'s doggerel, and Jones's preface to his second poetry collection demonstrate the centrality of the question of the morality of war, as well as of the debate between peace advocates and their critics, in Victorian literary—especially poetic—thought and culture.

This question and the debate between supporters and opponents of the war also found a visual expression. *Punch*'s cartoons became a primary medium through which ideas about the war were visually manifested in a satirical and polemical idiom. These ideas also permeated the war's material commemoration in various artefacts. Focusing on the filtration of the Crimean War into literary, visual, and material culture, this chapter offers a rich synthesis of

[4] Miles Taylor, *Ernest Jones, Chartism, and the Romance of Politics 1819-1869* (Oxford, 2003), p. 178.

miscellaneous pieces of historical evidence such as poems, cartoons, and objects, situating them into a shared cultural framework to illuminate the cross-fertilization of argumentative and cultural motifs between them. These diverse sources hold together analytically by virtue of how various ideas of war and peace cut across them.

The chapter comprises three sections, the first of which examines the Crimean War's poetry. A survey of the historiography of the war reveals that historians have customarily drawn on poetry merely for illustrative purposes, rarely appreciating its intellectual significance. Over the past few decades it has been literary scholars who have been at the forefront of addressing this lacuna.[5] Alison Chapman's point that 'Victorians encountered poetry everywhere' holds true for the period of the Crimean War, perhaps more so than any other war fought by Britain in the Victorian era.[6] Besides being published in pamphlet form, poems appeared in the newspaper and periodical press. What remains underappreciated in the existing scholarship is poetry's role as a vehicle for social commentary and cultural criticism deployed by advocates and critics of the war, and as a crucial forum for the negotiation of ideas of war and peace. The chapter's first section situates poetry and its reception within a cultural and intellectual context to gain a point of entry into the profound moral and ideological divisions within Victorian society. The section focuses on the most controversial poem of the war, Alfred, Lord Tennyson's *Maud*: the dramatic story of a neurotic young man whose love for Maud leads him to homicide and then madness, which he overcomes after embarking on the Crimean War. The poem is marked by a hostility towards the peace movement, and an apparent exaltation of a just war as the sole means of revivifying the national spirit sapped by Mammon-worship and selfish materialism. As Matthew Bevis has observed, the *OED*'s 'earliest example of the term

[5] Ho, *Crimean War in Victorian Poetry*; Dereli, *War Culture in Action*; Markovits, *Crimean War*, pp. 123-67.
[6] Alison Chapman, 'Poetry', in D. Denisoff and T. Schaffer (eds), *The Routledge Companion to Victorian Literature* (New York, NY, 2019), p. 13.

"war poem" is a reference to *Maud*.'[7] The poem was published by Edward Moxon on 28 July 1855 in *Maud, and other Poems*. Within three months, Tennyson's volume sold eight thousand copies.[8] The reception of the poem was generally negative, with most readers and reviewers debating the meaning of its 'war passages'. Examining *Maud* and its reception, this section demonstrates that the poem's attitude towards war and peace was by no means eccentric, as is often assumed. It also argues that Tennyson's own stance, which continues to mystify modern critics, was bellicose. This, as we shall see, is suggested by several of his poems published during the 1850s. Notwithstanding the cascade of unfavourable reviews, *Maud* found some admirers including the eminent art critic John Ruskin. That *Maud*'s faith in war's purifying effects spoke to Ruskin has not been fully appreciated. Considering the poem's impact on the development of his artistic thought, this section engages with the motif of war as a social regenerator which has been neglected in studies on Victorian social and cultural criticism. The section's remaining part deals with various poets to reconstruct the rich debate carried by the poetic medium in general.

The chapter's second section examines the war's visual culture. It shows that the ideas and motifs which fed into the debate between the peace movement and its critics extended beyond poetry, informing the imagery of war and its visual documentation. Because images drew extensively on the same ideas which filtered into poetry, it is reasonable to consider them as part of a shared cultural framework. It is well-known that war shaped the arts and cultural history of modern Britain.[9] In particular, war became a catalyst for the efflorescence of caricature;[10] this was also the case during the Crimean War. This development was not peculiar

[7] Matthew Bevis, 'Fighting Talk: Victorian War Poetry', in Tim Kendall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of British and Irish War Poetry* (Oxford, 2007), p. 17.
[8] Susan Shatto (ed.), *Tennyson's Maud: A Definitive Edition* (London, 1986), p. 27.
[9] Holger Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850* (London, 2010).
[10] M. D. George, *English Pictorial Caricature 1793-1832: A Study of Opinion and Propaganda* (Oxford, 1959), p. [1].

to Britain. In Russia the popular cheap prints known as *lubki* or *narodnye kartinki* became an integral part of the empire's wartime visual culture. Some of these prints extolled the valour of the Russian peasant and Cossack, valorised Sebastopol's defenders, and explicitly defined 'Russianness' as the expression of the Orthodox faith; others caricatured Russia's enemies in the war, especially the Turks.[11] In Britain, *Punch* was the main driving force behind the visual 'war' of ideas. First published in 1841, this three-penny weekly pictorial journal which mostly catered to the middle classes and whose *raison d'être* was the production of 'harmless satire', was widely recognised by Victorians 'as the Nation's Jester'.[12] Dubbed by Richard D. Altick as 'a British institution', *Punch* enjoyed a circulation of fifty- to sixty-thousand copies per week, though it is likely that its actual readership was four to five times higher.[13] *Punch* even counted amongst its readers Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.[14] The journal owed its popularity to its 'uncoloured lithographs or woodcuts' which became known as 'cartoons'.[15] Its full-page cuts were 'the visual equivalent of *The Times*'s leading articles', providing humorous pictorial commentaries on current affairs.[16] Victorians treasured *Punch*'s cartoons. The back side of most full-page cuts was left blank, encouraging readers to tear them off and use them for decorative purposes, or to deposit them in albums.[17]

During the Crimean War, *Punch* printed around one hundred war-related full-page cartoons, as well as a smaller number of half-cuts.[18] Many of these cartoons were produced by John

[11] S. M. Norris, *A War of Images: Russian Popular Prints, Wartime Culture, and National Identity, 1812-1945* (DeKalb, IL, 2006), pp. 4, 55-79. See also, Anthony Cross, 'The Crimean War and the Caricature War', *SEER*, 84/3 (2006), pp. 460-2, 473-80.
[12] [Anon.], 'The Moral of Punch', *Punch*, I (17 July 1841), p. 1; M. H. Spielmann, *The History of 'Punch'* (London, Paris, and Melbourne, 1895), p. 5.
[13] Richard D. Altick, *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution 1841-1851* (Columbus, OH, 1997); Henry J. Miller, 'John Leech and the Shaping of the Victorian Cartoon: The Context of Respectability', *VPR*, 42/3 (2009), p. [267].
[14] Altick, *Punch*, pp. [xvii], 17-22.
[15] Cross, 'Crimean War', p. 462.
[16] Altick, *Punch*, p. 127.
[17] Henry Miller, *Politics Personified: Portraiture, Caricature and Visual Culture in Britain, c. 1830-80* (Manchester, 2015), p. 187.
[18] Cross, 'Crimean War', p. 470.

Leech, *Punch*'s celebrated artist whose name became synonymous with the magazine's success.[19] Around the time he began regularly to contribute cartoons to *Punch*, Leech served as the illustrator of Dickens's *A Christmas Carol* (1843). Victorian readers were thus well acquainted with Leech's work. In common with most other contemporary periodicals, *Punch* was in favour of the Crimean War. This section examines *Punch'*s visual intervention in the debate between the peace movement and its critics, as well as how its cartoons translated into image the moral justification for war. The section is attentive to the cartoons' satirical and polemical intent, gender stereotypes, and animalistic imagery, as well as to their chivalric motifs which saturated Victorian culture.[20] It is imperative, however, that we first consider the issue of the audiences' reception of images more generally. Rosemary Mitchell has rightly noted that the mental worlds of nineteenth-century writers, artists, and their audiences often collided as they all belonged to a shared culture which valued reading as a pleasurable activity, and which placed a premium on critically engaging with the reading matter. Following Mitchell's point that illustrated works 'were probably reasonably well understood by their intended middle-class audiences', this section argues that Victorians were steeped in the ideas and debates informing the war's imagery; this, accordingly, enabled them to recognise the message of cartoons and to appreciate their critical qualities and humour.[21] Various nineteenth-century commentators believed that *Punch* reflected the public mood. Ruskin considered *Punch* 'as the expression of the popular voice'.[22] Even the American intellectual Ralph Waldo Emerson discerned in *Punch*'s caricatures the ability to 'convey to the eye in an instant the popular view which was taken of each turn of public affairs.'[23] It could therefore be argued that

[19] For the identification of Leech's cartoons I have used John Leech, *John Leech's Pictures of Life and Character. From the Collection of 'Mr. Punch.'* (London, 1887); and idem, *Later Pencillings from Punch* (London, [1865]).
[20] On the centrality of medievalism and chivalry in Victorian Britain, see Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1981). Recent works include Joanna Parker and Corinna Wagner (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Victorian Medievalism* (Oxford, 2020).
[21] Rosemary Mitchell, *Picturing the Past: English History in Text and Image 1830-1870* (Oxford, 2000), p. 32.
[22] John Ruskin, *The Art of England. Lectures given in Oxford* (Sunnyside, 1884), p. 188.
[23] R. W. Emerson, *English Traits* (London, 1856), p. 152.

Punch's cartoons offer a window into the Victorian era's anxieties, attitudes, and prejudices, something which makes them valuable historical sources. Situating these cartoons within the appropriate context, the historian can explain what Victorians would have found amusing, and why. We must also consider the interplay between word and image within *Punch* itself. This section accordingly examines cartoons in conjunction with the text—whether in verse or prose—which often accompanied them. It also analyses *Punch*'s cartoons alongside other visual repertoires: illustrations printed in pictorial newspapers and the Crimean photographs of British photographer James Robertson. Unlike the satirical and polemical intent of *Punch*'s cartoons, these media had a more serious visual vocabulary, graphically presenting to their readers the horrors of war. This section thus examines how visual culture in general became a means for the negotiation of war's place in modern society.

The chapter's final section concentrates on the war's material culture. According to Asa Briggs, there are 'almost as many surviving "Crimean things" as there are things directly associated with the Crystal Palace.'[24] These objects provide fertile ground for exploring the interactivity between words, images, and material culture. The section demonstrates how objects such as commemorative medals and ceramics from the collections of London's National Army Museum incorporated and communicated ideas and various cultural motifs about the war. Medallists, ceramists, and other artists often repurposed cartoons and other images in their production of commemorative objects. In its entirety, the chapter reconstructs a vivid historical tapestry of Victorian culture during the Crimean War.

[24] Asa Briggs, *Victorian Things* (London, 1988), p. 160.

MAUD AND THE POETRY OF WAR AND PEACE

Jane Welsh Carlyle spent part of the second day of 1856 listening to Tennyson reciting *Maud* to her and other guests entertained by Lord and Lady Ashburton at the Grange in Northington, Hampshire. Tennyson, Mrs Carlyle would frustratingly confide to one of her correspondents, had been 'going about asking everybody if they like his *Maud*—and reading *Maud* aloud—and talking of Maud, Maud, Maud, till I wished myself far away among people who only read and wrote prose or who neither read nor wrote at all.'[25] Mrs Carlyle disliked the Poet Laureate's new poem. The same was true of her husband, Thomas Carlyle, and of another guest at the Grange, Goldwin Smith, both of whom had slipped outside for a walk shortly before Tennyson commenced his recitation.[26] A few months prior to this gathering, Tennyson had read *Maud* to the more sympathetic ears of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, as well as to Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Michael Rossetti, and others gathered at 13 Dorset Street, the Brownings' residence in London. On this 'night of the gods', Dante Gabriel Rossetti produced a sketch of Tennyson (Fig. 6.1) which immortalised in pen and ink the latter's habit of reciting *Maud* in fashionable salons.[27] As was the case with salons across nineteenth-century Europe, the salons Tennyson roamed during the war enabled women as well as men to create elite public spheres for discussing ideas, politics, and culture, and for shaping discourse.[28]

What is clear from the private correspondence of those who rubbed shoulders with Tennyson, is that he was painfully conscious of the tide of unfavourable critiques of his much-loved poem. As Mrs Carlyle observed, he was 'as sensitive to criticisms on [*Maud*] as if they

[25] '[Letter from] J[ane] W[elsh] C[arlyle] To Margaret Welsh' (10 Jan. 1856), in Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh Carlyle, *The Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, ed. Ian Campbell et al. (49 vols, Durham, NC, 1970-2021), xxxi (2003), p. 4.
[26] Charles Richard Sanders, 'Carlyle and Tennyson', *PMLA*, 76/1 (1961), p. 91. On Carlyle's and Smith's responses to the poem, see p. 249, n. 40, and p. 254 in this chapter.
[27] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters*, ed. William Michael Rossetti (2 vols, London, 1895), i, pp. 190-1.
[28] Glenda Sluga, *The Invention of International Order: Remaking Europe after Napoleon* (Princeton, NJ, 2021), pp. 22-4.



Fig. 6.1. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 'Tennyson Reading "Maud", 1855', [https://dams.birminghammuseums.org.uk/assetbank/action/viewAsset?id=21395&index=4&total=10&view=viewSearchItem]. Photo by Birmingham Museums Trust, licensed under CC0.

were imputations on his honour'.[29] Dante Gabriel Rossetti found the whole thing entertaining, confessing to the Irish poet William Allingham in January 1856: 'I never was more amused in my life than by Tennyson's groanings and horrors over the reviews of *Maud*'.[30] Emily, Lady

[29] Jane Welsh Carlyle, *Jane Carlyle: Newly Selected Letters*, ed. K. J. Fielding and David R. Sorensen (Aldershot, 2004), p. 191.
[30] Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *The Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, ed. Oswald Doughty and John Robert Wahl (4 vols, Oxford, 1965-7), i (1965), p. 281.

Tennyson confirmed the severity of reviews. 'The seven-inch hailstones of our Isle of Wight thunderstorm a few days ago', she wrote in early October 1855, 'are dwarfs compared to those with which one is mercilessly pelted in the matter of "Maud".'[31] The reason why Tennyson took offence at hostile reviews was perhaps because his poem incorporated autobiographical elements. This was a work which was especially dear to him. As Christopher Ricks has noted, it 'is a story which gave fierce play to all the central griefs and grievances of Tennyson's life', especially the mania, financial ruin, and suicidality of his father; his pain for his forsaken mother; the poor mental state of his brothers; his animosity towards Mammonism; and the thorns in his love for Rosa Baring and Emily Sellwood.[32] Tennyson's frequent recitation of the poem to his friends seems to have been part of his efforts to garner cordial approbation to recuperate from the insolence of anonymous reviewers.[33]

Maud is about a neurotic twenty-five-year-old man—the speaker—whose father possibly commits suicide after a 'great speculation' fails.[34] The miserable young man suspects that there was '[v]illainy somewhere' because an old man and acquaintance of his family comes into possession of the broad estate and neighbouring Hall, after enriching himself from the same scheme which left the speaker's family 'flaccid and drain'd.' Maud is the daughter of this old man and a childhood friend of the speaker, who then falls in love with her. Her father and brother, a 'dandy-despot' dubbed the 'Sultan', want her to marry a 'new-made' lord who owns a 'gewgaw castle' and who inherited his grandfather's coal-mining fortune. At a 'grand political dinner' thrown by Maud's brother, the speaker secretly meets Maud in her 'rose-garden', but the brother and the lord catch them out. The speaker kills the brother in a duel,

[31] Letter from Emily Tennyson to Edward Lear (early Oct. 1855), in Emily Tennyson, *The Letters of Emily Lady Tennyson*, ed. James O. Hoge (University Park, PENN, and London, 1974), p. 84.
[32] Christopher Ricks, *Tennyson*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke, 1989), pp. 233-4.
[33] Shatto, *Tennyson's Maud*, p. 28.
[34] I quote from the first edition of the poem because this is what readers and reviewers would have initially seen and critiqued: Alfred Tennyson, 'Maud' in his *Maud, and other Poems* (London, 1855), pp. [1]-100. I also follow Shatto's definitive commentary: *Tennyson's Maud*, pp. 161-222.

and then flees to Brittany accompanied by Maud's spectre. He then descends into madness—an image which the poem's lack of 'formal or rhythmic stability', as well as its 'sensational' and 'spasmodic' characteristics, reinforce.[35] In the final part of the poem which Tennyson composed first around the time of Britain's declaration of war, the speaker returns home and Maud, who is now dead, comforts his mind by speaking to him in a dream 'of a hope for the world in the coming / wars'. He eventually overcomes his madness and embarks on the Crimean War to fight in the cause of right and justice. The higher moral aims of the war elevate him from the pit of darkness, and hold out the promise of cleansing a society corrupted by peace and debased by a different kind of warfare—one driven by selfish materialism which ceaselessly pitted people against one another.

Throughout the poem, the speaker's animadversions against peace punctuate the plot. Shortly after relating his family's sad fortunes, the speaker pontificates about the evils of peace. 'Why do they prate of the blessings of Peace?', he cynically ponders; 'we / have made them a curse'. Peacetime is characterised, he asserts, by pickpocketing, the 'lust of gain, in the spirit of Cain', and cheating. The whole spectacle resembles a 'civil war' which is of a 'viler' kind than actual war. The overcrowded condition suffered by the poor; Mammon-worship and the glorification of 'the ledger'; wife-beating; food and medicine adulteration; infanticide committed by 'a Mammonite mother' who seeks 'a burial fee', amongst other vices and crimes, add to the speaker's long list of charges brought against a personified Peace who is 'sitting under her olive, and slurring the / days gone by'. 'Is it peace or war?', asks the speaker before fulsomely resolving: 'better war! loud war by / land and by sea, / War with a thousand battles,

[35] Kirstie Blair, *Victorian Poetry and the Culture of the Heart* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 204-5. Critics have often associated *Maud* with 'spasmodic' poetry. The 'Spasmodic school' is a term applied a group of poets including Philip James Bailey (see pp. 259-60 in this chapter) whose poems during the 1850s 'tended to describe intense interior psychological drama, were violent and verbose, and were characterized by obscurity, pathetic fallacy, and extravagant imagery.' They typically centred around heroes 'who were lonely, aspiring, and disillusioned, and frequently poets themselves': 'Spasmodic school', in Dinah Birch (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 7th edn (Oxford, 2009) [https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2460/view/10.1093/acref/9780192806871.001.0001/acref-9780192806871-e-7113#] (1 Mar. 2022).

and shaking a / hundred thrones.' An enemy invasion, he thinks, will rouse the tradesman—'the smoothfaced snubnosed rogue'—to 'leap from his counter and till, / And strike, if he could, were it but with his / cheating yardwand, home.' Even from the poem's earliest stanzas, the speaker thus imagines war as a panacea. After introducing Maud's aristocratic suitor, the speaker tells the reader that an individual, possibly a Quaker, arrived in the county town '[t]o preach our poor little army down'. The speaker's attack of this stranger's Quaker-like garb, religiosity, and apparent fixation with cotton and financial gain is especially vicious. The 'b' and 'h' alliterations of the first line accentuate his disdainful commentary:

> This broad-brim'd hawker of holy things,
> Whose ear is stuft with his cotton, and rings
> Even in dreams to the chink of his pence,
> This huckster put down war! can he tell
> Whether war be a cause or a consequence?

In the final part of the poem, the speaker recovers from his madness as he sets off to fight against despotic Russia in a just war, which fills him with hope about himself and society:

> [...] yet it lighten'd my despair
> When I thought that a war would arise in defence
> of the right,
> That an iron tyranny now should bend or cease,
> The glory of manhood stand on his ancient height,
> Nor Britain's one sole God be the millionaire:
> No more shall commerce be all in all, and Peace
> Pipe on her pastoral hillock a languid note,
> And watch her harvest ripen, her herd increase,
> Nor the cannon-bullet rust on a slothful shore,
> And the cobweb woven across the cannon's
> throat,
> Shall shake its threaded tears in the wind no more.

As the speaker awakes 'to the higher aims / Of a land that has lost for a little her lust of gold, / And love of a peace that was full of wrongs and / shames', he becomes confident that 'God's just doom shall be wreak'd on a giant / liar'—the 'giant liar' being czar, or in another sense those who cheat in peacetime.[36] The ulcerous condition of an outwardly peaceful yet inwardly

[36] James R. Bennett, '*Maud*, Part III: Maud's Battle-Song', *VP*, 18/1 (1980), p. 47.

warring society degraded by Mammonism, commercialism, and other evils fostered in peacetime is now remedied as people's heart 'beat with one desire; For the long, long canker of peace is over and done'. In the ultimate stanza added to the poem's new edition of 1856, the reader almost hears the poet's own voice eulogising Britons for finding a revitalising moral purpose: 'We have proved we have hearts in a cause, we are / noble still'.[37]

Maud was certainly not, as Isobel Armstrong has claimed, 'a conservative writing wildly out of control.'[38] Rather, the poem was eminently a product of its own time: deeply enmeshed into contemporary debates, it articulated the language and negotiated various ideas engaging Victorian society at large.[39] To begin with, *Maud*'s tirade against Mammonism was not idiosyncratic. Instead, it followed closely Mammonism's most outspoken castigator, Thomas Carlyle, and is possible that Tennyson wholeheartedly endorsed the philosopher's remark in *Past and Present* that there was only one thing modern industrial society was 'entirely in earnest: The making of money.'[40] As seen earlier in the thesis, clerical intellectuals regarded Britain's 'just war' against Russia as an opportunity for the nation to rejuvenate its moral life, to cultivate its heroic virtues, and to transcend its selfish materialism, effeminacy, and Mammon-worship which a prolonged period of peace supposedly engendered.[41] *Maud*'s invectives against the peace movement and the 'cotton-spinning' members of the Manchester School were part of a broader polemic cutting across Victorian society. Even the royal court was well-versed in this debate. When Prince Albert asked the Duke of Somerset and Lord

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[37] Alfred Tennyson, 'Maud', in *Maud, and other Poems*, new edn (London, 1856), p. 110.
[38] Isobel Armstrong, *Victorian Poetry: Poetry, Poetics and Politics*, 2nd edn (New York, NY, 2019), p. 250.
[39] Shatto, *Tennyson's Maud*, p. 36.
[40] George O. Marshall, Jr., 'An Incident from Carlyle in Tennyson's "Maud" ', *N&Q*, CCIV (Feb. 1959), pp. 77-8; Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (London, 1843), p. 198. Carlyle would have agreed with the poem's attacks on Mammonism, but would have found its pro-war stance abhorrent given his hatred of the 'miserable Turk war': J. A. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: A History of his Life in London, 1834-1881* 4th edn (2 vols, London, 1885), ii, p. 173. In a letter of 23 February 1856, Mrs Carlyle explained that an unknown Cambridge gentleman wrote to her husband asking for his opinion of *Maud*. 'You may imagine', wrote Mrs Carlyle to her correspondent, 'how Mr C would toss that letter into the fire, sending a savage growl after it!': *Jane Carlyle: Newly Selected Letters*, p. 191.
[41] See Chapter Two, pp. 91-9.

Aberdeen at a Buckingham Palace dinner on 18 March 1854 who objected to the erection of Richard Coeur-de-Lion's statue opposite Westminster Hall, and Somerset named Richard Cobden and the Peace Society, the prince joked that "Richard Coeur-de-Lion is not agreeable to Richard-Coeur-de-Coton."[42] Food adulteration, which *Maud*'s speaker also denounces, was a hotly debated subject during this time, even prompting *Punch* to print in August 1855 a cartoon showing a little girl asking a salesman for some of his best tea so that her mother could kill off the rats, and an ounce of chocolate to get rid of the 'black beadles [*sic*]'.[43] In preparing *Maud*, Tennyson would have drawn on reports in the national press, and it is likely that he was influenced by three articles published between November 1854 and January 1855 in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* by the Revd George C. Swayne, late fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. These articles recorded an imaginary dialogue between Irenaeus, a Quaker and a member of the Peace Society, and Tlepolemus, a warlike individual fulminating against the evils of peace.[44] *Maud* was thus steeped in contemporary controversies. Tennyson used his poem as a vehicle for social commentary and cultural criticism, and as a means for intervening in extant debates which the Crimean War intensified to an unprecedented degree.

One scholar has claimed that we know close to nothing about Tennyson's opinions on war in general and the Crimean War in particular.[45] This is to overstate the case. It is true that Tennyson wrote in a letter of 6 December 1855 that '[he did] not see how from the poem [he] could be pronounced with certainty either peace man or war man.' Yet in the same letter he admitted that '[his] madman' also speaks some truths, especially about the rotten condition of

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[42] Edward Adolphus Seymour Somerset, *Letters, Remains, and Memoirs of Edward Adolphus Seymour, Twelfth Duke of Somerset*, ed. W. H. Mallock and G. H. Seymour Ramsden (London, 1893), p. 305.
[43] Shatto, *Tennyson's Maud*, pp. 170-1; [Anon.], 'The Use of Adulteration', *Punch,* XXIX (4 Aug. 1855), p. [47].
[44] Robert C. Schweik, 'The "Peace or War" Passages in Tennyson's "Maud" ', *N&Q*, 7/12 (1960), p. 458; Christopher Ricks, ' "Peace and War" and "Maud" ', *N&Q*, 9/6 (1962), p. 230. Schweik cites only the first of these articles, and Ricks additionally cites the second. The third article which must have influenced Tennyson is [G. C. Swayne], 'Peace and Patriotism', *BEM*, 77/471 (Jan. 1855), pp. 97-111. Swayne's fourth article appeared after *Maud*'s publication: 'The New Peace Party', *BEM*, 79/483 (Jan. 1856), pp. 20-34.
[45] James R. Bennett, 'The Historical Abuse of Literature: Tennyson's *Maud: A Monodrama* and the Crimean War', *ES*, 62/1 (1981), p. 37.

society.[46] It is also true that around four decades after *Maud*'s publication, Tennyson said to a friend that the speaker

> is wrong in thinking that war will transform the cheating tradesman into a great-souled hero, or that it will sweep away the dishonesties and lessen the miseries of humanity. The Crimean War proves his error.[47]

We should be wary of reading too much into these comments. For one thing, they were made in hindsight; for another, they tell us nothing about the poet's attitude towards the war.

Tennyson's poetic oeuvre of the early 1850s offers a clearer window into his ideological standpoint. His poems of 1852 following the Napoleonic *coup d'état* and the French invasion scare suggest that his warlike stance and his attacks against selfish materialism and the peace movement were not peculiar to *Maud*. His poem 'The Penny-Wise', a clarion call for England to arm herself which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of 24 January 1852, asked the 'babbling Peace Societies' whether this was 'a time to cry for peace, / When we should shriek for rifles?'[48] The polemic of 'The Third of February, 1852' (published on 7 February in the *Examiner*) against Manchester School's unpatriotic, materialist, and peace-loving members was all too clear: 'Though niggard throats of Manchester may bawl, / What England was, shall her true sons forget? / We are not cotton-spinners all, / But some love England and her honour yet.'[49] In the same issue of the *Examiner*, 'Hands All Round!' beat the patriotic drum against continental despotism and 'curse[d] the crimes of southern kings, / The Russian whips and Austrian rods'. Simultaneously, the poem bemoaned the spirit of Mammonism: 'Too much we make our Ledgers, Gods.'[50] Readers would not have missed the patriotic motifs of Tennyson's 'Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington' (1852), and of the popular 'The Charge of the

[46] Letter from Alfred Lord Tennyson to Archer Thompson Gurney (6 Dec. 1855), in Alfred Tennyson, *The Letters of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, ed. Cecil Y. Lang and Edgar F. Shannon, Jr. (3 vols, Oxford, 1981-90), ii (1987), p. 137.
[47] Henry Van Dyke, *Studies in Tennyson* (New York, NY, 1920), p. 97.
[48] 'The Penny-Wise', in Alfred Tennyson, *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Christopher Ricks, 2nd edn (3 vols, London, 1987), ii, p. 468.
[49] 'The Third of February, 1852', in *Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Ricks, ii, p. 475.
[50] 'Hands All Round!', in *Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Ricks, ii, p. 476.

Light Brigade' (1854) which narrated the disaster that befell the famous charge of the Light Cavalry Brigade during the Battle of Balaclava on 25 October 1854.[51] Nor would they have failed to notice the anti-Russian spirit of 'To the Rev. F. D. Maurice' (1855), where Tennyson proposes to the Anglican divine that they 'discuss the Northern sin / Which made a selfish war begin'.[52] The epilogue to his lesser-known 'The Charge of the Heavy Brigade at Balaclava' (1854) offered a dialogue between 'Irene'—the Greek name for 'peace'—and the 'Poet'—Tennyson himself. 'Irene' disapproves of the poet's praising of '[t]he barbarism of wars', but the poet responds that war is an integral part of human life, and asks to 'let the patriot-soldier take / His meed of fame in verse'.[53] Another illuminating piece of evidence is Tennyson's letter to Catherine Marsh, author of the *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars*, in which he registered his admiration for 'so good and brave a Christian'.[54] Seen in this context, *Maud*'s warlike ideas corresponded to those which saturated Tennyson's poetry in previous years. Tennyson's deployment 'of an unbalanced protagonist' in *Maud* seems to have been tactical in that it enabled him to castigate society's ills whilst keeping his distance from remarks unbefitting his laureateship.[55] *Maud*'s speaker, then, articulated the poet's own long-held bellicosity.

Even though *Maud* was fully integrated into contemporary discourse, its meaning and aesthetic value were contentious. Most readers and reviewers greeted it unfavourably.[56] Matthew Arnold confided to his friend Arthur Hugh Clough that he thought the whole volume 'a lamentable production, and like so much of our literature thoroughly and intensely *provincial*, not European.'[57] Other readers were more ruthless, with one anonymous

[51] 'Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington', pp. 480-92; 'The Charge of the Light Brigade', pp. 510-13, in *Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Ricks, ii.
[52] 'To the Rev. F. D. Maurice', in *Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Ricks, ii, p. 499.
[53] Alfred Lord Tennyson, *Tiresias and other Poems* (London, 1885), pp. [164]-6. The epilogue was added in 1885: Ricks, ' "Peace and War", p. 230.
[54] Quoted in O'Rorke, *Life and Friendships of Marsh*, p. 122.
[55] Robert Bernard Martin, *Tennyson: The Unquiet Heart* (Oxford, 1980), p. 387.
[56] On the reception of the poem, see E. F. Shannon, Jr., 'The Critical Reception of Tennyson's "Maud" ', *PMLA*, 68/3 (1953), pp. 397-417.
[57] Matthew Arnold, *The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. Howard Foster Lowry (Oxford, 1932), p. 147 (Arnold's emphasis).

correspondent attacking the Poet Laureate with astonishing vehemence: 'SIR, I used to worship you, but now I hate you. I loathe and detest you. You beast! [...] Yours in aversion'.[58] The focus of many readers and reviewers fell on the poem's 'war passages', with many supposing that the speaker's opinions were those of Tennyson.[59] Assuming the same denunciatory stance towards the poem as Bright, Cobden censured 'great poets and men of genius' for casting war as 'a blessing and the mother of blessings.'[60] The Peace Society's *Herald of Peace*, on the other hand, offered an alternative interpretation. Because Tennyson put the 'despicable poison-froth as to the evils of peace and the blessings of war in the lips of this half-maniac [i.e., the speaker]', *Maud*, it reasoned, was actually a veiled attack on the 'war party'.[61]

In the radical *Westminster Review* of October 1855, George Eliot lamented Tennyson's choice of 'themes so little worthy of his greatest self.' The poem's 'ground-notes', she wrote disapprovingly, 'are nothing more than hatred of peace and the Peace Society, hatred of commerce and coal-mines [...] and faith in War as the unique social regenerator.' Moreover, she surmised that the 'broad-brim'd hawker of holy things' was a reference to Bright.[62] The same point appeared in the radical *Leader*'s review, probably written by Eliot's partner, the philosopher G. H. Lewes.[63] Eliot also expressed the hope that the poem's second edition would omit these lines. Her anonymous review clearly hit a nerve in Tennyson because he went on to dismiss the *Westminster Review*'s charges against him in his notes left to his son Hallam. Here Tennyson claimed that he 'did not know at the time that [Bright] was a Quaker', adding that '[i]t was not against Quakers but against peace-at-all-price men that the hero fulminates.'[64] It is almost implausible that Tennyson had no knowledge of the confessional identity of one of

[58] Quoted in [Hallam Tennyson], *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir* (2 vols, New York, NY, and London, 1898), i, p. 400.
[59] E.g., [David Masson], 'Maud, and other Poems', *BQR*, 44 (Oct. 1855), pp. 496-7.
[60] Morley, *Life of Richard Cobden*, ii, p. 173.
[61] [Anon.], 'Effects of the War on our Literature', *HP*, III/LXIII (Sept. 1855), p. 244.
[62] [George Eliot], 'Contemporary Literature. Belles Lettres', *WR*, 64/126 (Oct. 1855), pp. 599-601.
[63] [G. H. Lewes?], 'Maud and other Poems', *The Leader*, 6/280 (4 Aug. 1855), p. 748. The Appendix in Shannon's 'Critical Reception' identifies the authorship of several anonymous reviews.
[64] [Tennyson], *Alfred Lord Tennyson*, i, p. 403.

the most prominent radical parliamentarians, or that he had somehow never heard of the vociferous attacks sustained by Bright for his Quakerism, and how widely his co-religionists were derogated as 'peace-at-all-price men'. Tennyson's clarifications thus seem confused—not to say disingenuous.[65] Although he did not remove the words Eliot found distasteful, he did replace the offensive line 'the long, long canker of peace' with the line 'the peace, that I deem'd no peace' in the poem's new edition of 1856. Elsewhere he toned down the mockery towards the peace orator and accentuated the speaker's 'frenzied nature'.[66]

A month after Eliot's review, Goldwin Smith, the peace-minded Manchester-School disciple and soon-to-be Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, reviewed the poem for the *Saturday Review*. The poem's hero, Smith thought, cared little for 'a just and necessary war'; what he longed for was 'war in itself' to remedy Mammonism and 'the hysterical mock-disease of a heart broken and, one must add, guilty man.' Yet he curative powers of war were, according to Smith, a chimera: 'Swindling, burglary, adulteration of food, wife-beating, are as rife as ever.' Smith urged the hero to find another 'more natural' and 'poetical' way of restoring his mental health and fixing society's evils. 'To wage "war with a thousand battles and shaking a hundred thrones," in order to cure a hypochondriac and get rid of the chicory in coffee', stated Smith in acerbic tone, 'is a bathos.'[67] Tennyson somehow learned that 'Mister Golding [*sic*] Smith' was the author of this review, but was not particularly annoyed when he saw him at the Grange a few months later.[68] Belatedly joining in the chorus of critics, Gladstone discussed *Maud* in the Conservative *Quarterly Review* of October 1859. Tennyson, he argued, was 'too intimately and essentially the poet of the nineteenth century', but his *Maud* had been a failure not least because it was 'a perilous delusion to teach that war is a cure for moral evil in any other sense than as the sister tribulations are.' Contrary to what *Maud*'s 'frantic hero' believed,

[65] Schweik, ' "Peace or War" Passages', p. 458.
[66] Shatto, *Tennyson's Maud*, p. 189.
[67] [Goldwin Smith], 'The War Passages in "Maud" ', *SR*, 1/1 (3 Nov. 1855), p. 14.
[68] Letter from Tennyson to Emily Sellwood Tennyson (1Jan. 1856), in Tennyson, *Letters*, ii, p. 140.

modern war, added Gladstone, 'is the greatest feeder of that lust of gold which we are told is the essence of commerce'.[69]

Maud was not without its admirers. The *Examiner* thought it one of Tennyson's 'most perfect works'.[70] Benjamin Jowett penned an encomium to Tennyson, extolling the poem and pouring scorn over 'those mosquitos [*sic*] the critics.'[71] Tennyson's friend, the physician and scientific writer Robert James Mann, published an elaborate vindication of the poem dismissing 'those trammels of contradictory casuistry and shallow pretence', including Eliot's criticisms.[72] Though the review of the journalist Eneas Sweetland Dallas in *The Times* was more mixed, it nevertheless applauded Tennyson for 'proclaiming the truth with regard to the war—that this great war is the salvation of the country from evils far more to be dreaded than any which excite the fears of the dove-eyed peacemongers.'[73] Charles Kingsley's *Fraser's Magazine*'s review approved of the poem's 'war passages', whilst the *Athenaeum* amplified *Maud*'s message that peace has a corrupting influence, adding that war has historically been associated with intellectual and moral progress.[74]

John Ruskin, an admirer of Tennyson's work and one of his frequent correspondents, was another reader who received *Maud* favourably.[75] 'It is a compliment to myself, not to you', Ruskin wrote to the Poet Laureate on 12 November 1855, 'to say that I think with you in *all* things about the war.'[76] *Maud* had a bearing on Ruskin's thought, as suggested in his third

[69] [W. E. Gladstone], 'Tennyson's *Poems—Idylls of the King*', *QR*, 106/212 (Oct. 1859), pp. 463-4. Two decades later, Gladstone recanted his critique of the poem, confessing that he had failed to do justice 'to its rich and copious beauties of detail' and 'its great lyrical and metrical power.' The crucial point was that his first reading of the poem overlooked certain nuances in the war passages, including those 'emphatic words' in Part II: "I swear to you lawful and lawless war / Are scarcely even akin.": *Gleanings of Past Years, 1845-76* (7 vols, London, 1879), ii, note on pp. 146-7.
[70] [John Forster], 'The Literary Examiner: *Maud and other Poems*', *The Examiner*, 2479 (4 Aug. 1855), p. 484.
[71] Quoted in J. O. Hoge, Jr., 'Jowett on Tennyson's "Maud": A New Letter', *N&Q*, 24/1 (1977), p. 17.
[72] Robert James Mann, *Tennyson's "Maud" Vindicated: An Explanatory Essay* (London, [1856]), pp. 7-8, 27.
[73] [Eneas Sweetland Dallas], 'Maud and other Poems', *The Times*, 22142 (25 Aug. 1855), p. 8.
[74] [Charles Kingsley], 'Tennyson's Maud', *FM*, 52/309 (Sept. 1855), pp. 270-2; [Hepworth Dixon], '*Maud, and other Poems*', *The Athenaeum*, 1449 (4 Aug. 1855), p. 893.
[75] Valerie Purton, 'John Ruskin and Tennyson', *TRB*, 11/3 (2019), pp. 278-80.
[76] Quoted in ibid., p. 278 (Ruskin's emphasis).

volume of *Modern Painters* which he was finishing around the time of the poem's publication. The concluding part of this volume suddenly shifts focus from its discussion 'Of the teachers of Turner' to the ongoing war. Besides expressing his conviction in the justice of the war's cause, Ruskin opined that war in general 'with all its bitterness, is, in the present state of the European nations, productive of more good than evil'.[77] As Ruskin's biographer has rightly noted, his 'prose is not unlike Tennyson's contemporary verse.'[78] Nonetheless, it would be in his lecture 'War' delivered at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich in 1865 and published in *The Crown of Wild Olive*, that Ruskin would flesh out a philosophy on war and art couched in Tennysonian terms, even though he did not cite the Poet Laureate. The social theorist and anti-war writer, J. A. Hobson, would note this Tennysonian influence just over two decades later.[79] Ruskin told his audience at the Royal Military Academy that their profession and that of the artist are not separable; on the contrary, war was indispensable to art: 'There is no great art possible to a nation but that which is based on battle.' Ruskin's conviction about the indispensability of war to the arts fitted into his interest in medievalism, Pre-Raphaelite art, and Gothic architecture, the latter of which he had described in *The Stones of Venice* as 'not only the best, but the *only rational* architecture'.[80] In his lecture at the Royal Military Academy, he professed that if '[he] were asked to design a monument for a dead knight, in Westminster Abbey, with a carving of a bat at one end, and a ball at the other', his 'savage Gothic prejudice' would lead him to 'carve it with a shield at one end, and a sword at the other.' Ruskin preferred his chivalrous knight to 'slay his neighbour than cheat him.' War was not only foundational to the arts but also to 'all the high virtues and faculties of men.' It was a misconception, he averred, that peace fostered 'the virtues of civil life':

> We talk of peace and learning, and of peace and plenty, and of peace and civilisation; but I found that those were not the words which the Muse of

[77] John Ruskin, *Modern Painters. Volume III* (London, 1856), p. 334.
[78] T. Hilton, *John Ruskin* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2002), p. 214.
[79] J. A. Hobson, *John Ruskin Social Reformer* (London, 1898), p. 323.
[80] John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice* (3 vols, London, 1851-3), ii (1853), p. 178 (Ruskin's emphasis).

> History coupled together: that, on her lips, the words were—peace, and sensuality—peace, and selfishness—peace, and death. I found, in brief, that all great nations learned their truth of word, and strength of thought, in war; that they were nourished in war, and wasted by peace; taught by war, and deceived by peace; trained by war, and betrayed by peace;—in a word, that they were born in war, and expired in peace.[81]

Ruskin's diatribe against peace is strongly evocative of *Maud*'s speaker's vituperative outbursts against the vices and social ills fostered in peacetime, and of his impulsive quest to deploy war's remedial qualities to cleanse a degenerate world. Ruskin specified that when he talked about war, he referred to that 'creative, or foundational, war' defined by discipline, the instincts of self-defence, and the 'natural ambition' to conquer evil. In this regard, Ruskin trod the path paved by *Maud*'s speaker who discovered his and society's salvation in a war 'in defence of the right'.[82]

Maud's role as a medium of cultural criticism was shared by various contemporaneous poems such as 'The Muster of the Guards' by Sir Franklin Lushington, a friend of Tennyson and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. The poem first appeared in the 1854 collection *Points of War*, and was republished in his brother's 1855 *La Nation Boutiquière and other Poems Chiefly Political*.[83] The philippic of 'The Muster of the Guards' against the peace movement, non-resistance, and Mammonism is of equal if not of higher intensity than *Maud*'s:

> Peace, peace, peace, with the vain and silly song,
> That we do no sin ourselves, if we wink at others' wrong;
> That to turn the second che[e]k is *the* lesson of the Cross,
> To be proved by calculation of the profit and the loss:
> Go home, you idle teachers! You miserable crea-
> tures!—
> The cannons are God's preachers, when the time is ripe for War.

[81] Idem, 'War', in his *The Crown of Wild Olive* (London, [1904]), pp. 116, 123-4, 133-4.
[82] Winston Collins, ' "Maud": Tennyson's Point of War', *TRB*, 2/3 (1974), p. 127.
[83] Ibid., pp. 126-7.

The poem assumes that war has a moral grandeur which can rid the world of impurities multiplied in peacetime:

> Peace is no peace, if it lets the ill grow stronger [...]
> God, defend the right, and those that dare to claim
> it!
> God, cleanse the earth from the many wrongs that
> shame it![84]

The works of a host of other poets brimmed with patriotic and heroic themes couched in the language of just war.[85] Although the poetic medium offered an outlet for the expression of patriotic sentiments, it also became a means for the peace movement to attack the 'war party'. Poems published in the Peace Society's *Herald* mocked popular religious and moralistic motifs feeding the vindication of the Crimean War:

> *We* fought, Lord, only for the right,
> And so it *must* seem in thy sight;
> In all our wars we've had this trust,
> For England's cause is always just [...]
>
> Bad passions ne'er our councils move,
> As India, China, Burmah, prove;
> For when we waste with fire and sword,
> 'Tis always for thy glory, Lord [.][86]

The *Herald* and the Quaker *British Friend* also printed poems by the pacifist Baptist pastor William Stokes, a Peace Society travelling agent. In one of his poems of 1855 which was later republished in his collection *The Olive-Branch*, Stokes lamented how most poets resorted to martial themes and desecrated the lyre. 'Was there no tender, gentler theme', he asks, 'To guide the sweet poetic stream'? Were there no other men deserving praise? 'No Cobden,—fearless, honest, true, / No Bright,—who boldly dare pursue / Stern duty's path, / when senates proud, / Pander to passion and the crowd'? 'Woe to the land', Stokes warns, 'whene'er the men, / Who

[84] Franklin Lushington, 'Points of War', in Henry Lushington, *La Nation Boutiquière and other Poems Chiefly Political. Points of War by Franklin Lushington* (Cambridge, 1855), pp. 70-1.
[85] E.g., Martin F. Tupper, *Lyrics of the Heart and Mind* (London, 1855); Gerald Massey, *War Waits*, 2nd edn (London, 1855); W. C. Bennett, *War Songs* (London, 1855).
[86] [Anon.], 'A Hymn of Thanksgiving for Victory', *HP*, III/LIII (Nov. 1854), p. 132.

strike the lyre or wield the pen, / Descend to feed and fan the flame, / That blazes with creation's shame'. [87]

Poetry continued to function as a medium of cultural criticism and a forum for negotiating ideas of war and peace after the Treaty of Paris. *The Age; a Colloquial Satire* published in 1858 by Philip James Bailey, a leading figure of 'Spasmodic school' whose fiery imagination Elizabeth Barrett Browning held in high esteem, is an illuminating yet now forgotten example.[88] The genre of this lengthy poem is the dialogue. The main speakers are a critic, a young author, and their mutual friend, who deliberate over various topics including national identity, empire, race, and democracy, as well as major moments in recent British history: invasion scares, the 'hungry forties', the 1848 revolutions, Chartism, the 'Papal Aggression', and the Great Exhibition. The sprawling historical tapestry Bailey weaves abounds with motifs and ideas debated during the Crimean War. At one point the friend denounces the popular cultural synthesis of Christianity and war, and exposes the incongruity of the paradigm of the 'Christian soldier':

> Of all conceits mis-grafted on God's Word,
> A christian soldier seems the most absurd.
> That Word commands us so to act in all things,
> As not to hurt another e'en in small things.
> [...]
> A christian soldier's duty is to slay,
> Wound, harass, slaughter, hack in every way
> These men whose souls he prays for night and day;
> With what consistency let prelates say.

Turning to the recent conflict with Russia, the three speakers reflect on religion, morality, and war. The friend casts war as 'wholesale murder legalized', and calls the reconciliation of war and Christianity as '[a] mere chimaera' formed by an 'ill-trained mind.' The question of the

[87] William Stokes, *The Olive-Branch; or, Poems on Peace, Liberty, Friendship, &c*, 2nd edn (Manchester, 1863), pp. 49-50.
[88] 'Bailey, Philip James', in Birch, *Oxford Companion to English Literature* [https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2460/view/10.1093/acref/9780192806871.001.0001/acref-9780192806871-e-479] (3 Mar. 2022). On the 'Spasmodic school', see p. 247, n. 35 in this Chapter.

defensiveness and righteousness of war then leads the speakers to a dialectic exchange of opinions:

> AUTHOR
> Defensive war, at least, is justified.
>
> CRITIC
> But all war is defensive on one side.
>
> FRIEND
> It matters less who first begins a quarrel,
> Than who for right and good contends, who for ill.[89]

The conversation between the speakers mirrored those debates Victorians participated in during the Crimean War. The poem's genre of dialogue should be seen as part of a wider landscape of debating which defined the Crimean crucible. As we will now see, the ideas and argumentative and cultural motifs found in poetry also suffused the war's visual documentation.

VISUAL CULTURE

As early as April 1853, *Punch* alerted its readers that the Eastern Question had flared up once again. Its cartoon 'Turkey in danger', which depicts a bear squeezing the life out of a turkey, captured the worsening situation in the East between Russia and the Ottoman Empire (Fig. 6.2). The bear, which evoked ideas of bulkiness and aggressiveness, was a standard symbol of Russia in British visual culture since the early eighteenth century.[90] The image of the bear was ubiquitous during the Crimean War, even appearing in popular ballads typically consumed by the working classes.[91] People from both the lower and middle classes thus operated within a common cultural framework. As the year went by, *Punch*'s cartoons provided visual commentary to the Eastern Question and European responses to it. The status of Turkey as 'the

[89] Philip James Bailey, *The Age; a Colloquial Satire* (London, 1858), pp. 1-37.
[90] M. Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 39-42.
[91] [Anon.], *'Tis time we hunt the Bear* (London: [1854]) [https://digital.nls.uk/74892157] (10 Mar. 2022).



Fig. 6.2. 'Turkey in Danger', *Punch*, XXIV (9 Apr. 1853), p. [145].

sick man of Europe' was the subject of a cartoon of 17 September 1853 by John Leech showing John Bull, the archetypal representative of British national character, and a Frenchman—possibly Napoleon III—contemplating the condition of the expiring patient (Fig. 6.3).[92] Less

[92] On John Bull, see Miles Taylor, 'John Bull and the Iconography of Public Opinion in England, 1712-1929', *P&P*, 134 (1992), pp. [93]-128.

than a month later, another cartoon by Leech depicted Anglo-French diplomatic efforts to diffuse the tension between the two sovereigns (Fig. 6.4). Although figures 6.3 and 6.4 portray Turkey as a weak and child-like figure respectively, this was not the norm: some alternative depictions would treat the Turks as equals to their Western allies. With Russia and Turkey at war, *Punch* urged caution to 'imperial birds of prey' in a cartoon showing John Bull and another Frenchman nailing on the wall the Russian double-headed eagle—another popular symbol of Russia—in the hope it would stop menacing the turkeys (Fig. 6.5).



Fig. 6.3. [John Leech] 'A Consultation about the State of Turkey', *Punch*, XXV (17 Sept. 1853), p. [119].



Fig. 6.4. [John Leech] 'A Terrible Turk', *Punch*, XXV/640 (15 Oct. 1853), p. [159].



Fig. 6.5. [John Leech] 'A Caution to Imperial Birds of Prey', *Punch*, XXV/643 (5 Nov. 1853), p. [189].

Likenesses of the czar also saturated *Punch*. Two cartoons which appeared between January and March 1854 critiqued the czar's invocation of the Orthodox faith to justify his war against Turkey. In John Leech's 'Te Deum!' (Fig. 6.6), the czar is presented as the devil incarnate, and in 'Saint Nicholas of Russia' (Fig. 6.7) as a seemingly saintly figure sitting on cannon balls. A half-cut of 22 April 1854 portrayed the Russian threat in the form of a giant figure of the czar



Fig. 6.6. [John Leech], 'Te Deum!', *Punch*, XXVI/655 (28 Jan. 1854), p. [35].



Fig. 6.7. ‘Saint Nicholas of Russia’, *Punch*, XXVI/662 (18 Mar. 1854), p. [111].



Fig. 6.8. ‘ “A little gale will soon disperse that cloud, / And blow it to the source from whence it came.”—*Shakspere* [sic]’, *Punch*, XXVI/667 (22 Apr. 1854), p. 170.

overshadowing the European continent (Fig. 6.8). The quotation of the caption was taken from Shakespeare’s *Henry VI, Part 3*. A literary figure Victorians would have been familiar with, the Bard’s words struck a note of optimism in anticipating that ‘[a] little gale will soon disperse that cloud, / And blow it to the source from whence it came.’

Punch was quick to adopt the language and idea of just war. John Leech’s cartoon ‘ “God defend the right” ’ of 4 March 1854, echoed Lord John Russell’s lofty phrase voiced in parliament during the previous month. The cartoon imagines the Whig politician in a medieval jousting tournament throwing down his gauntlet against the czar (Fig. 6.9). Although the intent was humorous, the chivalric scenery combined with the religious and moralistic motifs reflected the tone of the national press. A *Morning Post* article of 28 March, the day of Britain’s

declaration of war, for example, announced that 'the age of chivalry has not yet past [*sic*] away', and that Britons were ready 'to fight in a cause which they believe to be sacred, as they know it is just.'[93] A few months later, the front-page article of the *Illustrated London News* stated that the war showed to the world that Britons were 'not a people of low-minded shopkeepers, having no thought except of the till,—but a people in whom the heroic virtues still survive'.[94] A *Punch* poem unpacking the themes of this cartoon echoed the articles of the *Morning Post* and the *Illustrated London News*. In this war 'for truth and right', declared the poem, Englishmen proved '[t]hat leave to spin and gold to win' was not their 'sole prayer', and that peace and the 'love of gain, and fear of pain' had not destroyed their 'manhood' and 'valour'.[95]



Fig. 6.9. [John Leech], ' "God Defend the Right" ', *Punch*, XXVI/660 (4 Mar. 1854), p. [87].

[93] [Anon.], 'War with Russia', *MP*, 25034 (28 Mar. 1854), p. 4.
[94] [Anon.], 'The Meeting of Parliament', *ILN*, XXV/715 (2 Dec. 1854), p. 550.
[95] [Anon.], ' "God Defend the Right!" ', *Punch*, XXVI/660 (4 Mar. 1854), p. 85.

That Britain was fighting for 'Right against Wrong' was the subject of one cartoon which appeared on 8 April 1854 (Fig. 6.11). This cartoon depicts two national symbols, the English lion and Britannia, the latter bearing the sword of justice and the standard. Both cast a reproachful glance at the scene in the conjoined cartoon by Leech which shows the czar sliding down a mountainous slope in the toboggan of 'Despotism' (Fig. 6.10). The phrase 'Montagne Russe' was a pun, meaning the Russian-style roller coaster, the mountain the czar was speedily descending from, and perhaps the czar himself who was impressively tall. After the first day of humiliation, *Punch*'s cartoon 'England's war vigil' and its accompanying poem imagined



Fig. 6.10. [John Leech], 'The "Montagne Russe."—A Very Dangerous Game', *Punch*, XXVI/665 (8 Apr. 1854), p. [142].



Fig. 6.11. ' "Right against Wrong.", *Punch*, XXVI/665 (8 Apr. 1854), p. [143].

England/Britannia as a female chivalrous knight in a neo-medievalist, neo-gothic church—an all-too-familiar Victorian setting—kneeling before the altar prior to going ‘to battle in a godly cause’ (Fig. 6.12). On this day of national worship, she humiliates herself and asks God to bless her sword, assured that ‘Heaven will hear her prayer and aid her hand, / For it is lifted to defend



Fig. 6.12. ‘England’s War Vigil’, *Punch*, XXVI/669 (6 May. 1854), p. [185].

the weak; / To put down force and falsehood from command'.[96] This was the reason behind the proclamation of the day of humiliation, as most British churches understood it.[97] Her kneeling reflected that of Victorians in places of worship, who pleaded pardon for their sins whilst seeking God's blessing on their arms.

Punch's cartoons abounded in patriotic themes. In February 1854, Leech used gendered imagery to depict British Guardsmen as gentlemen behaving well to ladies in peacetime, and as figures of conspicuous martial valour and masculinity in wartime (Fig. 6.13). In October *Punch* celebrated the allied victory against the Russians at Alma (20 September) with two conjoined cartoons, one showing the triumphant allies and the other the collapse of the paradigm of the despotic czar having 'irresistible power' and 'unlimited means' (Figs. 6.14 and 6.15). However, the mismanagement of the war, logistical failures, and the privations suffered by servicemen reported by correspondents in the East soon became subjects of intense criticism. John Leech's cartoon of 17 February 1855 illustrated two soldiers battered by the harsh Crimean winter, and commenting sarcastically on their lack of coats (Fig. 6.16). The dreadful situation in the East reinforced *Punch*'s polemic against Lord Aberdeen. Before the outbreak of the war, *Punch* had denounced the prime minister's anti-war stance, purported Russian sympathies, and lack of patriotism. In January 1855 it commented on the change in leadership using gender stereotypes. In one cartoon Mr Punch is 'Seeing the old year out'—represented by an enfeebled, disheartened, and feminized Lord Aberdeen—whilst greeting 'the new year in'—represented by a masculine Lord Palmerston appearing determined to set things in order (Fig. 6.17). At this time *Punch* was enamoured with the idea of Palmerstonian vitality in foreign policy, something made clear in Leech's cartoon 'Now for it!' showing sturdy 'Pam,

[96] [Anon.], 'England's War Vigil', *Punch*, XXVI/669 (6 May 1854), p. 184.
[97] See Chapter One.

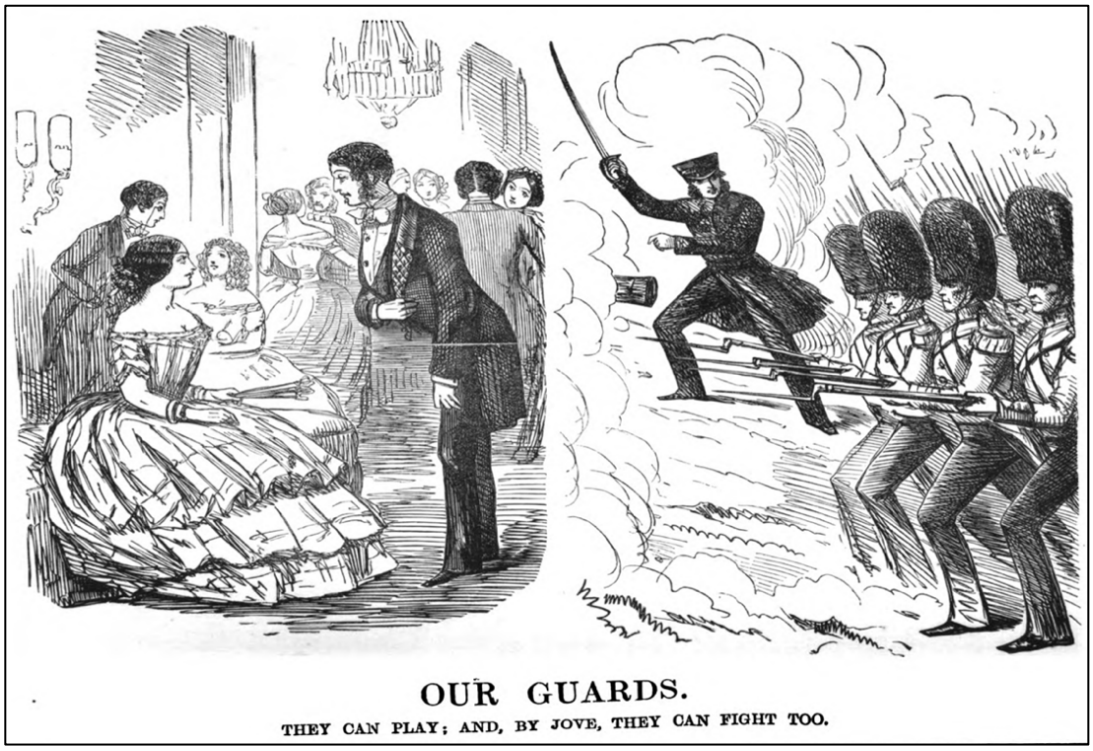


Fig. 6.13. [John Leech], 'Our Guards', *Punch*, XXVI/659 (25 Feb. 1854), p. [77].



Figs. 6.14. 'Victory of the Alma', *Punch*, XXVII/692 (14 Oct. 1854), p. [148].



Figs. 6.15. [John Leech], 'Bursting of the Russian Bubble', *Punch*, XXVII/692 (14 Oct. 1854), p. [149].



Fig. 6.16. [John Leech], ‘ “Well, Jack! Here’s good news from home. We’re to have a medal.” “That’s very kind. Maybe one of these days we’ll have a coat to stick it on?” ’, *Punch*, XXVIII/710 (17 Feb. 1855), p. 64.

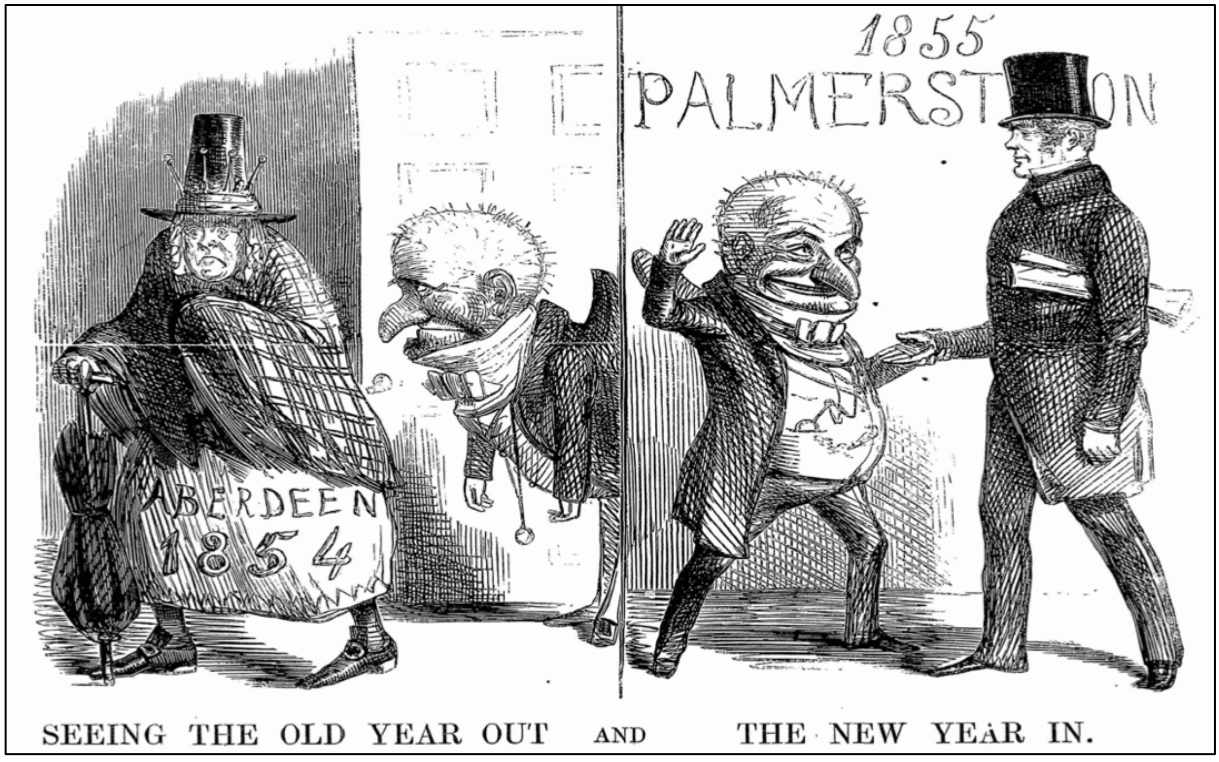


Fig. 6.17. [John Leech], ‘Seeing the Old Year out and the New Year in’, *Punch*, XXVIII/704 (6 Jan. 1855), p. [5].

the Downing Street Pet' ready to fight the 'Russian Spider' (Fig. 6.18).[98] The popular saying "We turned out the Quaker, and put in the pugilist" recorded years later by the constitutionalist Walter Bagehot, encapsulated *Punch*'s attitude towards the two premiers during this time.[99]

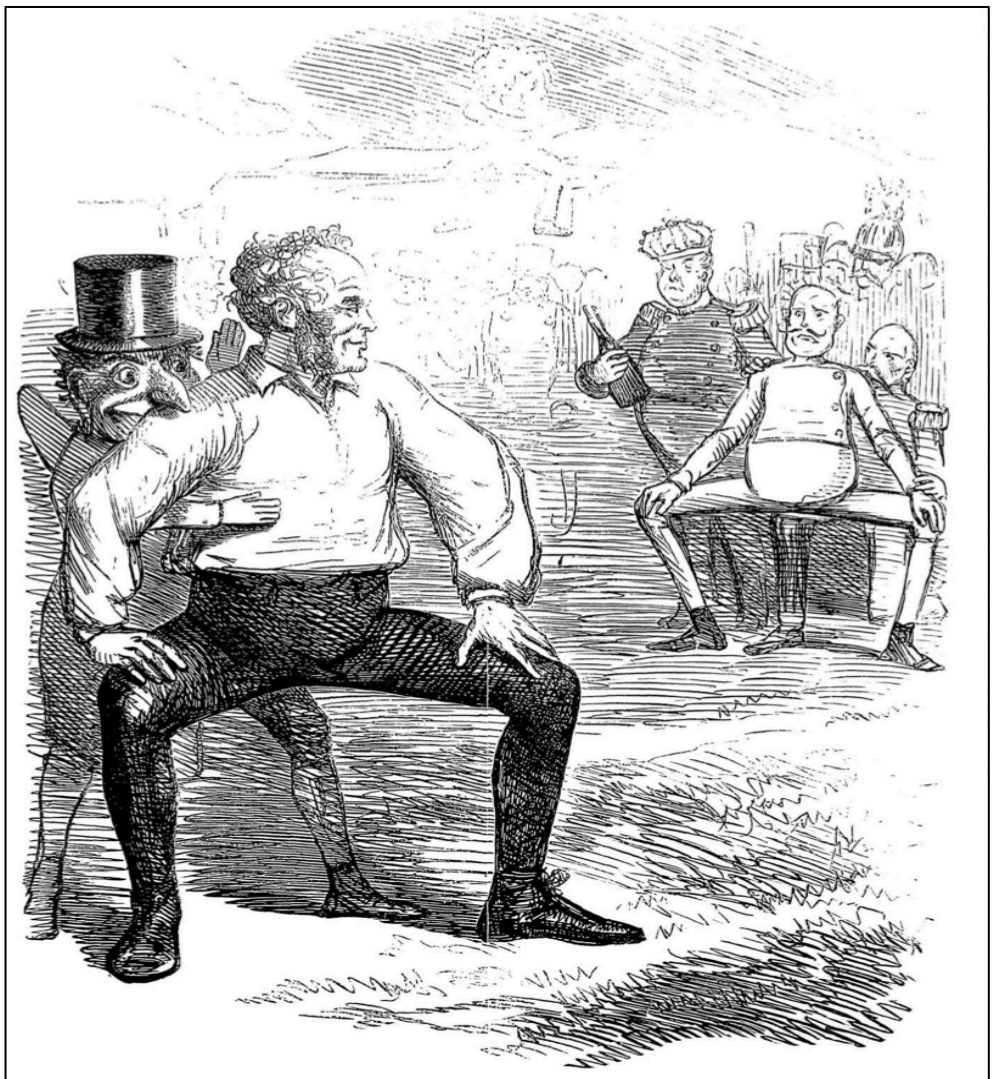


Fig. 6.18. [John Leech], 'Now for it!', *Punch*, XXVIII/710 (17 Feb. 1855), p. [65].

[98] Victorians associated 'spideriness' with weak and effeminate men: J. M. R. Bennett, 'The British Luther Commemoration of 1883-1884 in European Context', *HJ*, 58/2 (2015), [doi: 10.1017/S0018246X14000235], p. 556.
[99] Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (London, 1867), p. 33.

Punch's most vicious attacks were directed against the peace movement. Cobden and Bright were some of its most frequent targets. The two preachers of free trade and peace occasionally featured in its cartoons since 1846 during their triumph in the abolition of the Corn Laws.[100] No wonder why Bright, whom *Punch* misleadingly illustrated wearing Quaker garb, described the periodical in 1855 as 'coarse & vulgar'.[101] *Punch*'s onslaught against the peace movement had already begun a year before the war's outbreak. Following the Manchester Peace Conference of January 1853 attended by Cobden and Bright, *Punch* printed a full-cut by Leech entitled 'No Danger!' and subtitled 'Very Disrespectfully Dedicated to the Peace Society'. This depicts a donkey in front of a cannon about to be fired, and mouthing the words 'There's no danger' (Fig. 6.19). The word 'twaddle' next to the donkey was *Punch*'s response to the peace

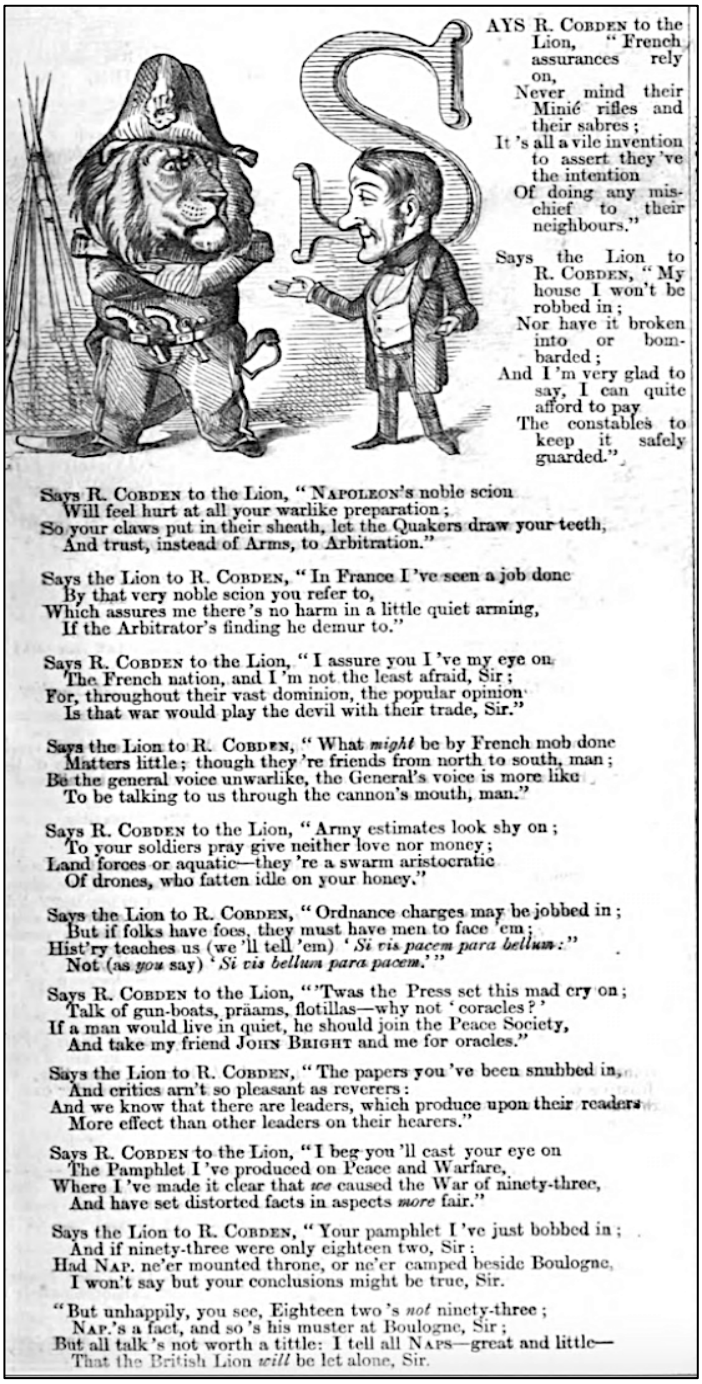


Fig. 6.19. [John Leech], 'No Danger! (Very Disrespectfully Dedicated to the Peace Society.)', *Punch*, XXIV (12 Feb. 1853), p. [65].

[100] Punch, *The Rt. Hon. John Bright M.P. Cartoons from the Collection of 'Mr. Punch'* (London, 1878), No. 1.
[101] London, BL, Bright Papers. Add MS 62079: Letter from John Bright to William Hargreaves (1 Jan. 1855), fos. 12r-13v.

movement's principles. The donkey was one of the stock animals *Punch* used to represent peace advocates such as Cobden who hoped for a reduction of military expenditure, and who sought to dispel his countrymen's fears that Napoleon III was planning to invade Britain.

A week later *Punch* printed a small cartoon showing the English lion and Cobden conversing with each other. The cartoon was the visual complement of a poem recording this fantastical exchange (Fig. 6.20). To the lion's objection at having national defences reduced in the face of



AYS R. COBDEN to the Lion, "French assurances rely on,
Never mind their Minié rifles and their sabres;
It 's all a vile invention to assert they 've the intention
Of doing any mischief to their neighbours."

Says the Lion to R. COBDEN, "My house I won't be robbed in;
Nor have it broken into or bombarded;
And I 'm very glad to say, I can quite afford to pay
The constables to keep it safely guarded."

Says R. COBDEN to the Lion, "NAPOLEON'S noble scion
Will feel hurt at all your warlike preparation;
So your claws put in their sheath, let the Quakers draw your teeth,
And trust, instead of Arms, to Arbitration."

Says the Lion to R. COBDEN, "In France I 've seen a job done
By that very noble scion you refer to,
Which assures me there 's no harm in a little quiet arming,
If the Arbitrator's finding he demur to."

Says R. COBDEN to the Lion, "I assure you I 've my eye on
The French nation, and I 'm not the least afraid, Sir;
For, throughout their vast dominion, the popular opinion
Is that war would play the devil with their trade, Sir."

Says the Lion to R. COBDEN, "What *might* be by French mob done
Matters little; though they 're friends from north to south, man;
Be the general voice unwarlike, the General's voice is more like
To be talking to us through the cannon's mouth, man."

Says R. COBDEN to the Lion, "Army estimates look shy on;
To your soldiers pray give neither love nor money;
Land forces or aquatic—they 're a swarm aristocratic
Of drones, who fatten idle on your honey."

Says the Lion to R. COBDEN, "Ordnance charges may be jobbed in;
But if folks have foes, they must have men to face 'em;
Hist'ry teaches us (we 'll tell 'em) '*Si vis pacem para bellum:*"
Not (as *you* say) '*Si vis bellum para pacem.*'"

Says R. COBDEN to the Lion, "'Twas the Press set this mad cry on;
Talk of gun-boats, prâams, flotillas—why not 'coracles?'
If a man would live in quiet, he should join the Peace Society,
And take my friend JOHN BRIGHT and me for oracles."

Says the Lion to R. COBDEN, "The papers you 've been snubbed in,
And critics arn't so pleasant as reverers:
And we know that there are leaders, which produce upon their readers
More effect than other leaders on their hearers."

Says R. COBDEN to the Lion, "I beg you 'll cast your eye on
The Pamphlet I 've produced on Peace and Warfare,
Where I 've made it clear that *we* caused the War of ninety-three,
And have set distorted facts in aspects *more* fair."

Says the Lion to R. COBDEN, "Your pamphlet I 've just bobbed in;
And if ninety-three were only eighteen two, Sir:
Had NAP. ne'er mounted throne, or ne'er camped beside Boulogne,
I won't say but your conclusions might be true, Sir.

"But unhappily, you see, Eighteen two 's *not* ninety-three;
NAP.'s a fact, and so 's his muster at Boulogne, Sir;
But all talk 's not worth a tittle: I tell all NAPS—great and little—
That the British Lion *will* be let alone, Sir.

Fig. 6.20. 'Peace and War. (Being a Duet Between Richard Cobden and the British Lion.)', *Punch*, XXIV (19 Feb. 1853), p. 79.

the Napoleonic threat, Cobden responded: "NAPOLEON'S noble scion / Will feel hurt at your warlike preparation; / So your claws put in their sheath, let the Quakers draw your teeth, / And trust, instead of Arms, to Arbitration." Shortly after, *Punch* printed another of Leech's full-cuts showing a group of patriotic women trying to force an anthropomorphic donkey with a Quaker broad-brimmed hat campaigning for the reduction of the army and the navy, to wear a 'strait waistcoat' (Fig. 6.21). For *Punch*, the clamouring peace men deserved to be locked up in mental asylums.



STRAIT WAISTCOAT.

WORKED BY THE WOMEN OF ENGLAND FOR THE OPPONENTS OF NATIONAL DEFENCES.

Fig. 6.21. [John Leech], 'Strait Waistcoat', *Punch*, XXIV (26 Feb. 1853), p. [85].

The reopening of the Eastern Question coincided with the Edinburgh Peace Conference. This offered *Punch* a perfect opportunity to renew its assault. Its cartoon of 29 October 1853 subtitled with John Bright's statement from his Edinburgh speech, 'I wish the British lion were dead outright', showed how the Peace Society would supposedly 'improve' the Royal Arms

(Fig. 6.22). A poem under a similar title illuminated the meaning of the cartoon. On the crest, a broad-brimmed hat replaces the lion statant guardant. The dexter supporter is no longer the English lion, and the sinister supporter no longer the Scottish unicorn, but a spaniel and a hare respectively—two gendered symbols associated with effeminacy and weakness. In the first and fourth quarters of the shield, the three English lions are replaced by three hares '*boltant*'; in the second, 'the *counterflowerd* [...] Scotch lion *rampant*' by '[a]n ass *prancant*'; and in the third, the Irish harp by a ledger, the Manchester School's Mammonite bible guiding its un-English idea of retrenchment as a goal in foreign policy. The motto '*Dieu et mon Droit*' also undergoes 'improvement'. The new motto replaces '*Dieu*' for '£. s. d.', thus literally replacing God with Mammon, and the word '*mon*' for the word '*non*'.[102]



Fig. 6.22. 'The Royal Arms as Improved by the Peace Society', *Punch*, XXIV (29 Oct. 1853), p. [179].

[102] [Anon.], 'The Arms of England, as Improved by the Peace Society', *Punch*, XXIV (29 Oct. 1853), p. 178.

Shortly after Britain's declaration of war, a cartoon depicted Cobden and Bright—the latter in Quaker garb—trying to appease an ill-tempered, pot-bellied, and grotesque-looking child-like czar by handing him a 'little Turk to pull to pieces' (Fig. 6.23). *Punch* thus echoed Cobden's and Bright's critics who saw them as apologists of Russia. In the same issue, it printed a poem in the form of an exchange between 'the voice of England's choice' and the Manchester MP. To Bright's supposed obsession with commercialism and non-resistance, 'the



Fig. 6.23. 'Pet of the Manchester School', *Punch*, XXVI/666 (15 Apr. 1854), p. [155].

voice' responded that '[t]here are worse things far than blood or war, / Higher things than cotton-spinning; / Such as Right and Truth [...] / There's a duty to do, and we'll carry it through.'[103] Those 'higher things' pursued by the nation in the war stood in contrast to the money-grubbing, effeminate, and unpatriotic Manchester-School men. To a significant extent, *Punch*'s visual and textual critiques of the peace movement corresponded to the polemical language of *Maud*'s speaker. A small cartoon a few days later showed the English lion mocking Bright for trying to put it in chains (Figs. 6.24). Following some allied victories in the war, Mr Punch triumphantly announced the defeat of the Russians abroad, but also the defeat of 'the Russians at home': Cobden and Bright (Fig. 6.25).



Fig. 6.24. 'A Bright Idea', *Punch*, XXVI/667 (22 Apr. 1854), p. 162.

[103] [Anon.], 'The Right Side of the Question, and the "Bright" Side of the Question', *Punch*, XXVI/666 (15 Apr. 1854), p. 153



Fig. 6.25. 'Defeat of the Russians at Home and Abroad', *Punch*, XXVIII/726 (9 June 1855), p. [227].

Throughout the war, *Punch* kept an eye on developments in the East. Some of Leech's cartoons trivialized the damage suffered by Sebastopol (Fig. 6.26). Such a treatment of the war's destructiveness was, however, strikingly different to how other visual media brought it home to an unsuspecting civilian audience. As we have seen, *Punch*'s visual vocabulary had a satirical and often polemical bent. Other contemporary visual repertoires such as wood engravings based on sketches produced by 'special artists' commissioned for this purpose, before being sent to Britain to be engraved and published in the illustrated press, as well as photographs, had a more serious intent. These new forms of visual media contoured Victorians'

experience of the war.[104] Though pictorial newspapers such as the popular *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper* and the *Illustrated London News*, as well as the lesser-known *Picture Times* and *Illustrated Times*, assumed a pro-war stance, they did not conceal the hideous face of the war from their readers. On the contrary, they inundated them with harrowing scenes of carnage, often interspersed with the mangled bodies of fallen soldiers (Figs. 6.27-6.30).



Fig. 6.26. [John Leech], 'Evening Party at Sebastopol', *Punch*, XXVII/695 (4 Nov. 1854), p. 180.

[104] Sean Willcock, *Victorian Visions of War & Peace: Aesthetics, Sovereignty & Violence in the British Empire, c. 1851-1900* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2021), pp. 26-35.



Fig. 6.27. ‘Part of the Interior of the Mamelon’, *ILN*, 27/751 (7 July 1855), p. 9.



Fig. 6.28. ‘Fall of Sebastopol—Interior of the Great Redan the Day after the Assault’, *PT* (6 Oct. 1855), p. 4.

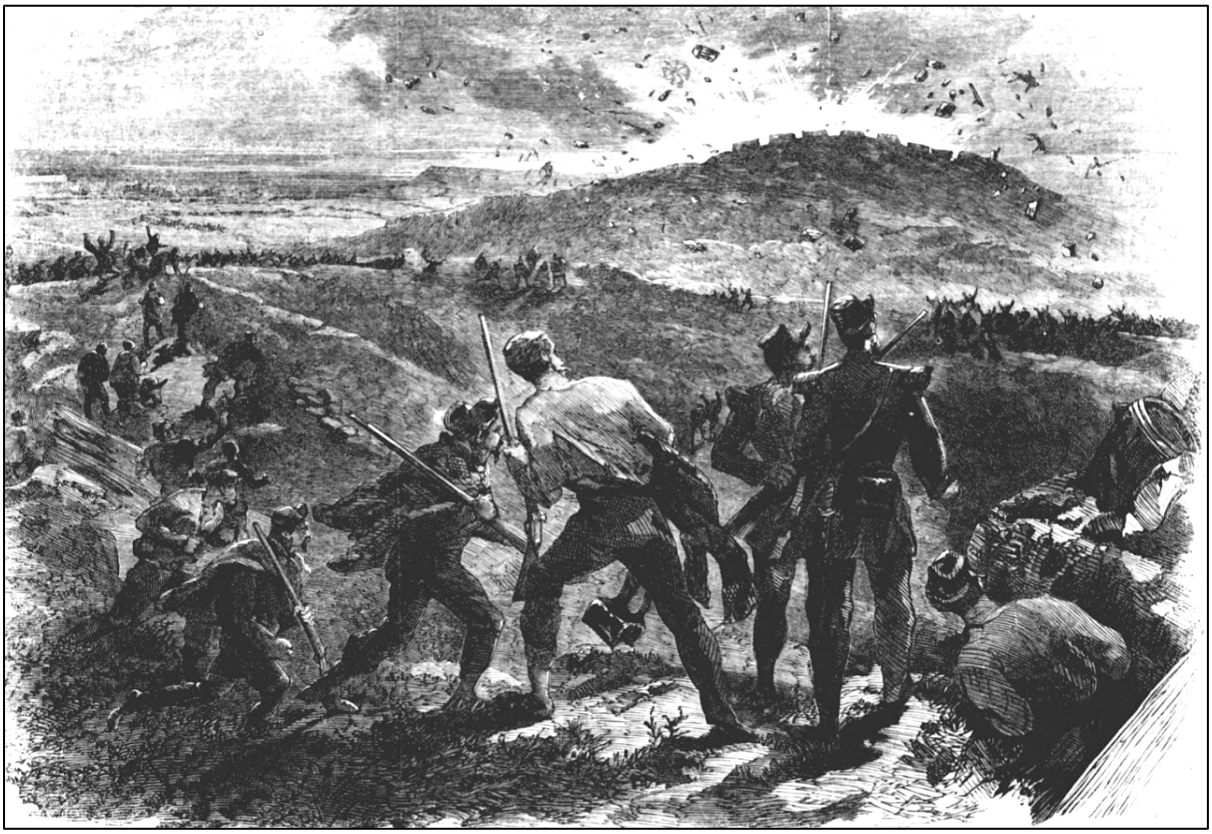


Fig. 6.29. ‘Explosion of the French Magazine in the Mamelon’, *IT*, XVI (22 Sept. 1855), p. [249].



Fig. 6.30. ‘Sebastopol Fired by the Russians, on the Taking of the Malakoff by the Allied Forces’, *CIFP*, II/101 (1 Dec. 1855), p. 381.

Photography shed a more distressing light on war's destructiveness. The Crimean War was the first conflict to receive extensive pictorial coverage through the medium of photography. Renowned photographers such as Roger Fenton travelled to the East to cover the war. James Robertson, chief engraver to Constantinople's Imperial Mint, also captured the campaign through his photographic lens, although his brilliant photographs of Constantinople's architecture had already established his name as a photographer in 1853.[105] Between September 1855 and June 1856, Robertson took one hundred and fifty photographs in collaboration with his assistant and brother-in-law, Felice Beato, covering the aftermath of the siege of Sebastopol.[106] In common with Fenton's photographs, Robertson's were exhibited in Britain at a late stage in the war (Fig. 6.31).[107]


EXHIBITION OF NEW PHOTOGRAPHIC PICTURES,
TAKEN IN THE CRIMEA
AFTER THE FALL OF SEBASTOPOL,
Including Views of the Interior, By JAMES ROBERTSON,
Chief Engraver to the Imperial Mint, Constantinople;]
At Mr. KILBURN'S, PHOTOGRAPHER to the QUEEN,
222, REGENT STREET.
Open from 10 till 5 daily. Admittance (with Catalogue) 1s.

Fig. 6.31. 'Advertisement [Exhibition of James Robertson's Photographs]', *AJA*, 211 (Jan. 1856), p. [i].

The responses that these exhibitions elicited sometimes focused on the realism and vividness of the photographic medium. 'For the first time since men fought', pronounced the *Athenaeum*,

[105] James Robertson, *Photographic Views of Constantinople* (London, 1853), [https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:482447127$5i] (3 Feb. 2022).
[106] Bahattin Öztuncay, *James Robertson: Pioneer of Photography in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul, 1992), pp. 24-5.
[107] [Anon.], *Exhibition of the Photographic Pictures taken in the Crimea, by Roger Fenton, Esq.* (Manchester, 1856) [https://www.rct.uk/collection/1083377-b] (3 Feb. 2022)

> we shall have history illustrated by the certainty of a reporter who never blunders, never errs. Men will fall before the battle scythe of war, but not before this infallible sketcher has caught their lineaments, and given them an anonymous immortality more lasting perhaps than "storied urn or animated bust."[108]

Unlike Fenton who was more interested in presenting British camp life in a rather sanitized version given his capacity as 'the 'semiofficial representative of the queen and the government', Robertson focused on the devastation of war.[109] In some of his photographs, emptiness and desolation are juxtaposed with the fullness of scattered fragments. Patriotic and heroic themes are notably absent; what takes centre stage instead, is the devastation of the siege and the visible scars on the Sebastopol's neoclassical buildings—all bearing testimony to the violence of war (Figs. 6.32-6.34). '[N]othing can convey an idea', wrote a reviewer of the exhibition of Robertson's photographs in the *Lady's Newspaper* of 12 January 1856, 'approaching in adequacy to the reality, of the fearful nature of the "feu d'enfer," or of the struggle at the storming; like these terribly accurate delineations of what we may call the War Ruins.'[110] Sebastopol seemed to the *Art-Journal Advertiser*'s reviewer as if 'it were desolated by a succession of earthquakes—here and there a building more or less entire in its outline, affording a sad contrast with the universal ruin amid which it stands.'[111] Photography brought war before the eyes of Victorians in all its fearful reality.

The revelation of the brutal realities of war not only sharpened an already pointed debate between the peace movement and its critics, but also led some to re-evaluate their own assumptions about war and its morality, as seen earlier in the thesis.[112] Simultaneously, it provoked a serious reflection on the place of war in modern society. The full-page illustration of 5 April 1856 of the *Illustrated London News* entitled 'Peace and War' was suffused by a

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[108] [Anon.], 'Photographs from the Crimea', *The Athenaeum*, 1457 (29 Sept. 1855), p. 1117.
[109] Richard Pare, 'Roger Fenton: The Artist's Eye', in G. Baldwin et al., *All the Mighty World: The Photographs of Roger Fenton, 1852-1860* (New Haven, CT, and London, 2004), p. 223.
[110] [Anon.], 'Exhibitions: Mr. Kilburn's Exhibitions of Photographs', *LN*, 472 (12 Jan. 1856), p. 22.
[111] [Anon.], 'Photographic Pictures of Sebastopol', *AJA*, 212 (Feb. 1856), p. 62.
[112] See Chapter Two, pp. 86-7; Chapter Three, pp. 143-4; Chapter Four, pp. 181-2.

powerful sense of pathos, contrasting the states of peace and war by deploying the gendered concept of motherhood as a framing device, whilst quoting Luke 2:14 ('Peace on earth', 'Good



Fig. 6.32. James Robertson, 'Interior of the White Buildings [of Sevastopol] 1855-1856'. Salted paper print. 23.4 x 28.5 cm. RCIN 2500661. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.



Fig. 6.33. James Robertson, 'Theatre, Sevastopol 1855-1856'. Salted paper print. 22.1 x 29.0 cm. RCIN 2500666. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.



Fig. 6.34. James Robertson, 'The Library [of Sevastopol] 1855-1856'. Salted paper print. 24.9 x 28.0 cm. RCIN 2500664. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.

will towards men') and Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* ('Cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war') (Fig. 6.35).

Less than a year earlier, *Cassell's* printed two full-page illustrations, one of which depicted the horrors of war, and the other the manifold blessings of peace in an idyllic, pastoral setting (Figs. 6.36 and 6.37). The article 'War!' which accompanied the first illustration encapsulated

the ambivalence felt by many. The war against Russia was one 'of Right against Might', noted the article, yet it was impossible for Britons to 'hide from [them]selves the accumulated horrors, the misery, active and passive' produced by this conflict.[113] On the contrary, a time of peace, according to the article complementing the second illustration, led to progress and prosperity. This ultimately paved the path 'for HIM who bears the title of the Prince of Peace.'[114] Images, in conjunction with words, thus became a means for interrogating the place of war in Victorian society.



Fig. 6.35. 'Peace and War', *ILN*, 28/792 (5 Apr. 1856), pp. 344-5.

[113] [Anon.], 'War!', *CIFP*, II/76 (9 June 1855), p. 184.
[114] [Anon.], 'Peace!', *CIFP*, II/77 (16 June 1855), p. 192.



Fig. 6.36. ‘The Horrors of War’, *CIFP*, II/76 (9 June 1855), p. 184.



Fig. 6.37. ‘The Blessings of Peace’, *CIFP*, II/77 (16 June 1855), p. 192.

Throughout the war, medallists, ceramists, and other artists repurposed cartoons and illustrations from the press, using them to decorate commemorative objects. The visual and the material were thus inextricably intertwined, meaning that people encountered the imagery of, and ideas about, the Crimean War in various ways. In the case of ceramics, this was achieved through the method of 'transfer printing': the process of copying pictorial prints on earthenware, including jugs and mugs.[115] *Punch*'s cartoons sometimes provided artistic inspiration for the engraving of commemorative medals. A case in point is one cartoon of 1854 entitled 'The United Service' (Fig. 6.38) which the Birmingham manufacturing company Allen and Moore used to produce a bronze commemorative medal found in the collections of London's National Army Museum (Fig. 6.39). The company sent a silver-gilt copy of the medal to Napoleon III, as well as to the Turkish ambassador to transmit it to the Porte; to Lord



Fig. 6.38. 'The United Service', *Punch*, XXVI/660 (4 Mar. 1854), p. [89].

[115] Briggs, *Victorian Things*, pp. 147-8.

Aberdeen and a number of his cabinet ministers; to the commander of the British forces, Lord Raglan; and to the editor of *Punch*, all of whom commended the medal.[116] The short time between the cartoon's appearance in *Punch* on 4 March 1854 and the announcement of the production of the medal in the *Daily News* of 3 April, suggests the rapidity with which images were consumed and repurposed.[117] In common with *Punch*'s cartoon, the medal's obverse depicts the comradeship between a British Grenadier Guardsman and a French rifleman. The inscription in English and French reads: 'THE HOLY ALLIANCE / LA SAINTE ALLIANCE'. The choice of words might seem odd since the 'Holy Alliance' was the coalition Russia, Prussia, and Austria had formed in 1815 as a bulwark against revolutionary and democratic currents. But in the context of the Crimean War, this phrase registered the perceived sacred and moral objectives for which Britain, together with France, were fighting against Russia, an idea further reinforced by the inscription on the medal's reverse: 'ENGLAND AND FRANCE UNITED TO DEFEND THE OPPRESSED AND AVENGE INSULTED EUROPE'.



Obverse *Reverse*

Fig. 6.39. [Allen and Moore], Bronze Medal Commemorating the Alliance of Britain and France against Russia, 1854. 44 mm. NAM 1981-11-50-1. Images courtesy of the National Army Museum, London.

[116] [Anon.], 'Birmingham, *May* 1, 1854', *BG* [Birmingham], 113/5867 (1 May 1854), p. [3].
[117] [Anon.], 'Hardware', *DN*, 2455 (3 Apr. 1854), p. 7.

Indeed, the Anglo-French unity was a recurrent theme in wartime material culture, and was a favourite topic amongst manufacturers of commemorative ceramics. An example is a colourful Staffordshire jug produced in 1856 (Fig. 6.40). Its inscriptions read: 'THE UNION OF ENGLAND & FRANCE IS STRENGTH' and 'MAY ENGLAND FOR EVER SUCH UNITY BOAST!' Such statements, which would have been unthinkable only a few years before when many had thought an invasion from Napoleon III imminent, suggest the shift effected by the Crimean War in British attitudes towards France.



Fig. 6.40. Alliance Jug, Crimean War, 1856 (c). NAM 1961-03-25-1.
Image courtesy of the National Army Museum, London.

Commemorative objects which reproduced illustrations from the press disseminated more widely idealistic notions about soldiers. On 5 January 1855, *Cassell's* printed an image of Colour-Sergeant Poolfield Davis of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards, which evoked the theme of heroic militarism (Fig. 6.41). *Cassell's* engraving was reproduced in colour, possibly through the method of transfer printing, on a commemorative mug of hard paste porcelain (Fig. 6.42).[118] The circulation of such images both in the illustrated press and on ceramics reflected the growing public interest in acts of military valour and the heroic martial virtues embodied by manly 'Christian soldiers'.



Fig. 6.41. 'Incident in the War—Sergeant Davies [*sic*] Defending the Colours', *CIFP*, II/57 (27 Jan. 1855), p. [25].

[118] Contrary to the caption, Davis did not fight in the battle of Inkerman, but in the battle of Alma: A. Massie (ed.), *A Most Desperate Undertaking: The British Army in the Crimea, 1854-56* (London, 2003), p. 144.



Fig. 6.42. Mug Commemorating 'Sergeant Davies [*sic*] Defending the Colours at Inkermann'. NAM 1999-01-144-1. Image courtesy of the National Army Museum,

The repurposing of illustrations on commemorative objects continued after the Crimean War, even into the late twentieth century. The front-page engraving of the *Illustrated London News* of 11 March 1854 (Fig. 6.43) depicting the Quaker deputation to St Petersburg, formed the basis of an embroidered panel—part of the collaborative project 'Quaker Tapestry'—completed in 1996 and currently exhibited in Kendal's historic Quaker Meeting House (Fig. 6.44). Designed and embroidered by Griselda Fox Mason, the great-granddaughter of Henry Pease, and others, the panel illustrates the journey of, and the means of transportation used by, Pease, Joseph Sturge, and Robert Charleton on their way to St Petersburg in early 1854 to meet the czar.[119] Here they appeared as courageous individuals seeking to convey the message as to

[119] Quaker Tapestry Museum, *Quaker Tapestry Pictorial Guide* (Kendal, 2021), p. 53.



Fig. 6.43. ‘Deputation of the Religious Society of Friends to the Emperor of Russia, at St Petersburg’, *ILN*, XXIV/672 (11 Mar. 1854), p. [201].



Fig. 6.44. [Griselda Fox Mason and family], ‘Delegation to the Czar 1854’. 533 mm x 635 mm. This image shows one of the 77 Quaker Tapestry embroideries made by 4,000 people from 15 countries. Quaker Tapestry Museum, Kendal, UK [https://www.quaker-tapestry.co.uk] © Quaker Tapestry

the unlawfulness of war for Christians, and to avert war between their countries, and not as the effeminate weaklings imagined by their detractors. Besides revealing the enduring interconnectedness between wartime visual and material culture, the embroidered panel indicates that the deputation has continued to shape Quaker historical memory and identity.

As was the case with *Punch*, the idea of Britain fighting a just war took centre stage in commemorative objects. A fascinating medal of 1856 is a case in point (Fig. 6.45). The medal's obverse and reverse commemorate the Treaty of Paris and the fall of Sebastopol, respectively. Regrettably, the National Army Museum gives no information about the medal's provenance. A search in catalogues of British historical medals reveals that it was produced by J. Pinches, "the well-known medallists" based at 27 Oxendon St, Haymarket.[120] Still, this tells us nothing about the medal's cultural life. Its importance as a commemorative object of the war is revealed in an article of the *Illustrated London News* about a peace fete which took place on 9 May 1856, three days after the thanksgiving day for peace, in Crystal Palace, Sydenham.



Obverse *Reverse*

Fig. 6.45. [J. Pinches], Medal Commemorating the Fall of Sebastopol and the Treaty of Paris, 1856. White metal. 52 mm. NAM 1963-07-37-1. Images courtesy of the National Army Museum, London.

[120] C. Eimer, *British Commemorative Medals and their Values* (London, 1987), p. 179; J. Culme, *The Directory of Gold & Silversmiths, Jewellers & Allied Traders 1838-1914. From the London Assay Office Registers* (2 vols, Woodbridge, 1987), i, p. 367.

Around twelve thousand people attended the fete, including Queen Victoria and Prince Albert (Fig. 6.46). According to the *Illustrated London News*, during the fete a machine was installed inside the magnificent building to strike a medal. The description of this medal given

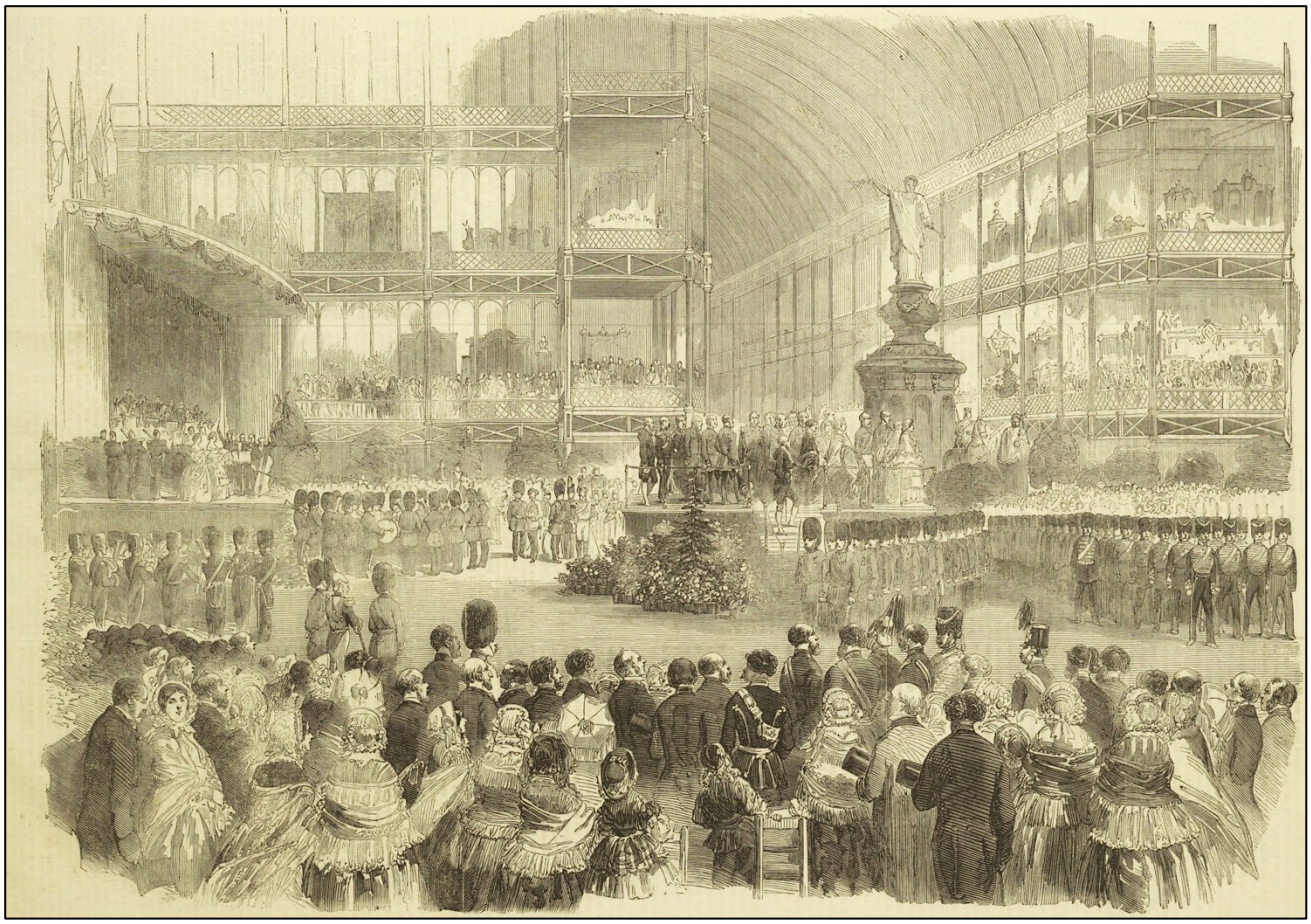


Fig. 6.46. 'Inauguration of the Peace Trophy and the Scutari Monument, at the Crystal Palace', *ILN*, 28/800 (17 May 1856), p. 524.

by the newspaper matches the medal from the National Army Museum's collection. According to the *Illustrated London News*, one of the medal's sides bore 'the trophies of the Allies'.[121] The trophy of flags of Britain, France, Turkey, and Piedmont-Sardinia form the backdrop to an image of bombarded Sebastopol. Most revealingly, at the medal's centre one discerns the scales of justice within a laurel wreath, and at the bottom a snake cut in two. The scales as the

[121] [Anon.], 'The Peace Fete at the Crystal Palace', *ILN*, 28/800 (17 May 1856), pp. 525-6.

paradigmatic symbol of justice were—and remained—well-established in British visual culture, as evident in a *Punch* cartoon of 1857, with conspicuously racial elements, depicting the menacing figure of Justice bearing the scales on her shield, and striking insurgent Indians (Fig. 6.47). The severed snake on the medal's reverse symbolised Russia. The snake as the embodiment of evil, guile, and aggression was a standard signifier of Russia during the Crimean War.[122] In common with *Punch*'s cartoonists, producers of commemorative objects typically used another symbol for Russia, the imperial double-headed eagle. An example is a

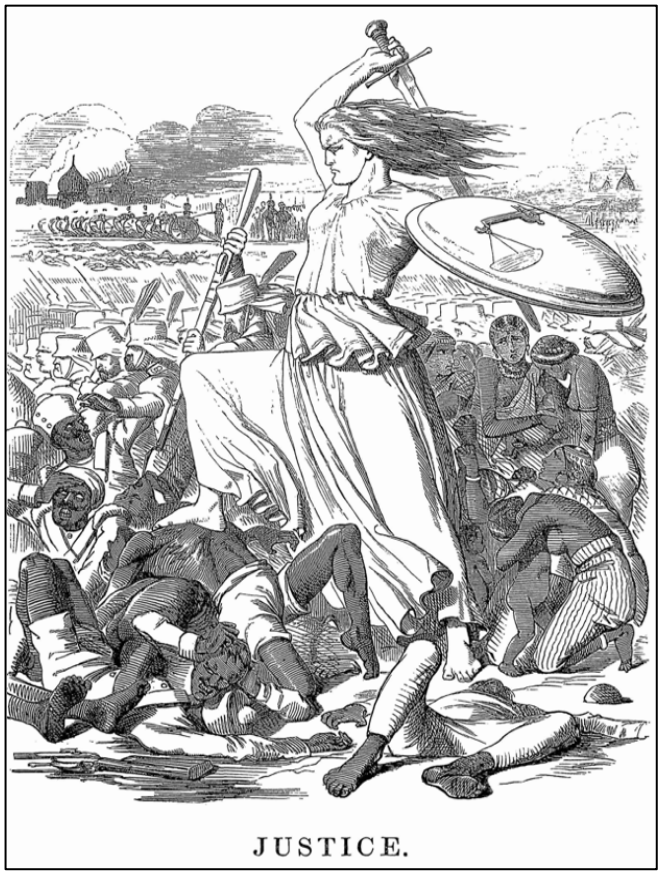


Fig. 6.47. [Sir John Tenniel], 'Justice', *Punch*, XXXIII (12 Sept. 1857), p. [109].

[122] In November 1855, W. R. Greg likened Russia to 'a vast boa-constrictor' swallowing up her neighbours: 'Significance of the Struggle', *NBR*, p. 269.



Fig. 6.48. Jug Commemorating the Crimean War, 1855. NAM 1962-11-181-1. Images courtesy of the National Army Museum, London.

Staffordshire jug of 1855 (Fig. 6.48) showing the three allies (Britain, France, Turkey) killing the Russian bird. Laden with symbols that Victorians would have instantly recognised, the Crystal Palace medal thus evoked a widely accepted idea about the war: that Britain had fought for justice against evilness and wrong.

The Crystal Palace peace fete of 9 May 1856 during which the medal was struck, was dominated by the unveiling of the Peace Trophy and a model in imitation granite of the Scutari Monument designed by the Italian-born sculptor, Baron Carlo Marochetti. Sir John Tenniel captured this moment in a watercolour of 1856 (Fig. 6.49). An obelisk atop a pedestal which

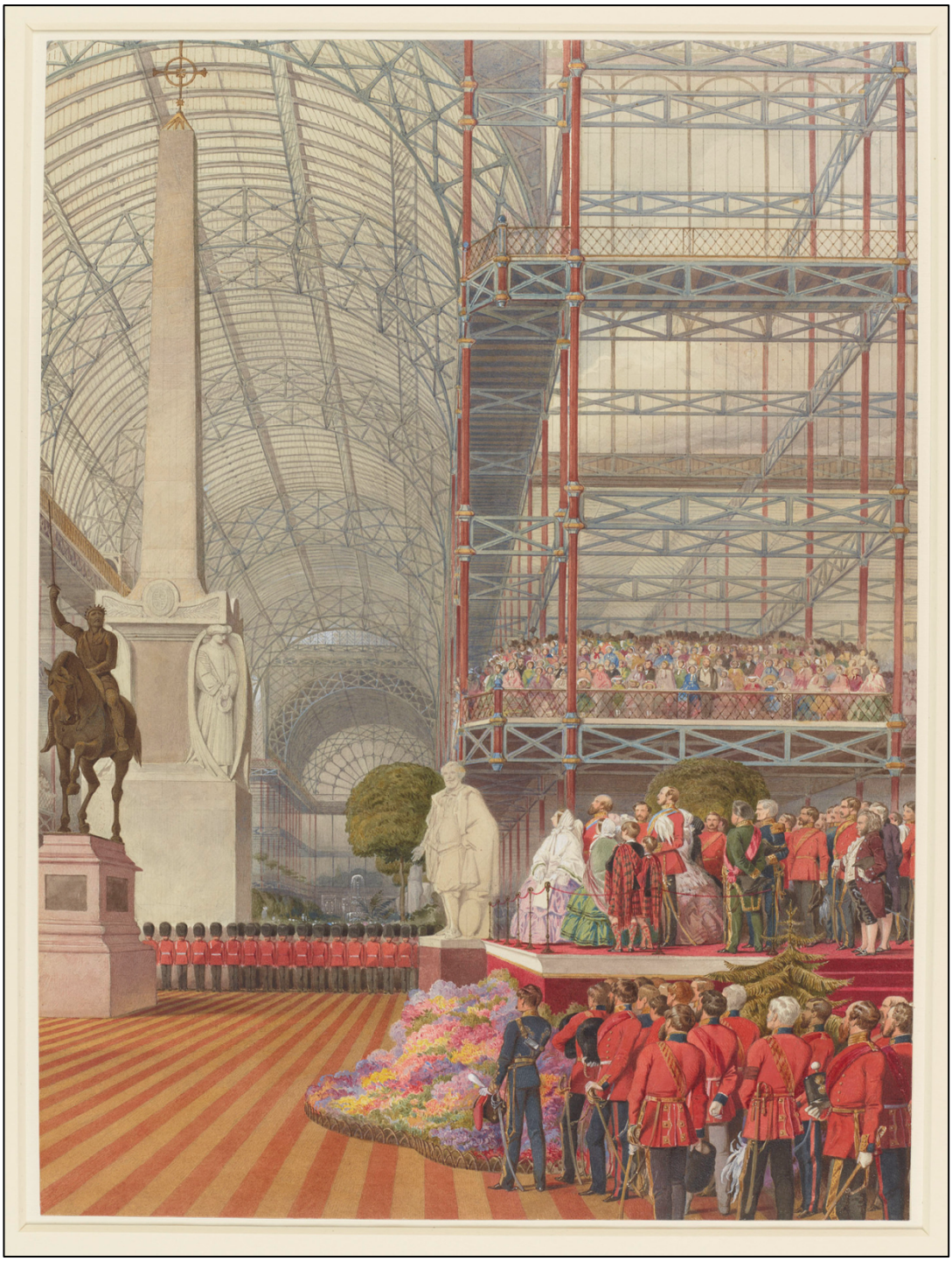


Fig. 6.49. Sir John Tenniel, 'The inauguration of the Scutari Monument and the Peace Trophy at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, 9 May 1856'. Drawn 1856. Pencil, Watercolour and Bodycolour. 47.7 x 33.6 cm (whole object). RCIN 916788. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2022.

was surrounded by four winged Victories, the Scutari Monument was first envisaged by the queen as a monument to British servicemen who lost their lives in the war. By her order, the original design made of granite and standing at approximately twenty-eight metres, was erected in 1858 at Constantinople's Haydarpaşa British Cemetery.[123] The model of the Monument in Crystal Palace included a Celtic cross, and although the sculptor expressed the wish that the original should also have a cross "to show distinctly that there lie the bones of Christian heroes who fell for the defence of Turkey", it was left out perhaps following the Porte's request.[124] A year before its erection in Constantinople, Lord Panmure, Secretary of State for War, asked the Whig historian and politician T. B. Macaulay, as well as Lord John Russell and Sir David Dundas, to come up with an inscription. Macaulay's 'concise and austerely simple' submission which survives in his private correspondence, is revealing:

To the Memory
of British Soldiers and Sailors
Who
During the years from 1854 and 1855
Died far from their Country
In defence of the Liberties of Europe
This monument is erected
By the gratitude
Of Queen Victoria and her People
1857.[125]

Though another inscription was chosen in the end, Macaulay's lines nevertheless spoke for most Britons: the war's moral objectives transcended the ostensible goal of protecting Turkey's integrity and independence. This was, in a wider and more crucial sense, a fight for Europe and her liberties—as the Victorians understood them—threatened by Russia, whose aggression had

[123] Kaan Sag, 'The Scutari Monument in Istanbul: The Introduction of Victorian Monumental Language to Ottoman Society', *SJ*, 23/3 (2014), [doi: 10.3828/sj.2015.2], pp. 280-5.
[124] Quoted in ibid., p. 286.
[125] T. B. Macaulay, *The Letters of Thomas Babington Macaulay*, ed. Thomas Pinney (6 vols, Cambridge, 1974-81), vi (1981), p. 104.

unleashed on the Continent the horrors of large-scale war for the first time after almost four decades of peace.

CONCLUSION

In the 1856 preface to the seventh edition of his popular *The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World* originally published in 1851, E. S. Creasy, Professor of History at University College, London, made a telling confession. In preparing this edition, he thought 'to cancel many passages, which allude to the pacific character of the period in which they were composed', and revise his work in accordance 'to the altered state of the World's history.'[1] Most of Creasy's readers would have agreed with his judgement that the Crimean War had irrevocably reoriented the thrust of history. This momentous conflict was also historically distinctive because it differed from all previous wars. As the writer George Dodd observed in the preface to his *Pictorial History of the Russian War 1854-5-6* in August 1856, technology, communications, and the media—especially the press—facilitated a more immersive and expansive understanding of war than ever before.[2] During the same month Gladstone made a similar point in an article in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. 'WHEN the bulky records of the war which has just been brought to a close', he declared,

> and of the wearisome negotiations which preceded it, shall have been submitted to the refining process that alone can convert them into history, the picture presented to the eye will be one in nothing more remarkable than in its novelty.[3]

[1] E. S. Creasy, *The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World: From Marathon to Waterloo*, 7th edn (London, 1856), p. [vii].
[2] [George Dodd], *Pictorial History of the Russian War 1854-5-6* (Edinburgh and London, 1856), pp. [v]-vi.
[3] [W. E. Gladstone], 'The War and the Peace', *GM* (Aug. 1856), p. 140. For the attribution, see J. P. Parry, *Democracy and Religion: Gladstone and the Liberal Party 1867-1875* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 464.

Gladstone believed that the circumstances of this war were unprecedented; the future historian, he surmised, would not fail to observe this striking fact.

Gladstone's point about the uniqueness of the Crimean War and its status as a defining moment in modern British history has been at the heart of this thesis. As a long period of peace was coming to an abrupt end, most Victorians became conscious that they were living through a pathbreaking period pointing to an indeterminate future. The war also occurred at a significant historical juncture. Behind the semblance of a ubiquitous spirit of peace and liberal internationalism which found its apogee in 1851, germinated a militarist attitude fed by political developments on the Continent and the East. The 1850s were a time when a self-confident and ostensibly prevalent rhetoric of peace on the one hand, and a burgeoning rhetoric of war on the other, wrestled for cultural and moral primacy. The Crimean War would conflagrate this increasingly combustible ideological landscape. At the same time, Victorians felt that this was the most immediate and visible conflict of their lifetime. People's exposure to its horrors gave rise to challenging questions concerning the interface between religion, morality, and war.

The thesis has argued that between 1854 and 1856 this context forged a crucible where competing ideas of war and peace interacted in complex ways. Within a wider 'war' of words and ideas, these interactions generated debates between supporters of the war on the one hand, and a vocal minority of commentators and groups associated within the peace movement, on the other. Mediated through religious, historical, cultural, and ideological paradigms which Victorians deployed to make sense of the world around them, these debates cut across society and were essentially framed by the principles of the peace movement and the idea of 'just war'. Clerics invoked the latter morally to vindicate Britain's resort to arms against Russia, and to challenge the principles of the peace movement. This idea also saturated diverse religious media, and fed into clerical efforts to impart an ethical standard and a Christian ethos to the

conduct of war, and to promote the model of the 'Christian soldier'. It went at the heart of vindications and critiques of the war by clerical and lay intellectuals; was polemicised against by the peace movement and peace-minded parliamentarians; and fertilized the war's literary, visual, and material culture.

Britain's conflict with Russia profoundly shaped Victorians' understanding of the historical development of the second half of the nineteenth century from a time of peace to one of war. The opening illustration in the eighth volume of *Cassell's Illustrated History of England* (1865) which sold more than a quarter of a million copies, showed the Crystal Palace and scenes from the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny (Fig. 7.1).[4] Historian J. A. Froude commented on this transitional period in a *Fraser's Magazine* article of 1871. Two decades previously, Froude mused, 'we were supposed to be standing on the threshold of a new era': peace, free trade, and internationalism promised a radical overhauling of modern life. But the assumed irenic and progressive spirit of those years proved illusory, as it gave way to 'a cycle of storms' which showed no signs of abatement.[5] Froude's conceptualization of the year 1854 as an historic caesura later found expression in the Whewell Lectures during Michaelmas term 1887 by Sir Henry Sumner Maine, Professor of International Law at Cambridge. At the opening of the lectures Maine stated that despite 'some intervals of petty local war', the post-Napoleonic generation experienced a long and remarkable period of peace. The Great Exhibition of 1851, he averred, reinforced the perception that 'the peaceful arts' and 'literary agencies' supplanted armed conflict. Yet scarcely had the grand edifice of the Crystal Palace—that 'Temple of Peace'—been disassembled, when 'war broke out again, more terrible than ever.'[6] So engrossing this war had been and so tremendous its affective impact, that it seared historical

[4] Cassell & Company, *The Story of the House of Cassell* (London, 1922), p. 34.
[5] [J. A. Froude], 'England's War', *FM*, 3/14 (Feb. 1871), pp. [135]-6.
[6] Henry Sumner Maine, *The Whewell Lectures. International Law: A Series of Lectures Delivered before the University of Cambridge 1887* (London, 1888), pp. 3-4.



Fig. 7.1. [Anon.], *Cassell's Illustrated History of England. Vol. 8*, revised edn (London, Paris, and New York, NY, [1865]), p. [1].

memory. Its 'drama', wrote the novelist Thomas Hughes less than a decade after its conclusion, 'will never fail deeply to move the heart of England, at least until the grave has closed over our generation.'[7]

[7] Thomas Hughes, ' "The Last Voice from the Crimea." ', *MM*, 9/50 (Dec. 1863), p. 160.

Furrowing and irrigating the fault lines of contemporary thought on war and peace, the Crimean War moulded the moral and ideological paradigms according to which Victorians discussed future conflicts. When in 1870 Russia unilaterally repudiated the Black Sea Clauses of the Treaty of Paris and flared up a 'war-scare', the history of the Crimean War became a point of contention. Both opponents and supporters of a British response to Russia were caught in a passionate debate over that conflict, with E. A. Freeman denouncing its needlessness and unrighteousness, Disraeli describing it as "just and necessary", and Bright condemning it as "the greatest blot on the reign of the Queen".[8] During the Eastern Crisis a few years later, Bright tried to guide public opinion by citing the Crimean War as an example of an 'unnecessary', 'impolitic', and 'unjust' conflict.[9] After the end of the crisis, Gladstone would make the morality of war a central theme in his fourth speech of 17 March 1880 in Edinburgh's Music Hall to the Midlothian electors. '[H]owever deplorable wars may be', he professed, 'they are among the necessities of our condition; and there are times when justice, when faith, when the welfare of mankind, require a man not to shrink from the responsibility of undertaking them.'[10] Gladstone made no explicit reference to the period 1854-6, but his understanding of war as a moral question was decidedly shaped during that time.

A year after Gladstone's speech and subsequent victory in the General Election, Leone Levi cast an anxious eye on Europe's military armaments. 'Is this a condition of things befitting this nineteenth century? Is this all that civilization has achieved for us?'[11] For Levi the Crimean War had been a formative experience, consolidating his peace-mindedness and providing him with a spur to search for ways to eradicate war. As his ideas developed, Levi would come to

[8] W. E. Mosse, 'III. Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: The British Public and the War-Scare of November 1870', *HJ*, 6/1 (1963), [doi: 10.1017/S0018246X0000090X], pp. 48, 56-7.
[9] See Chapter Five, p. 216.
[10] W. E. Gladstone, *Political Speeches in Scotland, March and April 1880*, revised edn (Edinburgh, 1880), pp. 30-1.
[11] Leone Levi, *War and its Consequences: Economical, Commercial, Financial, and Moral* (London, [1881]), p. 12.

see international law as the key to establishing peace and order. His clarion call would be to 'put an end to this grossest and blackest of all crimes, the crime of war', by 'ask[ing] this noblest of all services from International Law, that it may provide means by which nations may live in peace and concord among themselves.'[12] But before this peaceful state could be achieved, the principles of international law ought to be clearly laid down. In 1887 Levi published a manual dedicated—with permission—to Queen Victoria, where he sought to codify international law.[13] Despite his intellectual efforts to expunge war from international relations, the First World War around three decades later would once again expose the volatility of international order and the elusiveness of perpetual peace.

The flames of this conflict were already burning for two years when a new edition of Catherine Marsh's *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars* appeared.[14] The story of the life and death of the heroic and pious Crimean officer whose author construed as the epitome of the 'Christian soldier', provided a moral exemplar to British servicemen fighting the Great War, as well as to the public at home. 'As a book for Soldiers of the King, or Soldiers of the King of Kings', stated the publisher's note, 'it is unequalled for interest, pathos, and unction.' Crystallized in the Crimean crucible, the paradigm of the 'Christian soldier' zealously propounded by those seeking to prove the compatibility of war and Christianity, and passionately contested by peace advocates, continued to resonate in the cultural life of twentieth-century Britain, at a time when her troops were fighting another war in Europe of a greater magnitude, and with more devastating consequences for the future of humanity.

[12] Idem, 'Defective State of International Law', *LMLR*, 30/1 (1870), p. 73.
[13] Idem, *International Law*.
[14] [Catherine Marsh], *Captain Hedley Vicars 97th Regiment, The Christian Hero of the Crimea, who was Killed during the Sortie from Sebastopol, 22nd March, 1855* (Glasgow and London, [1916]).

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