# VIII

# Tolstoy's *Sevastopol Tales*: Pathos, Sermon, Protest, and Stowe<sup>1</sup>

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You will see terrible spectacles that will rend your soul; you will see war not in its correct, beautiful, and glittering ranks, with music and beating drums, with waving banners and generals prancing on horseback; rather, you will see war in its real expression—in blood, in suffering, in death...

Lev Tolstoy, "Sevastopol in December"

# Regarding the Pain of Others in Sevastopol

Early in "Sevastopol in December" ["Севастополь в декабре месяце"], the first of three tales Lev Tolstoy wrote about the siege of the city of Sevastopol (1854-55) during the Crimean War, the narrator announces that *this* representation of war shows us war "in its real expression—in blood, in suffering, in death" without sparing us.<sup>2</sup> The premise is one that readers and viewers are used to today, but Tolstoy, as he wrote about blood, suffering, and death in the Crimean War (1853-57), was among the first to give a truly modern representation of war. When Tolstoy's narrator tells us what we will *see*, as he ushers us through the besieged city, through the makeshift hospital, and into the ward where amputations are being performed, he puts us in the position of "regarding

the pain of others." As Susan Sontag reminds us in her book with this title, the public's vicarious experience of the suffering caused by distant wars has become a "distinguishing feature" of our "modern life," as have the moral questions that arise from our awareness of "the horrors taking place throughout the world."<sup>3</sup>

The Crimean War, when armies of the Russian Empire fought the allied English, French, and Ottoman armies, is often referred to as the first modern war, in part because for the first time war was brought home from the distant front in a graphic, authentic, and timely way.<sup>4</sup> In London, Paris, St. Petersburg, and elsewhere, the public was made newly aware of the horrors of the war being fought. With varying degrees of freedom, the press published news of the war. Those at home responded. In England, the public was exposed to representations of suffering and death in various media. In dispatches from Crimea published in the London *Times*, William Russell and other war correspondents broke with the tradition of war writing, with its tendency to glorify and valorize the subject, to reveal the truth about the miserable conditions ("the filth and starvation, and deadly stagnation of the camp"), thus refusing to "tell lies to 'make things pleasant'" to the authorities. In response to Russell's report in the Times about the slaughter of British cavalry at Balaklava, Alfred Tennyson, the Poet Laureate, composed "The Charge of the Light Brigade." The message of this poem is mixed: the poet honors the dead ("When can their glory fade?"), but notes that "someone had blunder'd" in ordering the charge. The soldiers ride "into the valley of Death" without "reason[ing] why": "theirs but to do and die."6 The new medium of photography was also used to document this war: Roger Fenton became one of the first war photographers when he was sent to the Crimea by Prince Albert. Fenton, however, was under instructions from the War Office not to photograph "the dead, the maimed, or the ill." In his iconic image of this war, called "The Valley of the Shadow of Death," Fenton had to leave blood, suffering, and death to the imagination of the viewer and show us the empty, cannon-ball-ridden site of the slaughter memorialized by Tennyson.<sup>7</sup> The work of Russell, Tennyson, Fenton, and others, not to mention the private letters that made it home from the Crimea, fixed the war and its pain in the imagination of the British public, rousing pathos and protest, while also inspiring action to remedy the situation—from the dispatches of supplies paid for by the Crimean War Fund of the London Times, to the medical missions of Florence Nightingale and others, to the efforts (joined by Charles Dickens) to

form an Administration Reform Association, to the resignation of the prime minister, Lord Aberdeen.<sup>8</sup>

In Russia, the young Tolstoy emerged as a major voice among those who bore witness to the pain and suffering of this same Crimean War. As a Russian subject, Tolstoy wrote in a different political and cultural context, under a system of censorship that was especially strict at the time. Nevertheless, his tales had an enormous impact on the Russian reading public (including the recently crowned Tsar Alexander II). The first two tales, "Sevastopol in December" and "Sevastopol in May" ["Севастополь в мае"] appeared while Sevastopol was still under siege and were read, despite their elements of fictionality, as dispatches from the front.<sup>10</sup> Contemporary readers welcomed these reports, which were such a radical departure from what was published in The *Invalid* [Инвалид], the official organ of military news. (The year before, Tolstoy had in fact been involved in a proposal, squelched by Tsar Nicholas I, to publish an alternative journal for and about the military.<sup>11</sup>) Tolstoy's tales roused patriotic feeling and compassion for the defenders of Sevastopol. They also contributed to the soul-searching that Russians underwent when the war ended in a defeat that made it clear reform was necessary if Russia was going to take part in the modern world.

Tolstoy's tales, like the work of Russell and Fenton, were part of what may be seen as a new, modern mode of representation that flourished under the conditions of the Crimean War, the first "modern war." But the tales also bear the imprint of the intense literary apprenticeship in which Tolstoy was engaged during the early 1850s. While serving as an officer in the Russian army (first in the Caucasus, then briefly at Bucharest, before being transferred to the vicinity of Sevastopol), Tolstoy also devoted himself to literary pursuits: it is clear that his reading and writing during this period were part of the training through which Tolstoy, an autodidact from an early age, put himself. As the metaliterary comments within the Sevastopol tales suggest (and his diaries corroborate), the young Tolstoy thought hard about the craft of fiction and studied other novelists' practice of this craft intently as he read their work. 12

The works known as "Sevastopol in December," "Sevastopol in May," and "Sevastopol in August, 1855" ["Севастополь в августе, 1855 г."] have been difficult to classify. They fit squarely in the tradition of Russian prose, as understood by Tolstoy: in his often-quoted "A Few Words Apropos of the Book *War* 

and Peace" ["Несколько слов по поводу книги Война и мир"], he declared that the works of Russian prose-writers never fit neatly into European generic molds. 13 Are "Sevastopol in December," "Sevastopol in May," and "Sevastopol in August, 1855" dispatches from the front, sketches, tales, or, if read together, a proto-novel? Tolstoy's Sevastopol tales are often classified with Ivan Turgenev's Notes of a Hunter [Записки охотника, 1852] and Fyodor Dostoevsky's Notes from the House of the Dead [Записки из мертвого дома, 1862] as works on the boundary between fiction and non-fiction, with ties to the literary sketch. These authors, as they introduced the reading public to some facet of Russian reality usually ignored in print, worked their sketches into extended narratives, or framed tales, on their way to becoming a novel. (Mikhail Lermontov's earlier A Hero of Our Time [Герой нашего времени, 1840], with its description of life in the Caucasus, is a familiar forerunner of these works.) Viktor Shklovsky declared that these works of Lermontov, Turgenev, Tolstoy, and Dostoevsky constituted a native Russian alternative to the European novel. Shklovsky characterizes the latter as being a novel of family or the life of one individual, while suggesting that the new Russian form transcends this narrow focus. 14 Tolstoy's Sevastopol tales are clearly rooted in the Russian literary genealogy that Shklovsky describes. For example, Tolstoy records in his diary that he (re)read Lermontov's A Hero of Our Time on July 11, 1854.15 He acknowledged his debt to Turgenev's Notes of a Hunter both privately, in his diary on July 22, 1853, where he complained that it was hard to sit down to write after reading Turgenev's Notes, and publicly in the dedication of "The Woodfelling" ["Рубка леса"] to Turgenev in 1855. 16 As a developing novelist, Tolstoy also drew on sources outside the Russian tradition. Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Laurence Sterne are usually cited as formative influences; Tolstoy was inspired by Charles Dickens as he wrote *Childhood* [*Детство*, 1852] and the rest of his trilogy; and, like Homer, Stendhal was an important model as Tolstoy started to write about war. Tolstoy discovered William Makepeace Thackeray when he was at work on the Sevastopol tales: Tolstoy read him after composing the first tale and worked references to him into the second. In what follows, I will focus on Harriet Beecher Stowe as another formative influence on Tolstoy. Tolstoy would champion Stowe in his late What Is Art? [ 4mo *такое искусство?*, 1897], <sup>17</sup> but she has barely appeared among the pantheon of novelists cited as influences on the young Tolstoy. 18 How did Stowe figure in Tolstoy's literary consciousness as he wrote his Sevastopol tales?

On August 28, 1854, a few months before he arrived in Sevastopol, Tolstoy records in his diary that he bought "OTH," his shorthand for Onkel Toms Hütte, the German translation of Uncle Tom's Cabin. He then reports reading it on August 29, 30, and 31, while sick, without further comment.<sup>19</sup> This novel, which was enormously popular in Europe, as well as in America, held particular interest for Russian readers since comparisons of slavery and serfdom were inevitable.<sup>20</sup> Serfdom was a topic that occupied Tolstoy, like so many of his peers, during this period, both because he was a serf-owner and because the Russian military depended so heavily on serf conscription.<sup>21</sup> (As Anne Hruska has shown in "Love and Slavery: Serfdom, Emancipation, and Family in Tolstoy's Fiction," serfdom was so enmeshed in Tolstoy's conception of love and family life that it would figure in the depths, if not on the surface, of all the fiction he went on to write.) It is likely that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* affected Tolstoy on a number of levels, as serf-owner, as a Russian subject, as a man seeking God and trying to come to terms with Christian teaching, as a motherless child, and—of most interest to me here—as a writer.

Stowe's goal in writing *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was to make her readers "bethink themselves," to use a term Tolstoy would popularize years later, when he commanded his readers to do just that in a work with that title ("Одумайтесь"). <sup>22</sup> To this end, Stowe presents her readers with pathos, sermonizes, and stirs protest against slavery as she strives to bring about a conversion of the spirit. As Jane Tompkins has argued, Stowe wanted slavery to come to an end, but "the true goal of Stowe's rhetorical undertaking is nothing less than the institution of the kingdom of heaven on earth." Tompkins explains that, as an alternative to the social order that has supported slavery, whether actively or by looking the other way, Stowe presents a vision of a realm ruled harmoniously by "motherly loving kindness," as embodied by Rachel Halliday in the Quaker settlement that helps Eliza, George, and their son escape. <sup>24</sup> Stowe writes *Uncle Tom's Cabin* from a point of view that is unabashedly maternal: she often addresses herself directly to mothers, and her icon of the tragedy of slavery is the separation of children from their mothers. <sup>25</sup>

As will be seen below, Tolstoy develops his own mix of pathos, sermon, and protest in what he called his "epic of Sevastopol." These features had already started to manifest themselves in *Childhood* and *Boyhood* [*Ompoчество*, 1854], concerned as they are with the death of the narrator's mother and his

longing for her. However, the treatment of pathos, sermon, and protest reaches a new stage in the Sevastopol tales as Tolstoy shifted from a personal sorrow, the death of the child's mother, to a national (or international) sorrow, the pain of others at Sevastopol. Since Harriet Beecher Stowe used maternal pathos, sentimental technique, and sermonic poetics so powerfully in her national protest novel, it would have been natural for Tolstoy—who remained, as Richard Gustafson has noted, subject to longings for "a mother's embrace"—to take note of how she went about it.<sup>27</sup>

Tolstoy, as a devotee of Rousseau and Sterne, was very much attuned to the potential and the versatility of sentimental style.<sup>28</sup> "The power of the Russian nineteenth-century novel," in the words of Robert Belknap, "depends in part on earlier techniques of novel-writing which most Western novelists had abandoned."<sup>29</sup> Tolstoy and other Russians did not write well-made French novels, nor did they practice the craft of fiction that would later be prescribed by the guild of Henry James and his disciples. Often in the novels of Tolstoy, the author intrudes; the poetics are didactic (Morson); the tactics may even be sentimental. But, as Belknap suggests, these techniques can be a source of power. Philip Fisher has observed that many great nineteenth-century novelists, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky among them, relied on sentimentality to bring about "radical revision" within "accepted patterns of feeling and representation."<sup>30</sup> Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* provided the young Tolstoy with an immediate model of how to derive power from sentimental techniques.<sup>31</sup>

In what follows, I use Stowe as point of reference as I examine Tolstoy's strategies for incorporating pathos, sermon, bitter truth, and a spirit of protest into the Sevastopol tales. The features at stake in this discussion remain a constant of Tolstoy's writing. They became notoriously dominant in his late works. In the early Sevastopol tales, as in his great novels, War and Peace [Война и мир, 1869] and Anna Karenina [Анна Каренина, 1877], Tolstoy used these features in a more reserved, muted, and mysterious way, sometimes nearly, but never completely, canceling them out. Thus, he subjects pathos to withering analysis, he ironizes over the sermon, or he undercuts protest by pointing to the futility of trying to change. But even after Tolstoy performs these operations, the pathos, sermon, and protest are never fully suppressed. They remain unmistakable features of Tolstoy's writing and a source of its enduring power.

#### Tolstoy, "Uncle Tim," and Stowe's Devices

"Reading the story of some English lady [рассказ какой-то Английской барыни], I was struck by the ease of her devices [непринужденность ее приемов], which I lack, and which I must work to acquire and pay attention to."32 This excerpt from Tolstoy's diary of November 1, 1853, shows how his literary apprenticeship worked: as he read the fiction of others, he concerned himself with his own development as a novelist—what could he learn from the style of others? Boris Eikhenbaum raised the possibility that Harriet Beecher Stowe's early story "Uncle Tim," which appeared in the journal *The* Contemporary [Современник] in Russian translation in 1853, prompted Tolstoy to record this comment in his diary.<sup>33</sup> Whereas Eikhenbaum states that it is "possible" Tolstoy had this story in mind, the compilers of the notes to Tolstoy's diary in the Chertkov edition of Tolstoy's Complete Works are more certain: they write that the story by "some English lady" was "evidently" "Uncle Tim" by the American Stowe, especially since the journals of the period contained no other stories by "an English lady." <sup>34</sup> Since *The Contemporary* was regular reading for him, it is extremely likely that Tolstoy read "Uncle Tim" in 1853, even if it was not the story that prompted the reflections on his craft in his diary.

In Eikhenbaum's view, Stowe's story is characterized by the very ease of narration that Tolstoy found lacking in his early work. Eikhenbaum quotes the opening lines and several other lines culled from Stowe's "Uncle Tim" as demonstrations (without comment).<sup>35</sup> In the Russian translation, which omits a preamble in the first person, "Uncle Tim" opens with the narrator's address to the reader: "Did you ever see the little village of Newbury in New England? I dare say you never did ... "36 Stowe's narrator thus takes the narratee under her wing in a confident manner. Later in the story, the narrator uses "you" for a whole paragraph, in which she describes "your" recognition of a certain place, including what "you surely remember," what "you may have admired," what "you haven't forgotten . . . "37 Not only does she usher "you" into the story, she tells you what is going on in your mind. The other examples Eikhenbaum cites to illustrate Stowe's natural, unforced narration are cases of transitions that are made by the means of narrative intrusions. In all cases, the narrator wields authority in a natural, confident, reassuring—and maternal—way.<sup>38</sup> (Tolstoy may have admired her style and "devices," but they were not naturally suited to

his narrative voice.) In content, "Uncle Tim," a "New England sketch," offers, aside from regional color, a heart-warming story of family life and Christian community, with good resulting from the friendship between a young minister, George Griswold, who is about to die, and his sister's suitor, James Benton, who is so moved by George's first sermon that he becomes a kind of disciple and then, after George's death, a minister himself.<sup>39</sup>

As the diary entry cited by Eikhenbaum and several others like it attest, during this period of literary apprenticeship Tolstoy was consciously working on his "devices" and other features of narration. Not satisfied with some aspects of his own style, he noted how others practiced the craft he was trying to master. Tolstoy's reading habits thus make it very likely that when he read the best-seller *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1854, he read it attentively, paying attention not just to the message but to the poetics of the novel—all the more so since he was already attuned to Stowe's poetics from his reading of "Uncle Tim" the year before. I suggest that Stowe be numbered among the novelists, such as Stendhal, Thackeray, Turgeney, and Nikolai Gogol, who figured in Tolstoy's creative consciousness as he wrote the Sevastopol tales.

### Uncle Tom's Cabin in Sevastopol: "Do not be ashamed..."

Whereas Viktor Shklovsky places Tolstoy's Sevastopol tales along with Turgenev's *Notes of a Hunter* in a Russian literary movement out of which rose a new Russian novel, Philip Fisher, in the context of his discussion of American realism, places these two Russian works together with Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in a larger mid-nineteenth-century movement that "put onto the map of representation what had until then been overlooked or unmentioned worlds of people." Fisher credits Tolstoy with writing "the first realistic account of ordinary men in war," suggesting that Tolstoy did for war what Turgenev did for serfdom and Stowe did for slavery. (In fact, Turgenev's *Notes of a Hunter* had, from early on, been compared to Stowe's novel and was often even called the Russian *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.) Tolstoy, following in the mode of both Turgenev and Stowe, sought to "confer visibility" on aspects of life that were hitherto largely ignored in art. In fact, much like Stowe, he focused on conferring visibility on *the pain of others*.

Stowe's goal in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, as she explains in her "Concluding Remarks," was "to exhibit [slavery] in a *living dramatic reality*." She wrote to

make what she saw as the evil and pain of slavery real, live, and dramatic to her readers. She does so in the sentimentalist mode, which had historically been, in Fisher's words, "a crucial tactic of politically radical representation." But Stowe herself draws attention to the limits of the novel as she reminds us of the real world beyond: "Nothing of tragedy can be written, can be spoken, can be conceived, that equals the frightful reality of scenes daily and hourly acting on our shores, beneath the shadow of American law, and the shadow of the cross of Christ." Stowe sought to use "sentimental power" to enact change, although, as Jane Tompkins has argued, in answer to the question of what is to be done, Stowe envisioned not only "specific alterations in the current political and economic arrangements," which she believed fell short because they do not change "the moral conditions that produced slavery in the first place." Stowe also had her sights on something more radical, "a change of heart" or a "conversion in the spirit."

Tolstoy, similarly, sought "to exhibit" his subject, the war, "in a *living dramatic reality,*" as Stowe had done for slavery. In his effort to make the siege of Sevastopol real, live, and dramatic, Tolstoy takes extreme measures to involve the reader. Eikhenbaum observes that in the first Sevastopol tale, Tolstoy puts the reader in the position of "an inquisitive correspondent," in a comment that recalls the work of Russell and others.<sup>49</sup> There is, in fact, overlap in the English journalist's and the Russian novelist's accounts, in both substance and style. But Tolstoy went further in involving the reader.<sup>50</sup> He uses, most famously, second person narration in "Sevastopol in December," discussed by Gary Saul Morson in his essay "The Reader as Voyeur: Tolstoi and the Poetics of Didactic Fiction." Tolstoy's purpose, according to Morson, is to eliminate the aesthetic distance normally assumed in reading, to "frame" the reader, and to make the reader feel responsible for the pain seen in Sevastopol.<sup>51</sup>

Tolstoy begins the tale with a lyrical description of an approach to the besieged Sevastopol, then interjects descriptions of what "you" (the narratee, as I will call the referent of the second person pronoun used in this tale) see, do, and feel, as you are ferried into Sevastopol and led through the town, into the hospital, where you visit with the wounded, the amputees, and the dying, and then to the fourth bastion where you witness a death.

The use of "you" in "Sevastopol in May" is certainly overdetermined. Sermons, editorials, dispatches from war correspondents, sentimental fiction, regional sketches, and—as Morson argues—guidebooks all come to mind as genres where this device thrives. That said, Stowe's "devices" provided Tolstoy with further specific models for this form. As mentioned above, Stowe starts off "Uncle Tim" using the second person and then returns to it later in the story. When Stowe uses the same device in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, more is at stake. Stowe wants to "frame" (to borrow Morson's term) the "you" she addresses.<sup>52</sup> In Gendered Interventions: Narrative Discourse in the Victorian Novel, Robyn Warhol shows how Stowe uses direct address to her readers both to engage them in the action of the novel and to remind them of the reality out there, the reality in which the readers live and feel and for which the readers bear, as Stowe reminds them, real responsibility.<sup>53</sup> Stowe uses forms of address and appeal to the reader, with varying degrees of immediacy. For example, early on, her narrator ushers the reader into the action as an observer in her first description of Uncle Tom's cabin, modulating between an inclusive first person plural and second person: "Let us enter the dwelling. The evening meal at the house. . . . Therefore, doubt not that it is her [Aunt Chloe] you see by the fire . . . "54 Here the narrator of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* uses the device of second person address to the reader casually, as she did in "Uncle Tim." But at other points in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe uses the second person not simply to usher her reader in as an observer, but to put her reader in the protagonist's shoes, as in the question "how fast could you walk?" if you were trying to save your child, as Eliza is as she escapes. 55 Stowe wrote Uncle Tom's Cabin in order to engage readers in the pain and sorrow of others, but she also reminds readers that the pain represented in the novel is "nothing," however, compared to the "frightful reality of scenes daily and hourly acting on our shores."56

By asking us how fast we could walk, Stowe draws overt attention to, and encourages, a process of identification between her readers and her subjects. She often does so by appealing to the readers' experiences of maternal love, evidently relying on the assumption that the hearts of mothers will be pierced by another's pain, especially if they have undergone the loss of a child of their own. These operations are fundamental to the sentimental novel, as Fisher explains: "The sentimental novel creates the extension of feeling on which the restitution of humanity is based by means of equations between the deep common feelings of the reader and the exotic but analogous situations of the characters." Stowe's algebra of sentimentalism in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has raised

resistance: it strikes many critics as naïve, narcissistic, and dangerous. See Can one person really fathom the pain of another? Does Stowe not overlook differences? Is, for example, a shared experience of maternal bereavement enough of a common denominator to prompt any real understanding of others? However, other scholars have reminded us that Stowe's "equations of feeling" are an act of faith, rooted in a particular vision of Christian love and love of neighbor that eradicates earthly differences as it looks toward heaven. How Tolstoy responded to this feature in Stowe's work is impossible to say, but his Sevastopol tales suggest that he himself was, on the one hand, drawn to "equations of feeling" (and the sentiments of brotherly love that they create), but, on the other hand, wary of these very equations.

In "Sevastopol in December," as Morson argues, Tolstoy attempts to put "you" into relationship with others and their pain. 59 The greatest concentration of pain is met in the makeshift military hospital where "you are suddenly struck by the sight and the smell of forty or fifty amputees and other severely wounded patients."60 The narrator coaxes "you" into the room, saying: "Do not trust the feeling that holds you back on the threshold of the hall—it is a wrong feeling go on, do not be ashamed that you have come as if to look at the sufferers, don't be ashamed to approach them and talk to them: the unfortunate like to see a compassionate human face, they like to tell about their sufferings and hear words of love and sympathy."61 Tolstoy's emphasis on "to look" in this passage anticipates Susan Sontag's vexed questions about the ethics of regarding the pain of others.<sup>62</sup> Whereas not being willing to look could be a matter of cowardice—of wanting to spare oneself the pain—the narrator's repetition of "do not be ashamed to . . ." suggests that the narratee may be held back by more complicated feelings.<sup>63</sup> The narrator assures "you" that your compassion will be comforting to the sufferer, but how convincing is this assurance? Shame lingers in the reader, even if the narratee is finally coaxed in. Tolstoy complicates the "extension of feeling" (to apply Fisher's term<sup>64</sup>) by airing this shame in an unsettling way.65

As the narratee converses with one of the wounded, an amputee, the narrator explains that "suffering somehow inspires, in addition to deep feelings of compassion, a fear of causing offense and a lofty respect for the one who undergoes it." Tolstoy here shows his trademark technique, detected by Nikolai Chernyshevsky already in these early works, of presenting the "dialectics of the

soul."<sup>67</sup> Another early critic, Dmitry Pisarev, wrote that Tolstoy managed to bring out "the mysterious, unclear movements of the soul that have not reached consciousness and are not completely understood even by the person who experiences them."<sup>68</sup> The sophistication with which Tolstoy tracks these movements of the soul threatens to frustrate the compassionate leap required for "equations of feeling." A soul too bogged down in "dialectics" may have trouble responding to the pain of another.

Soon, "you" are approached by the wife of this amputee, who is there caring for her husband. After she has chattered away about how her husband was wounded, showing her pride in his heroic sacrifice, her husband responds dismissively: "That's my missus, your honor! You'll have to excuse her, you know, that's a woman's way [бабье дело]—she says silly things."69 At this point, Tolstoy shifts abruptly from this suggestion, made by her husband, of her feminine inadequacy, to the real point, which is the narratee's realization of his own inadequacy as he regards the pain of this amputee and others like him: "You start to understand the defenders of Sevastopol; you become for some reason ashamed of yourself in front of this man. You want to say too much to him to express your compassion and your bewilderment to him; but you can't find the words or are dissatisfied with the ones that do come to mind,—and you silently bow before this taciturn, unconscious grandeur and strength of spirit, this modesty in the face of its own worth."<sup>70</sup> In this synopsis of what "you," the narratee, are feeling, the narrator confirms that you *feel* compassion for the amputee in pain, but explains that you are unable to *express* it adequately. Tolstoy affirms but subverts the impulse of sentimentalism.

### "So what if he's a stranger, you still have to have pity"

As "you" approach another sufferer, who is on the verge of death, the amputee's wife takes on the role of guide—the narrator signals that he cedes that role to her when he refers to her as "your [female] guide" ["ваша путеводительница"]. <sup>71</sup> She hovers over you, "as if you were kin." <sup>72</sup> The narrator uses a fixed expression, but on the literal level it suggests that she, for her part, feels a sense of relatedness to you, a stranger, with whom under normal circumstances, outside of this site of suffering, she would have nothing in common. But now you are in the zone of her sentimental motherly embrace. When "you" ask whether another sufferer is too far gone to even hear you, she responds that he still hears, although barely,

and tells of how that morning she had fed him tea, explaining her actions by adding: "So what if he's a stranger, you still have to have pity" ["Что ж, хоть и чужой, все надо жалость иметь"]. 73 Of course, the wife's words could be dismissed by menfolk as womanish sentiment (her husband had in fact just declared saying silly things to be what women do, in Russian, "бабье дело"). But Tolstoy is challenging the narratee and, ultimately, the reader to penetrate to the heart of this sentimental message.

The amputee's wife sets forth in her simple, expressive, and difficultto-translate idiomatic statement the law of love for one's neighbor— "So what if he's a stranger, you still have to have pity" ["Что ж, хоть и чужой, все надо жалость иметь"]. Part of the difficulty in rendering this statement in English stems from the way the Russian grammar encodes a moral understanding of the way God and his creation work. The amputee's wife's words do not suggest that this kind of compassion for strangers comes naturally or instinctively. The word "надо" ["must," "have to"] means that an external law, an external authority, is being imposed, even if it is one that she also feels deeply in her maternal heart. She uses "надо," a modal predicate (even if not strictly a verb) that is *deontic*, in the sense that it attempts to "bind" people to perform an action. Without any overt dative (to identify the person[s] bound to perform this action) the deontic modal has a universal force: any and all must perform the activity, in this case, all must fulfill God's will and have compassion on a dying man, even though he may be a stranger. 74 This message of compassion as a deontic modal, which is articulated by the amputee's wife, is not what comes naturally, even though it is often embedded in childhood as the spiritual equivalent of a mother's—or wet nurse's—milk; this view will resurface in Tolstoy's work as the core of his religious message.<sup>75</sup>

In his novels, Tolstoy will continue to feature heroes who, like "you" the narratee in "Sevastopol in May," do not know what to do or say when faced with the pain of others. Thus, for example, in *Anna Karenina* as he reflects on Kitty's loving care for his dying brother Nikolai, Levin notes his own inadequacy in the face of suffering and death, even that of his own near and dear one. Tolstoy's Levin is thus a lot like the "you" that Tolstoy envisions in the Sevastopol tales: both Tolstoyan constructs are left anxious, churning in the dialectics of their souls, as they regard the pain of others. By contrast, Kitty, like the amputee's wife in Sevastopol, acts on the compassion she feels. Levin concludes that Kitty

learned something about nursing and comforting the sick and dying in Soden (when she, in imitation of Varenka, tried to act as a sister of mercy to suffering Russians), but he is impressed by—and perhaps on some profound level envious of—something more than her nursing skills: her faith. Although he remembers that Agafya Mikhailovna, his peasant nurse, was also able to care for the dying, Levin determines that their response was *not* animal or instinctual, but rooted in their faith. What Tolstoy has Levin spell out in *Anna Karenina* is contained, in seed form, in the amputee's wife's words: "So what if he's a stranger, you still have to have pity."

The acts of the amputee's wife, as she shows compassion for this dying man by feeding him tea, evoke the Gospel pericopes in which a woman anoints Jesus—and, in Luke, weeping, also bathes his feet with her tears—in anticipation of his death. To the chagrin of the disciples, who complain about the waste of the "very expensive" ointment, Jesus approves the woman's expression of love—tears and all—even in Mark and Matthew, declaring that wheresoever the gospel will be preached, the woman's deed will be told. As he chides the male disciples for not grasping the significance of this woman's compassion, Jesus implicitly criticizes their own inadequate response to a body (soon to be) in pain. Certainly, anointing bodies for death was woman's work in that context. But Jesus transcends divisions of labor to intimate that these male disciples should respond to the suffering and the dying. It is a deontic modal; it is God's law. In the Sevastopol tales, Tolstoy evokes this Gospel precedent, putting the reader in the position of these disciples.

In her expression of compassion, "so what if he's a stranger, you still have to have pity," the amputee's wife—"your" guide in this zone of blood, suffering, and death—clearly makes the "equations of feeling" at the heart of sentimentalism, but she does so without making them overt. As she comforts and cares for the stranger, she is both obeying God's law and extending to the stranger the love she feels for her own husband. The message the amputee's wife expresses is one that is often iterated in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and is central to its ethics, plot, and poetics. In the action of the novel, Stowe's heroes and heroines model this extension of familial love to non-family members, often fulfilling the commandment to love your neighbor explicitly. If, for example, members of the Quaker household who shelter Eliza during her escape show her compassion, it is because, as Stowe makes explicit, they are extrapolating from love of their own

kin to love of neighbors who are strangers. To Itstoy tends to compress this step.) Or when Eliza attempts to get Mrs. Bird to help her along her way, she tries to *move* her into action. She suddenly asks Mrs. Bird "Ma'am . . . have you ever lost a child?" When she gets an affirmative answer, Eliza says: "Then you will feel for me." Eliza proceeds to explain to Mrs. Bird that she has buried two of her children and is running away with the child in her arms because her master was going to sell him, "a baby that had never been away from his mother in his life." Stowe uses the same dynamic that Eliza orchestrates with Mrs. Bird to activate in her readers compassion for the slaves who suffer in the novel. Whether these two experiences of losing a child are commensurable or not is open to debate; Stowe, for better or for worse, uses the common denominator as a source of compassion.)

In the finale of the novel, Stowe addresses mothers, saying: "And you, mothers of America, —you, who have learned, by the cradles of your own children, to love and feel for all mankind, —by the sacred love you bear your child...by the desolation of the empty cradle, that silent nursery, —I beseech you, pity those mothers that are constantly made childless by the American slave-trade!"82 Although Stowe often specifically played on maternal heartstrings, her sentimental techniques had wider applications. In fact, Stowe was recycling an old tactic, which dates back to Homer: the denouement of the *Iliad* hangs on Achilles actually making the equation of feeling that the grief-stricken Priam prompts when he asks Achilles to imagine what his own father will feel when he, soon, will grieve for the dead Achilles. This equation of sentiment plays on paternal love, so important in Homer's context. This (along with the will of the gods) works: Achilles takes pity on Priam and surrenders the body. Stowe puts this strategy, tried and true in the *Iliad*, to her own use throughout *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, as part of a sentimental feminization of culture.

Tolstoy, like Stowe, understood that to act on the reader's conscience, he should move the reader. To get the job done, he relies on the amputee's wife, making her "our guide" in the hospital and having her articulate the message. But can the reader adopt her credo—"so what if he is a stranger, you still have to have pity"? Although Tolstoy does not present it as instinctive, natural behavior, the context suggests that somehow what this (presumably) illiterate soldier's wife feels and expresses is probably harder for the reader to

express and maybe even to feel (gender, class, education, and faith may all figure in). Yet Tolstoy is not dismissing the amputee's wife's compassion for the dying stranger as "бабье дело" or something only fit for women. This compassion is possibly what the reader has been taught, and may even feel, even if the reader does not and cannot express it. What has been revealed to the soldier's wife has remained hidden from the wise and prudent reader. But here in the hospital in Sevastopol Tolstoy offers the reader a glimpse of compassion in action.

The amputee's wife, our "(female) guide" in the hospital ward, is soon left behind in this tale, as the tour of Sevastopol continues. In each of the two subsequent tales, however, Tolstoy includes sisters of mercy, who also serve as the reader's "(female) guides" to regarding the pain of Sevastopol. When the narrator praises the sisters of mercy in "Sevastopol in May" for their "active, practical engagement," he contrasts it to "empty, feminine, morbidly weepy compassion" in a move that shows him clearly dismissing certain forms of feminine response to the pain of others. What distinguishes these sisters of mercy is that they *act* on the credo of: "So what if he's a stranger, you still have to have pity."

Tolstoy's Sevastopol tales reflect—and contribute to—the redefinition of heroism for the modern age that began during the Crimean War. The time was ripe. One manifestation of this new heroism was the way Russian, French, and English sisters of mercy came to constitute a new kind of war hero. Florence Nightingale towered as the English icon of this new heroism, gendered feminine, but contributing to the reconsideration of masculine heroism that this "modern" war brought about.85 Lytton Strachey commented on the lack of sentimentality in Florence Nightingale, noting that her "heroism was of sterner stuff."86 In his depiction of the amputee's wife and in his tributes to Russian sisters of mercy, Tolstoy adds his Russian perspective. In contrast to the image of Florence Nightingale during and after the Crimean War, Tolstoy's Russian sisters of mercy (even if they do converse in French<sup>87</sup>) and wives of amputees are characterized by a sentimental ethos and a sentimental power, which figures into the reconsideration of masculine heroism that Tolstoy begins at Sevastopol and then develops in War and Peace and beyond. (Platon Karataev acts on the same principles as the amputee's wife, considering every neighbor his kin and showing compassion for strangers.)

# "The death and sufferings of such a worthless worm as me": Equations of Feeling in Sevastopol and at Borodino

In "Sevastopol in December," the reader finds himself on the threshold of the inner sanctum of a makeshift hospital, without feminine guidance. The narrator tells "you" to enter only if your nerves are strong. Here is where the doctors are engaged in the "repulsive but beneficent business of amputation."88 As this description makes clear, war "in its real expression—in blood, in suffering, in death . . ." is to be found not on the battlefield, but here in this zone that, as Eikhenbaum has reminded us, had previously been out of bounds for art.<sup>89</sup> As "you" witness an amputation, watching as "a sharp curved knife enters into the white, healthy body" and see an amputated arm tossed by a feldsher into the corner, Tolstoy's narrator draws attention to another wounded man who watches his comrade's operation: he suffers "not as much from physical pain, as from the psychic pain of anticipation."90 Tolstoy shows one man regarding the pain of another, his "fellow soldier" ["товарищ"] who is his neighbor, both literally and in the Christian sense. Whether intentionally or not, Tolstoy recreates Pascal's "image of the human condition," which Pascal describes as a cell where men, all condemned to death, watch their fellows be executed, one by one, waiting their own turn "in suffering and without hope." The enumeration of the particular sights the reader will face in this room ends abruptly with a dash, after the mention of the moans of the man who is watching, waiting for his limb to be amputated. After the dash, the narrator summarizes what you will see (soul-rending sights, war in its true expression) and what you will not see (war as it is ordinarily depicted, in glorified mode).

The narrator then turns back to "you." What does this sight of the blood, suffering, and death of others do to you? Tolstoy suggests that you are changed by the experience, so that you ask: "What do the death and sufferings of such a worthless worm as I am mean in comparison to all these deaths and all these sufferings?" The sight of the pain of others has reminded you of your own mortality, which seems to have brought about a change in you: you now cease to see yourself as all that matters, or even what matters most. What you feel at this point may be the seeds of brotherly love. Tolstoy gives you only an intimation of these feelings before bringing you back to your "normal state of superficiality, petty concerns and engagement only in the present." Outside, in the sunshine, you are next met with the sight of an officer's funeral

procession exiting from a church; even though you might still hear shots being fired, the narrator announces that what you see and hear "will not take you back to your former thoughts [those experienced in the amputation room]: the funeral will strike you as a supremely beautiful military spectacle, the sounds as supremely beautiful military sounds, and you will connect neither with this spectacle, nor with these sounds, the clear thought, transferred to yourself, of suffering and death, as you did in the dressing station." The Russian syntax is dense, but Tolstoy indicates that the suffering and death of others no longer signify what they did in the amputation room, when you "transferred" the suffering and death you beheld there—or at least the thought of it—to yourself and felt inklings of a transcendent brotherly love. Back in the amputation room "you" performed an equation of sentiment as you responded to the blood, suffering, and death of others.

The love in the face of blood, suffering, and death felt briefly in the amputation chamber of "Sevastopol in December" is made explicit in *War and Peace*. During the battle of Borodino, Tolstoy represents war, as he did in Sevastopol, "in its true expression," "in blood, in suffering, and in death," when the severely wounded Andrei Bolkonsky finds himself in a dressing station. He experiences both a horror that, true to his earlier presentiment, human beings in this war are *chair à canon* [cannon fodder] and an outburst of love, brought on by his own suffering, the care of the doctors, and what he himself feels as he watches the doctors amputate the leg of the man lying next to him. This man turns out to be Anatole Kuragin, his personal enemy, now his neighbor in this site of blood, suffering, and death. Tolstoy thus reprises the amputation scene in the Sevastopol tales, substituting Andrei and Anatole, with their personal connections, for you the reader and the nameless amputee. Prince Andrei behaves very sentimentally as he bursts into "tender, loving tears for people, for himself and for their and his errors."

The chapter ends with his inner monologue, as Andrei haltingly, ecstatically, tearfully, and sentimentally invokes Jesus's sermons about love: "Compassion, love for our brothers, for those who love us, love for those who hate us, love for our enemies—yes, that love which Christ preached on earth, which Princess Marya tried to teach me, and which I didn't understand; this is why I was sorry to lose life, this is what is still left for me if I was to live. But now it's too late. I know it!" His identification of this love as

something that "Princess Marya tried to teach [him] and which [he] didn't understand" reminds us that he had earlier dismissed it as womanish sentiment or "бабье дело." (As he lay wounded on the battlefield at Austerlitz, contemplating the amulet his sister had given him, he longed for faith to be as simple as it seemed to be for his sister, but he was still dismissive of her feminine piety and her Jesus; he may have felt a softening of the heart when his wife was giving birth and dying, but after Natasha's betrayal he dismissed Christ's teachings about forgiveness and loving your enemies as womanish sentiment, not fit for a man.)<sup>97</sup>

This scene of Andrei watching as his neighbor's leg is amputated echoes, with variations, what happened in the amputation room in "Sevastopol in December" as "you" watched and as you transferred to yourself the suffering and death. What Tolstoy revealed there only in part is expressed more fully—and more sentimentally—in *War and Peace* when Andrei weeps and feels a transcendent brotherly love as he reacts to his own pain and responds to his neighbor's. The wounded Andrei obeys, invokes, and echoes the sermons of Jesus, which were evoked more mutedly in the original scenes in "Sevastopol in December."

In the very next chapter of *War and Peace*, Tolstoy shifts the action to Napoleon as he, weakened by a cold, looks out on the battlefield of Borodino, depressed and not his usual self-satisfied self. We are told that for the first time he "transferred to himself [на себя переносил] the sufferings and death he had seen on the battlefield." Tolstoy reinforces the point in the next sentence: "The heaviness in his head and chest reminded him of the possibility of even his own suffering and death." Tolstoy again provides a variation on what happened to "you" in "Sevastopol in December." Napoleon does what "you" did as you "transferred to yourself" the "thought of the suffering and death" of others. Tolstoy splits the original scene into two halves—Andrei witnessing the amputation and Napoleon "transferring suffering and death"—and then develops each into its own episode. The two adjacent episodes in *War and Peace* are complementary and together hark back to their common source in "Sevastopol in December."

Much as "you" did in the first Sevastopol tale, Napoleon transfers to himself the suffering and death of others—to which he is ordinarily impervious. For this brief moment, Napoleon performs an equation of feeling, which is an entirely new emotional operation for him. As characterized by Aleksandr Pushkin in Chapter 2, Canto 14 of Eugene Onegin [Евгений Онегин], Napoleon and his imitators "regard all others as zeroes and themselves as the only integer, . . . the millions of two-legged creatures are just tools." Tolstoy even echoes this view of Napoleon in "Sevastopol in May" when he notes that each of the officers he describes is "a little Napoleon," "a little monster, ready to start a conflict, even now, and to kill a hundred or so men simply in order to get an extra star or a third more pay."101 To be (like) Napoleon for Tolstoy, as for Pushkin, meant being willing to disregard the death and pain of others in order to achieve your goals. But here, for this one moment in War and Peace, Tolstoy's Napoleon himself starts to take stock of his own mortality and ceases to care about the goals he has been selfishly striving for and the war he had been waging (we are told that at this moment Napoleon does not care about his goals of Moscow, victory, or glory). He feels, for the first time, the equality and brotherhood without which these equations of feeling cannot be made. The rationale is that you have to acknowledge the other as your equal in order to respond to his pain. 102 The vulnerability Napoleon feels, as he is moved for the first time by the pain and death of others, humanizes him for this moment. The next step would have been for Napoleon, the epitome of selfish behavior, to feel brotherly love for these men.

Tolstoy's Napoleon in *War and Peace*, however, reverts back to being his Napoleonic—selfish and often sappy—self.<sup>103</sup> Tolstoy's narratee in "Sevastopol in December," when he steps out of the amputation chamber into the sunshine, ceases to transfer to himself the suffering and death of others. He will go on to witness, toward the end of "Sevastopol in December," the death of a sailor, which, like the scene in the amputation room, will rend his soul. He will be moved to patriotic feeling, as Tolstoy's narrator praises the heroes of this "epic of Sevastopol," the "Russian people," for their sacrifice. But, as the tale ends, the military band is playing a waltz on the boulevard, with the sounds of war from the bastions echoing and possibly harmonizing with the music.<sup>104</sup> As Morson argues, the story sets about disturbing the reader's sense of "aesthetic joy," which it does.<sup>105</sup> And yet, as Tolstoy illustrates time and time again, human beings are all too prone to surrender to music and other diversions. "Sevastopol in December" thus stirs in the reader discordant messages about regarding the pain of others.

#### The Sun Also Rises on Sevastopol

"Sevastopol in May," Tolstoy's second tale, written shortly after completion of the first, follows a handful of officers as they move in and out of danger over two days and especially on a starlit spring night of heavy casualties. It also presents, at the beginning, at the end, and at critical points throughout, monologues from the narrator. Thus, recalling the preacher in Ecclesiastes, Tolstoy's narrator comments on the vanity of the officers' concerns—they strive for earthly rewards in the form of "Annas and Vladimirs" (Russian medals of honor)—while "the angel of death ceaselessly hovers" above them, while the sun rises again and then sets. 106 Tolstoy's narrator bemoans the loss of life, but adds a disturbing note to his lament about all human toil being for naught when, after reminding us that "the question not resolved by diplomats is being resolved even less by powder and blood." Then, announcing that he wants to share a "strange thought" that has often occurred to him about war, he asks, why not just dismiss the armies and have the matter decided by one-on-one combat between two men? 107

Boris Eikhenbaum observes that these monologues sound like sermons and argues that the new sermonic mode that Tolstoy developed in "Sevastopol in May" was "an artistic discovery" critical to the development of Tolstoy's style. <sup>108</sup> In the words of Eikhenbaum, the author "holds forth as an orator, as a sermonist—he does not narrate, nor does he even describe, but rather he declaims, he sermonizes." Tolstoy sermonizes on subject matter that has been popular with preachers from Ecclesiastes on. <sup>109</sup> According to Eikhenbaum, when Tolstoy's narrator is in this sermonizing mode, he "does not identify with any of his characters and does not participate in the events," "nor is he an observer any longer"; he is rather "a sermonist, a judge, whose voice does not mingle in, but overpowers [ПОКРЫВАЕТ] [the voices of the characters], and sounds in the silence like the voice not even of an outsider, but of a being from another world." The sermonic narrative voice, which emerges in "Sevastopol in May" "as if from another world," will return to haunt Tolstoy's fiction.

Eikhenbaum mentions in a footnote to his observation about the sermonic narration in "Sevastopol in May" that Tolstoy had tried his own hand at writing sermons in 1851. <sup>111</sup> Tolstoy's attempts, composed during an Easter week in which he also prepared for communion, have not survived. <sup>112</sup> Tolstoy's diary

indicates that he continued to be interested in the sermon as a form of literary persuasion: on November 22, 1853, he comments on the potential of the sermon as a means of "religious education of our lower class"—provided the sermonist is able to "sacrifice his authorial self-love." <sup>113</sup> Tolstoy's composition of sermons in 1851 and his remarks about sermons in 1853 indicate his keen interest in the genre. Orthodoxy offered many models, from the sermons of Byzantine greats, like John Chrysostom, to those of Filaret (1782-1867), the Metropolitan of Moscow, author of the catechism, and a renowned sermonist. Furthermore, as Dmitry Likhachev has observed, Russian literature in its early stages, from the eleventh through the sixteenth centuries, tended to be sermonic and in the seventeenth century the archpriest Avvakum made the narrative of his life into a sermon.<sup>114</sup> Tolstoy admired Karamzin for his interest in moral education, and was familiar with Gogol's preaching in his Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends [Выбранные места из переписки с друзьями, 1847], as well as the sermonic elements that Gogol incorporated into his fiction. 115 Tolstoy also had non-Orthodox inspiration for sermon-writing: Sterne, referred to by the young Tolstoy as his "favorite writer," incorporated sermons into his fiction (and was himself a published author of sermons, a fact Tolstoy probably would not have known). 116 William Makepeace Thackeray, whose works are mentioned in "Sevastopol in May," sermonized periodically in his novels, despite his insistence that sermons do not belong in novels, and he appealed in Vanity Fair not just to John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, but directly to the book of Ecclesiastes (the mood and style of the preacher of Ecclesiastes leaves its mark on Tolstoy's "epic of Sevastopol").

To this list of possible inspirations for Tolstoy's sermonizing in "Sevastopol in May" should be added Harriet Beecher Stowe. As she wrote to Frederick Douglass in 1851, "I am a ministers [sic] daughter—a ministers [sic] wife & I have had six brothers in the ministry . . . & I certainly ought to know something of the feelings of ministers." Robyn Warhol has observed that Stowe had "internalized" "the rhetorical techniques of sermons," and used these "strategies" "to bring home her message to her readers." Stowe appropriated from her sermonic heritage a number of strategies, but she showed a particular genius for denouncing, as if from the pulpit, the perversions and contradictions in the world she inhabited, "beneath the shadow of the American law, and the shadow of the cross of Christ." One of her most effective tactics was to reveal

truths that culture covers up. She writes: "Scenes of blood and cruelty are shocking to our ear and heart. What man has nerve to do, man has not nerve to hear. What brother-man and brother-Christian must suffer, cannot be told us, even in our secret chamber, it so harrows up the soul! And yet, oh my country! These things are done under the shadow of thy laws! O, Christ! Thy church sees them, almost in silence!" Her mission is to draw attention to the disturbing, shameful truth about slavery, which institutions (church, country) and individuals (her readers) do their best to ignore. Not only would hearing these truths "harrow up the soul," but it would, or should, make it impossible to carry on according to custom and routine. In *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe aimed to defamiliarize slavery in the hope that her readers would not be able to revert back to their former, more comfortable perception.

Whereas Stowe had clear goals as she sermonized about slavery, Tolstoy's program is less clear when he sermonizes in "Sevastopol in May." He too, however, tells people what they may not want to hear and he too tries to root out the contradictions in the world he describes. Sevastopol is, to be sure, a special environment, but many of its truths also apply to the public back home. At the start of "Sevastopol in May," the narrator reminds us that the angel of death has been hovering ceaselessly over Sevastopol for months; the tale ends with us contemplating a pile of decaying corpses. In the tale, Tolstoy shows those depicted in relationship to this angel and this pile of corpses: the officers, for the most part, when they are out of danger and not in the trenches or on the bastions, go about Sevastopol as if it were Nevsky Prospect, ignoring the angel of death and the corpses amassing—until they themselves face imminent danger.

To draw the reader's attention to this angel of death and pile of corpses, Tolstoy uses the rhetoric of the sermon, in a pair of linked passages that describe, in a collective way, what has been happening in Sevastopol: Tolstoy offers metonymic indications of human endeavors in what are essentially lists. The first of these occurs at the start of "Sevastopol in May"; the second, which is a reprise of the first, occurs toward the end (Chapter 14). (In the interim, between these chapters, the narration follows individual officers through a night of heavy enemy fire.) Eikhenbaum considers these two passages to be especially sermonic. He observes that Tolstoy repeats words and whole phrases, condensing and introducing new material to intensify their pathos. Whereas in Chapter 1 the narrator mentions the angel of death hovering over Sevastopol

and all its activities, in Chapter 14 the angel of death has been replaced by a graphic representation of the (barely) living among the dead: hundreds of people, "with curses and prayers on their parched lips, crawl, toss, turn, and moan" among the corpses strewn over a field—and against the backdrop of the rhythms of nature and the beauty of God's creation. Chapter 14, only a paragraph long, ends with a lyrical description of the sun rising, "promising joy, love, and happiness to all the awakening world." In the next chapter, Tolstoy cuts back to his main participants, the surviving officers, who, out of danger again, revert back to their futile behavior, causing the narrator to call them "little Napoleons."

# "Why do they not embrace like brothers in tears of joy and happiness?"

In the next and final chapter (16) of "Sevastopol in May," a ceasefire has been declared. Tolstoy writes: "On our bastion and on the French trench white flags are displayed and between them in the flowering valley in clumps lie, without shoes, in gray and in blue clothing, mangled corpses, which workers are carrying away and laying on stretchers. The horrible, heavy smell of dead flesh fills the air. From Sevastopol and from the French camp crowds of people have poured out to look at this spectacle [of the corpses] and with eager and benevolent curiosity they stream toward each other . . . "123 In his description of the Russians and French during the ceasefire, Tolstoy alternately refers to them as separate and opposed categories, as befits enemies whose differences explain the war (they come from two separate camps; some corpses wear gray uniforms, whereas others wear blue) and as united, as part of the same group (the corpses lie helterskelter in mixed clumps; the men all mingle and fraternize in the no-man's land where the corpses are strewn). Although the Russians and the French come out of their separate camps in order "to look at the spectacle," they end up drawn not to the spectacle of the corpses but to each other. They exchange words, with the Russians showing off their French; they light each other's pipes and cigarettes; and, in an echo of Homer, two of them exchange cigarette cases. 124 At this point, during the ceasefire, the opposition between French and Russians is drawn into question in an ostensive way.

Earlier in "Sevastopol in May" Tolstoy had begun to deconstruct the differences between Russian and French, friend and foe, differences that provide the

structure necessary to animate and support war.<sup>125</sup> The narrator, in preacher mode in Chapter 1, ends his sermonic opening by questioning war itself as an institution when he shares his "strange thought" with us (Why have whole armies fight? Would it not be more humane and more logical just to have two people fight?), and concludes by raising the possibility that war is madness [сумасшествие] and that human beings are not as rational as they are purported to be.<sup>126</sup>

Lyrical references to the sun rising at the beginning of Chapter 2, with their possible evocations of Ecclesiastes and a general sense of all human toil being for naught, also contain veiled questions about oppositions between enemies and possible intimations of war being in violation of God's law.<sup>127</sup> Tolstoy writes that the sun rises and shines "with equal joy for all," right after mentioning that the sun rises over the English entrenchments and then over the bastions, Sevastopol itself, and the Nikolaevsky barracks. 128 This description accurately tracks the course of the sun over Sevastopol in relation to the cardinal points, but it also evokes Jesus's words in the Sermon on the Mount that God the Father "maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good." Jesus makes his point that people should strive to be like God, and thus to love, rather than hate, their enemies. 130 Tolstoy's declaration that the sun shines "with equal joy for all" has the effect of unifying both camps, English and Russian, in warm embrace. But if we take into account the veiled allusion to Jesus's sermons about loving your enemy, then the young Tolstoy's reference to the sun rising and shining "with equal joy for all" also reminds us that war violates the heart of Christ's teaching.

Tolstoy, evocatively but forcefully, prompts his readers to see the arbitrary nature of war and to regard enemies as modal brothers. At some points, his sermonic narration does not seem to distinguish between French and Russian and, as it shines equally on both, achieves a divine omniscience. At other points, the narrator expresses patriotic sentiments and disdain for the enemy. But "Sevastopol in May" does not contain the kind of celebration of the Russians found in "Sevastopol in December," where Tolstoy praises the simple soldiers and sailors for their humble heroism and their sacrifice. <sup>131</sup> In this second tale, with its focus on vainglorious Russian officers, none of whom merits the title of hero and some of whom deserve to be called monsters or even little Napoleons, Tolstoy's narrator repeatedly puts the Russians and French on equal footing, as if to prepare for the scene of fraternization while the white flags are flying.

In the final chapter of "Sevastopol in May," just as the French and the Russians, in a mix of soldiers and officers, have moved from discussing the relative merits of Turkish, Russian, and French tobacco to acknowledging the corpses—"Isn't it terrible, this sad duty that we are carrying out?" ["N'est-ce pas terrible la triste besogne, que nous faisons?"] says a Russian cavalry member, "motioning to the corpses"—Tolstoy's narrator cuts them off. "Enough," says the narrator.<sup>132</sup> He then returns us to the horror of war (using a transition like in Stowe's "Uncle Tim" that Eikhenbaum commented on): "Let us look instead at this ten-year-old boy…" This boy walks by the piles of corpses, pokes at one of the bodies, and screams.<sup>133</sup> Tolstoy uses this defamiliarizing response to the corpses as his transition into full sermon mode.<sup>134</sup> The boy is the only one to really look at the corpses. The sight fills him with horror.

This prompts Tolstoy's narrator to ask why "these people—Christians professing the same one great law of love and self-sacrifice—looking at what they have done [the carnage in front of them that they have caused], do not suddenly fall repentant to their knees before him who, having given them life, placed in the soul of each, along with the fear of death, love of the good and the beautiful?" Why "do they not embrace like brothers in tears of joy and happiness?" 135

As he asks these questions, Tolstoy's narrator sheds the ironic tone that he assumes elsewhere and that will return. His mode of sermonizing recalls what Stowe does throughout *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and especially in the "Concluding Remarks." Both Tolstoy and Stowe point out the inconsistency between what people practice—war for Tolstoy, slavery for Stowe—and what they preach or profess—Christian love, in both cases. In this passage, Tolstoy's message is like Stowe's throughout *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: it could be summarized as, "Christians, bethink yourselves." Stowe asks: "And now, men and women of America, is this a thing to be trifled with, apologized for, and passed over in silence? . . . — is this a thing for you to countenance and encourage?" Tolstoy's refrain from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the Sevastopol tales is the question: can you justify killing "in the shadow of the cross of Christ"?

Stowe's message is more single-minded and more pointed: she draws repeated attention to the fact that slavery violates Christian belief. Thus, for example, she complains that Christ's "church sees . . . scenes of blood and cruelty . . . almost in silence." As for Tolstoy, in the Sevastopol tales, his

convictions had not yet become fixed; he is still searching. But he does (through his preacher-narrator) address the reader in an earnest way to raise the vexed question of whether killing each other in war is what "Christians professing the same one great law of love and self-sacrifice" should do. As the narrator asks: would embracing tearfully like brothers not be more in keeping with what they profess? After all, the Russians and French have just been fraternizing; the sun has been shining equally joyfully over all. At this point, Tolstoy's prose takes on a sermonic and sentimental quality. Even at this young age, Tolstoy felt the bitter truths that would haunt him later. He already had intimations of the kingdom of God, or of a higher truth, for which a sermonic tone was necessary: ordinary prose would not do.

The Sevastopol tales have been subjected to various forms of editing, revision, and censorship, from initial publication through to the present; censors, editors, scholars, translators, disciples, and Tolstoy himself are responsible for the changes. 140 Thus, when "Sevastopol in May" was first published, the editors of The Contemporary felt compelled to add a jingoistic line depicting Russia as a victim of aggression. Tolstoy saw to it that this line was omitted from subsequent editions. Burnasheva and Layton have noted, however, that some Russian editions and English translations have edited out some of Tolstoy's original passages, possibly on the grounds that their content was judged incompatible with Tolstoy's later pacifism. (Also edited out of some editions were some of Tolstoy's most searing condemnations of war.) Tolstoy's readers now have available a text that is true to Tolstoy's original vision. In this version, Tolstoy's narrator praises the defenders of Sevastopol and shows them bent on destroying the enemy, but he also, in sermonic mode, shares his "strange thoughts" about war and asks why men who profess the law of love do not embrace like brothers? As he wrote the Sevastopol tales, Second Lieutenant Tolstoy himself was not ready to beat swords into ploughshares. But the seeds of his later pacifism may be found in the Sevastopol tales, in his representation of "war in its true expression"— "in blood, in suffering, and in death"—and also in questions such as those he poses at the end of "Sevastopol in May." Tolstoy would repeat these questions elsewhere in his later fiction, such as in *War and Peace*, when, just as a prayerful Natasha takes to heart Christ's message about loving and forgiving your enemies, the priest reads proclamations of war, which contain orders to kill enemies, or when Levin, with his characteristic Tolstoyan drive for

consistency, fixes on the contradiction that arises when a church that preaches love promotes war.<sup>141</sup>

"Sevastopol in May" ends with an announcement that the fighting goes on, as the "white flags" that promised peace are defamiliarized into "white rags" that signify nothing: "No! The white rags have been hidden away—and again the engines of death and suffering sound, again innocent blood flows and moans and curses are heard." Tolstoy's preacher-narrator then proceeds to ask whether what he has just said belongs to a category of bitter truth better left unuttered, lest it make life unbearable. But, of course, the question he has posed—"Why do they not embrace like brothers in tears of joy and happiness?"— continues to echo in the reader's consciousness, even if the fervent sentiment gives way to bitter irony as the fighting continues.

## "My God, my God! When will it all end!"

Composed after the surrender of Sevastopol, the third, final tale, "Sevastopol in August, 1855," follows a young officer, Vladimir Kozeltsov, fresh out of military school, as he arrives at Sevastopol. He is fueled by patriotic feeling and ambition, and inspired by fantasies of dying a glorious, heroic death by the side of his older brother Mikhail, an experienced officer who has just recovered from a wound and is returning to action. Tolstoy uses the contrast between the two brothers' perceptions, one naïve and hopeful, the other experienced and disillusioned, as he narrates the younger Kozeltsov's Bildung [education] and baptism by fire in Sevastopol. Once separated from his older brother, young Kozeltsov takes his place among the soldiers of whom he is (nominally) in charge; he experiences danger; he feels affection for this band of brothers, which helps him stop nursing disappointment over the reunion with his older brother; and he starts to grow up. But, before the end of "Sevastopol in August, 1855," both Kozeltsov brothers will be dead. 143 The tale ends with a pervasive sense of futility. As the Russians abandon Sevastopol and reach land, the retreating soldiers cross themselves, but then curse the enemy with bitterness.

Tolstoy grants to a sister of mercy, who appears briefly in this final Sevastopol tale, what may be its resounding line: "My God, my God! When will it all end!" ["Боже мой, боже мой! Когда это все кончится!"]<sup>144</sup> This sister, identified as young and pretty, guides the two Kozeltsov brothers through the hospital where they have come to visit an amputee, in what the reader

recognizes as a reprise, in third person narration, of the reader's tour of the amputation ward in the first tale, in which the amputee's wife acted as guide. Watching the younger Kozeltsov gaping, sighing, and groaning at the pain of others, the sister asks whether he has just arrived in Sevastopol. She then looks at him and bursts into tears. Though she weeps as she says this, the tears do not represent the "empty, feminine, morbidly weepy compassion" that the narrator dismisses in the second tale. Her feminine sentiment is active and powerful. She is soon lifting the head of the suffering amputee they are visiting onto the pillow and easing his pain. At this point young Kozeltsov notices her wedding ring. This young sister of mercy's husband is presumably dead; she thus transfers the love she felt for him to others, in a living "equation of feeling," under the same principle of: "So what if he's a stranger, you still have to have pity."

In young Kozeltsov's soul that night, his first in the shelter among his men, with heavy fire exploding outside, troubled images of the wounded and blood are mixed with fantasies of this pretty young sister nursing him as he lies dying, and then with memories of his mother seeing him off and blessing him as she wept and prayed in front of a wonder-working icon. Hese two feminine figures, full of tears but active (nursing or blessing), comfort him, but they also turn his soul toward God. He suddenly starts praying to almighty God, who hears all prayers. At this point, young Kozeltsov grows up. He after surrendering himself to the will of God in prayer, the "childish, fearful, hemmed in" soul of Vladimir Kozeltsov "suddenly becomes manly, enlightened, and sees new, vast, and bright horizons." The transformation of Vladimir Kozeltsov takes place through prayer to the almighty God, but the pathos of the sister of mercy and of his mother prepared his soul for this change. Without their tears, would his soul have sought God?

The young Kozeltsov, in the absence of his mother and the sister of mercy, finds comfort in the band of brothers of his battalion. On the night before his death, as he huddles with them in the shelter, he experiences that special Tolstoyan brotherly love that the young Tolstoy and his biological brothers fantasized about in their game of "ant brothers," when they would huddle together in a hideout made by draping shawls between chairs and over boxes and dream of universal brotherly love (this dream may have fed the question "Why do they not embrace like brothers?"). <sup>150</sup> At one point, Tolstoy notes that young Kozeltsov felt, among these men in the shelter, "that feeling of comfort

he had as a child, playing hide-and-seek, when he would crawl into a cupboard or under his mother's skirt." Young Kozeltsov has been forever exiled from his mother's protective embrace (womb, arms, skirt, shawl, etc.), even though she may have blessed him with wonder-working icons before departure. But what he now has, instead, is the brotherly love of the men in this shelter, which offers him the same comfort and exaltation on the eve of his death. 152

Young Kozeltsov grows into manhood and brotherly love only to die. He does not die the glorious death of his earlier fantasies. As the Russians retreat from Sevastopol, he is mourned by the young *junker* [military volunteer] who had been looking after him, hoping to protect him from the death that occurs anyway. This junker, Vlang or Vlanga—the narrator explains that he was known by this feminized form to "all the soldiers" who "for some reason declined his last name in the feminine gender" becomes the surrogate for the sister of mercy and the mother of young Kozeltsov's fantasies as he suddenly remembers Kozeltsov and begins to weep while he and others, crammed onto a boat, retreat from Sevastopol, as the stars shine above, "just the same as yesterday." 154

Tolstoy ends the tale with the Russians cursing and threatening the enemy after having made signs of the cross as they arrived safely on the shore across from Sevastopol. And yet it is the sister of mercy's tearful "My God, my God! When will it all end!"—uttered mid-tale—that resounds long after the tales are over. The siege itself did in fact end shortly thereafter, as did, eventually, the Crimean War, but Tolstoy leaves the reader haunted by the bitter truth that "it" will not really end. What began as a question becomes an exclamation. The exclamation point introduces an element of despair and futility. What could have become a lament Tolstoy makes into a cry of protest. The As a war widow and as a sister of mercy, this woman speaks not from the "otherworldly" perspective of Tolstoy's sermonist-narrator, but from the womb, to protest against the blood, the sufferings, and the death.

As he composed his "epic of Sevastopol," the young Tolstoy mastered—and made uniquely Tolstoyan in the process—techniques akin to those used by Stowe in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, as she sermonized in the name of maternal love and used sentimental power as a form of protest. Tolstoy's perspective, however, was very different: whereas Stowe narrates from a maternal point of view, Tolstoy's was the point of view of a motherless child. This mode of narration came naturally to him in his trilogy *Childhood*, *Boyhood*, *Youth* as he focused on

the death of the hero's mother and wrote in the first person. But, as he responded to the blood, suffering, and death of others in the siege of Sevastopol, he had to develop new modes of narration and master new devices. With Stowe's motherly example in the background, Tolstoy imbued his epic of Sevastopol with elements of pathos, sermon, and protest. His narrative voice may be manly, as it modulates between irony and sentiment, but Tolstoy would never leave behind the perspective of the motherless child.

Throughout much of the Sevastopol tales, Tolstoy keeps the pathos in check, threatening to dismiss it as womanish sentiment, and subjecting it to bitter irony. And yet the pathos, sermon, and protest surface forcefully: in the credo of the amputee's wife, "He may be a stranger, but you still must have compassion" ("Sevastopol in December"); in the narrator's question "Why do they not embrace like brothers?" followed by his reminder that such questions are usually not uttered aloud, lest they make life untenable ("Sevastopol in May"); and in the young sister of mercy's question that becomes a cry of despair and protest, "My God, my God, when will it all end!" ("Sevastopol in August, 1855"). Emerging from the words of Tolstoy's sermonist-narrator, of the amputee's wife, and of the tearful sister of mercy is the ethic of brotherly love in the face of death that would become the holy of holies in Tolstoy's life and art, the expression of both the longing and the consolation of the motherless child.

#### **Endnotes**

- 1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the national conference of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies in November, 2010. I am very grateful to Hugh McLean both for the illuminating insights he offered in his role as discussant and for the valuable comments he made on this essay.
- 2 Tolstoi, ПСС, online edition, 2:87. Quotations from the Sevastopol tales are from volume 2 (1852-1856) of the online Complete Collected Works [Полное собрание сочинений] in 100 volumes, hereafter cited by volume and page numbers. The text of these works is more complete in this edition than in the earlier Chertkov edition. The translations are mostly my own; I consulted and sometimes adapted the Aylmer and Louise Maude translation in Leo Tolstoy, Collected Shorter Fiction.

Quotations from *War and Peace* come from the translation by Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky (with slight changes), cited by page number, along with the part, volume, and chapter number. Unless otherwise noted, quotations from and references to other works by Tolstoy (e.g., other works, diaries, letters, etc.), cited as Chertkov edition by volume and раде number refer to the *Полное собрание сочинений* in 90 volumes.

- 3 Phrases cited are from the dustjacket of *Regarding the Pain of Others*. Sontag cites a journal entry of Charles Baudelaire from the early 1860s: "It is impossible to glance through any newspaper, no matter what the day, the month or the year, without finding on every line the most frightful traces of human perversity. . . . Every newspaper, from the first line to the last, is nothing but a tissue of horrors. . . . And it is with this loathsome appetizer that civilized man daily washes down his morning repast" (Sontag, 107).
- 4 Trudi Tate writes of the war from the English perspective: "The Crimean War was the first war to be reported first hand in the newspapers, the first to be photographed, the first to be painted by official war artists, and the first to make use of the new technology of the telegraph. It was the first modern war in the sense that it took place partly at the level of representation. More than this: representations of the war had a tangible effect upon the conduct of the conflict and the politics which surrounded it" (162). For further discussion of the Crimean War as the first modern war, see Peck; Markovits.
- 5 Russell, *Dispatches from the Crimea*, 163. See John Peck (26-34) on Russell's break with the tradition of war writing, which depicted the events of war "as an epic struggle, a play, where opposing forces led by exemplary generals engage in dramatic confrontations" (30). Peck explains that Russell was writing for a novel-reading public and that his sensibility and style were influenced by contemporary novelists.

In an early review of Tolstoy, Aleksandr Druzhinin compares Russell's and Tolstoy's accounts of the Crimean War, declaring the latter to be superior in terms of artistic talent. Druzhinin is right that Russell was no Tolstoy; the two also wrote within very different political and publishing contexts. But Russell and Tolstoy still approached the material with many of the same attitudes and under many of the same influences.

6 Tennyson, "Charge of the Light Brigade," 222. These lines read: "Was there a man dismay'd? / Not tho' the soldier knew / Someone had blunder'd: / Theirs not to make reply, / Theirs not to reason why, / Theirs but to do and die: / Into the valley of Death /Rode the six hundred." The events in question occurred on October 25, 1854, at Balaklava. Russell's "The Cavalry Action at Balaklava" appeared in the *Times* on November 14, 1854; Tennyson's poem was published on December 9, 1854, in the *Examiner*. For discussion, see Tate.

Tolstoy wrote a ballad, said to have circulated widely, "Song about the battle at the Chernaia River on August 4, 1855" ["Песня про сражение на г. Черной 4 августа 1855 г."] (Chertkov edition, 4:307-308), in which military leaders and their blunders are treated with bitter, but more jocular, irony. Tolstoy participated in the affair described although, as he wrote to his brother, he did not fire his weapon (Chertkov edition, 4:421). Although the ballad is more unofficial and irreverent than the Poet Laureate Tennyson's "Charge," it conveys much of the same spirit.

- 7 See Sontag (48-51) for a discussion of Fenton's role as "first war photographer." For a reproduction of the photograph, see http://graphics8.nytimes.com/images/blogs/morris/match1-large.jpg. Fenton rearranged the cannonballs for his photograph. For discussion of this, see http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/09/25/which-came-first-the-chicken-or-the-egg-part-one/ (thanks to Steven Shaklan for drawing this to my attention).
- 8 Markovits, Crimean War, 1-62.
- 9 For discussion of the censorship and editing of Tolstoy's Sevastopol tales, see N. I. Burnasheva and Susan Layton.
- 10 "Sevastopol in December" was published in *The Contemporary* [Современник] in June 1855 to great acclaim, with Tsar Alexander ordering a French translation to be printed in *Le Nord* [*The North*], an official Russian publication that came out in Brussels (Burnasheva, notes, 2:395). It roused readers in Russia to patriotic heights and riveted their attention to the pain of others in Sevastopol. Ivan Aksakov wrote to his father that reading it made him want to head off to Sevastopol (Burnasheva, 2:396). And Turgenev reported to Ivan Panaev that the first sketch

- was a "miracle," that "tears came to [his] eyes as [he] read it, and [he] cheered 'Hurrah!'" (Burnasheva, 2:396).
- 11 Before writing the Sevastopol tales, Tolstoy collaborated on a proposal, turned down by Tsar Nicholas I (in the months before his death), to publish a journal with the mission of being accessible both "in cost and in content" to all people in the military world. (For the text of related materials, see Chertkov edition, 4:281-284). The new journal would express the "spirit" of the military. The plan was, as Tolstoy described it, to create and disseminate a new kind of military literature, different from the official military literature, such as had appeared in the official organ, *The Invalid* [Инвалида]. (In the second tale, one of the protagonists imagines his sweetheart getting news of his heroic exploits and the medals he receives from *The Invalid*. Tolstoy makes it clear that what finds its way into *The Invalid* is not "war in its real expression," but rather a heroized version.) Tolstoy's interest in this venture shows his commitment to a new approach to writing for and about the military and his desire to escape official constraints.

According to Markovits (19-20), the London *Times* reached the Russians in Sevastopol around the same time that it reached the English in their encampments in the area, a fact that the English learned from a captured Russian. (Some English expressed concern over the enemy Russians learning too much from Russell's reports and advocated censorship or the elimination of war correspondents; Russell responded to this criticism in some of his dispatches.) In addition to commissioning and printing dispatches from the front by Russell, Thomas Chenery (whose reports on conditions in the hospitals in Scutari had an important effect on public opinion), and others, the London *Times* editorialized and published letters from readers. In editorials and letters, the editors and public went through a variety of responses to reports of distant pain and suffering and analyzed this phenomenon.

12 For discussion of the young Tolstoy's concern with his craft and other writers' practices, as documented in his diary and elsewhere, see Boris Eikhenbaum, Young Tolstoy [Молодой Толстой] and Lev Tolstoi [Лев Толстой].

In "Sevastopol in May," Tolstoy's narrator makes comments about the contemporary state of literature, regretting that Homer and Shakespeare

- have been replaced by "an endless tale of Vanity and Snobs," in a reference to William Thackeray, whom Tolstoy had read recently.
- 13 Tolstoy, "Apropos of the Book War and Peace," 1217-24.
- 14 Viktor Shklovsky, *Pro and contra* [*3a и против*], 96-7. Shklovsky writes of a "new type of novel," but then explains parenthetically that "we do not have a name for a work of this genre." Shklovsky notes that Tolstoy's new novel, with its search for a hero and devastating analysis of reality, harks back to Lermontov's *A Hero of Our Time*. Shklovsky cites Engels's "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State" ["Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigenthums und des Staats," 1884] on the novel being a "mirror" of the European family, along with Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin's соттельность оп the novel being "primarily a work about familiness" ("по преимуществу произведение семейственности") (97).
- 15 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , Chertkov edition, 47:11.
- 16 Ibid., 46:170.
- 17 In What Is Art? [ Ymo maκoe ucκyccm80?, 1897], Tolstoy champions Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin as an example of "good art," a work that promotes love of God and love of one's neighbor, that draws human beings together, that furthers their sense of brotherhood by "evok[ing] in them those feelings that show they are already united in the joys and sorrows of life." Not many novelists do this, according to Tolstoy; he places Stowe in the company of Dostoevsky, Victor Hugo, Dickens, and George Eliot (What Is Art?, 151-2).
- 18 Eikhenbaum is the exception. For discussion of his comments on Tolstoy's (possible) response to Stowe's "Uncle Tim," see below. For discussion of the influence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on Tolstoy's *late* novel, see Karen Smith.
- 19 Tolstoi, *ΠCC*, Chertkov edition, 46:24; 46:266.
- 20 For discussion of the reception of Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin in Russia, see John MacKay, "The First Years of Uncle Tom's Cabin in Russian," and True Songs of Freedom: Uncle Tom's Cabin in Russian Culture and Society. As MacKay explains, the publication of Russian versions was not allowed until late 1857. But many Russian readers, like Tolstoy, read the novel earlier in translation.

In *True Songs of Freedom*, MacKay analyzes a number of different assessments Tolstoy made of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, including, in addition to the

lavish praise of later years (*What Is Art?* and elsewhere), a couple of negative comments in letters in 1858 (to Nikolai Nekrasov) and in 1863 (to Afanasy Fet) (39-51). Tolstoy's disparaging remarks, as MacKay notes, need to be understood within the context of Tolstoy's relations with his correspondents, his changing political stances, and many other factors. They are very much in keeping with Tolstoy's mode of responding to other writers, even ones whose works he took very seriously. (The ultimate case of this would be the mixed messages he emitted about Dostoevsky).

21 Tolstoy's diaries of the early 1850s (before and after he read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in August, 1854) contain a number of references to serfdom, to being a serf-owner, and to interactions with his serfs. He mentions a conversation "about our Russian slavery" (then remarking in his diary on June 24, 1854, that slavery is "an evil, but an extremely nice [милое] one" (Chertkov edition, 47:4). But on July 8, 1855, Tolstoy mentions in his diary wanting money to arrange for freeing his serfs. Then on August 1, 1855, he mentions another conversation about slavery and then that his story "A Russian Landowner" would have as its main idea the impossibility of slavery for an educated, "correct" landowner of the day (Chertkov edition 47:58). For further discussion of this story, see Anne Lounsbery, "On Cultivating One's Own Garden with Other People's Labor: Serfdom in 'A Landowner's Morning," included in this volume.

In 1856, after Tsar Alexander II's speech announcing that serfdom would be abolished "from above," Tolstoy came up with a plan for offering his serfs their freedom (for discussion, see Feuer, 138-140). The plan backfired, when his serfs refused his offer. As Feuer explains, they thought that he was trying to swindle them because he expected compensation, whereas they thought the tsar would give them the land for nothing. Tolstoy was wounded by their response and disavowed his liberal tendencies.

Perhaps Tolstoy, as he tried to execute this plan for liberating his serfs, expected his life to imitate the happy ending of Stowe's novel: in the chapter called "The Liberator," young George Shelby gathers his slaves and offers them their freedom. At first they are bewildered and say they do not want their freedom, but then they agree, with hymns and thanksgiving, as George explains that he resolved on the grave of Uncle Tom, "before God," that he would never own another slave (380).

- 22 "Bethink Yourselves" is the title used by Chertkov in the English translation of "Одумайтесь," Tolstoy's treatise against the Russo-Japanese War and war in general, which was published in the London *Times*. "Bethink Yourselves" may be seen as the culmination of the thinking about war that began in the Sevastopol tales, in response to the Crimean War. This made the *Times* an especially fitting place to publish it; he added, fifty years later, his response to the seminal discussion that took place in the *Times* during the Crimean War.
- 23 Tompkins, Sensational Designs, 141. The later Tolstoy would also be known for plans for instituting the Kingdom of Heaven on earth by finding it within each individual (see his The Kingdom of God Is Within You [Царство божие внутри вас, 1894]).
- 24 Tompkins, Sensational Designs, 141; Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, 117.
- 25 Stowe addresses mothers at various points within the novel, in authorial intrusions and again in her "Concluding Remarks." Incidents that hinge on the separation of children from their mothers are the mainstay of the plot of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; one of its miraculous moments reunites a mother and child after many years.
- 26 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:93.
- 27 Gustafson, Leo Tolstoy, 14-15.
- 28 In his diary in December of 1853, Tolstoy praises the Russian sentimentalist Nikolai Karamzin for his efforts, back in 1777, to use literature for purposes of moral education [нравоучение] and complains that nowadays "if you start to talk about it being necessary for literature to further moral education, nobody understands you" [Chertkov edition, 46:213-14]. Stowe would have understood.
- 29 Belknap, "Novelistic Technique," 233.
- 30 Fisher, Hard Facts, 91-93.
- 31 In my book-in-progress, *Dostoevsky and the Novel of the Accidental Family*, I argue that Stowe, similarly, was a model of "sentimental power" (Tompkins) for Dostoevsky, starting with *Notes from the House of the Dead* [Записки из мертвого дома, 1861], a work that, like the Sevastopol tales, has its genesis in the sketch and makes visible the pain of others, which was hitherto out of bounds of fiction. Dostoevsky uses many of the same sentimental techniques, especially in a web of invocations of maternal

love. I take Dostoevsky's decision to publish a translation of Hildreth's early anti-slavery novel in his journal *Time* [*Bpems*] not only as evidence of Dostoevsky's acute interest in abolitionist literature, but also a form of indirect tribute to Stowe's novel, which other Russian journals had already made available.

- 32 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , Chertkov edition, 46:189.
- 33 Eikhenbaum, *Лев Толстой*, 157. Given the prohibition against translating Stowe during this period (see MacKay; Orlova), it is interesting that *The Contemporary* went ahead with another work by Stowe (even such a benign one). *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was causing a sensation in Europe at the time (see Denise Kohn et al., eds., *Transatlantic Stowe*.).
- 34 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , Chertkov edition, 46:441.
- 35 Eikhenbaum, Лев Толстой, 157. Tolstoy wrote in his diary a month later, on December, 1853: "I have a big shortcoming—the inability to relate simply and lightly the circumstances of the novel, which link together the poetic scenes" (Chertkov edition, 46:208). According to Eikhenbaum, Tolstoy is following up on the concern about his own craft that he first voiced after reading "Uncle Tim" (Лев Толстой, 157).
- 36 Stowe, "Дядя Тим," 30.
- 37 Ibid., 33.
- 38 Among the other "devices" that may have caught Tolstoy's attention are her similes. For example, a young teacher acts on his pupils "as a small but strong spring brings into motion a whole factory"; this same young teacher bounds out of his schoolroom "with the speed of seltzer water bubbling out of a pitcher" (these are translations from the Russian version, which shortened and took other liberties with Stowe's originals). Tolstoy himself became known for his similes, especially those in *War and Peace*. To the list of his many masters as he learned the art of simile, from Homer to Gogol, Stowe might be added, especially in view of his remark about her "devices."
- 39 As mentioned above, in December 1853 Tolstoy, reflecting on Karamzin, expressed his desire for literature to go back to teaching morals. Stowe's story, which he had read a month earlier, does just that.
- 40 Fisher, *Still the New World*, 198. Like Turgenev's *Notes of a Hunter* and Tolstoy's Sevastopol tales, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published serially at first;

it is also genealogically related to the literary sketch. Stowe began as an author of regional sketches: "Uncle Tim" (also known as "Uncle Lot"), her first published work, belongs to this genre.

- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Henry James comments thus on the parallels between Turgenev's *Notes of a Hunter* and Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: "Incontestably, at any rate, Turgenev's rustic studies sounded, like *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a particular hour: with the difference, however, of not having at the time produced an agitation—of having rather presented the case with an art too insidious for instant recognition, an art that stirred the depths more than the surface" ("Turgenev and Tolstoy," 126). See MacKay, *Song of Freedom*, for discussion of the pairing of Turgenev's *Notes of a Hunter* and Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.
- 43 Fisher, Still the New World, 197.
- 44 Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, 383 (italics Stowe's).
- 45 Fisher, Hard Facts, 92.
- 46 Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, 384.
- 47 Tompkins, Sensational Designs, 132.
- 48 Ibid., 132, 133.
- 49 Eikhenbaum, *Молодой Толстой*, 120.
- 50 Aside from the way both Russell (occasionally) and Tolstoy (throughout "Sevastopol in December") manipulate pronouns and use what Morson sees as "guidebook" style ("you" and the iterative present tense), they both describe the ceasefire in similar terms. Obviously, they are describing the same phenomenon, so one would expect some overlap. But Russell and Tolstoy also share a desire, no doubt fanned by the particulars of the Crimean War, to offer a true account of war. They both do this by presenting narratives without heroes, without clear causality, without an Aristotelian plot arc.
- 51 Morson, "Reader as Voyeur," 388-92.
- 52 Ibid., 392.
- 53 Warhol, Gendered Interventions, 102-103.
- 54 Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, 17.
- 55 Ibid., 43-44. Stowe writes: "If it were *your* Harry, mother, or your Willie, that were going to be torn from you by a brutal trader, to-morrow morning, if

you had seen the man, and heard that the papers were signed and delivered, and you had only from twelve o'clock till morning to make good your escape—how fast could *you* walk? How many miles could you make in those few brief hours, with the darling at your bosom,—the little sleepy head on your shoulders,—the small, soft arms trustingly holding on to your neck?" (43-44).

- 56 Ibid., 384.
- 57 Fisher, *Hard Facts*, 118-19.
- 58 Elizabeth Barnes observes: "Stowe's novel perpetuates a tradition of constructing sympathy as a narcissistic model of projection and rejection: claiming that individuals are all alike under the skin, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* makes diversity virtually unrepresentable, reinforcing the idea of humanity as dependent upon familiarity" (92).
- 59 Elizabeth Cheresh Allen draws attention to Turgenev's narrator's occasional shifts into second person narration in *Notes of a Hunter* to "impart immediacy and intimacy to his presentation" (150). His strategy is more similar to Stowe's in "Uncle Tim" than in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, where Stowe tries to make the reader feel responsible for the pain.
- 60 Tolstoi, ПСС, online edition, 2:84. Eikhenbaum observes that Tolstoy's focus on the hospital, usually "outside of art," "destroys the romantics' canon of battle" (Молодой Толстой, 118). He sees this as part of the influence of Stendhal on Tolstoy's depiction of war. (Tolstoy himself, later in life, acknowledged that he read Stendhal's descriptions of battles before his own baptism by fire and found that Stendhal was right about the confusion among the participants about what is going on.) In The Charterhouse of Parma [La Chartreuse de Parme, 1839] Fabrice, seeking a safe haven, enters what he thinks will be a canteen wagon only to find an amputation is taking place. Tolstoy outdoes Stendhal by having the amputations take place on a much greater scale in this modern war.

Tolstoy's focus on the hospital reflects, above all, the reality of the Crimean War, in which so many deaths occurred not on the battlefield, but in (makeshift) hospitals, often from disease and infection. Thus, whereas so many of the features of Tolstoy's "epic of Sevastopol" date back to Homer, this aspect is something new.

61 Ibid., Tolstoy's italics.

- 62 In *Regarding the Pain of Others* Sontag focuses mostly on images, especially photographs, of others in pain, whereas Tolstoy creates a fictional situation where a hypothetical reader views the (fictional) sufferer directly. But many of the ethical questions are the same.
- 63 Sontag writes (in regard to viewing photographs of something like the scene that Tolstoy depicts) that "there is shame as well as shock in looking at the close-up of a real horror. Perhaps the only people with the right to look at images of suffering of this extreme order are those who could do something to alleviate it—say, the surgeons at the military hospital where the photography was taken—or those who could learn from it. The rest of us are voyeurs, whether or not we mean to be." Sontag argues that sympathy, alone, does not do any good. The situation Tolstoy creates is, of course, different, because he is bringing "you" (his hypothetical reader) face to face with "actual" suffering and into human contact.
- 64 Fisher, Hard Facts, 118.
- 65 Writing from a twentieth-century perspective, Sontag is suspicious of sentimentality, for "sentimentality, notoriously, is entirely compatible with a taste for brutality and worse." Sontag also points out that sympathy can have the effect of absolving the viewer: "Our sympathy proclaims our innocence as well as our impotence. To that extent, it can be (for all our good intentions) an impertinent—if not an inappropriate—response" (102-3). Tolstoy, from his own perspective, is skeptical of certain expressions of sympathy, dismissing "empty, feminine, morbidly weepy compassion" (Chertkov edition, 2:110), so different from the active compassion embodied by the sisters of mercy.

James Baldwin raises objections to Stowe's sentimentality in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: "Sentimentality, the ostentatious parading of excessive and spurious emotion, is the mark of dishonesty, the inability to feel; the wet eyes of the sentimentalist betray his aversion to experience, his fear of life, his arid heart; and it is always, therefore, the signal of secret and violent inhumanity, the mask of cruelty" ("Everyone's Protest Novel," 496).

66 Tolstoi, ΠCC, online edition, 2:85. Tolstoy shows that in this zone of pain social differences are deconstructed. Adding to the tension of the "relation" of the reader to the "other" in pain is the social inequality, which is encoded in the forms of address: the reader addresses the soldier-amputee

using the second person singular, appropriate for a social inferior, whereas the soldier-amputee addresses the reader using the polite form, appropriate for a superior, adding "your honor" for good measure. This inequality is reversed in the face of suffering, as the socially superior reader finds himself in awe of a mere soldier. This kind of reversal was one of Tolstoy's trademarks.

- 67 Chernyshevsky, "Детство и отрочество," 97.
- 68 Pisarev, "Три смерти," 133.
- 69 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:85.
- 70 Ibid., 2:85-6.
- 71 Ibid., 2:86.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 The amputee's wife is providing, in a new form, the message that Jesus conveys through the parable of the Samaritan (Luke 10:30-37).
- 75 Knapp, "Tue-la!" 13.
- 76 See Matthew 26:3-13; Mark 14:3-9; Luke 7:36-50; John 12:1-8; the woman is unnamed in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, but identified as Mary, the sister of Lazarus, in John.
- As Jane Tompkins has argued (134-139), Stowe relies on Christian plots and symbolism in her novel where both little Eva and Uncle Tom are figured, especially at their deaths, as sacrificial lambs and Christ figures. Tolstoy does the same, in a more muted way, in the scene under discussion, as well as later in "Sevastopol in December," when we witness the death of a soldier, which evokes the passion of Christ.
- 78 In *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe shows one member of the Quaker household who takes in the runaway Eliza and her family reasoning, as she decides how to respond to Eliza: "Why, now, suppose 'twas my John, how should I feel?" Simeon, her interlocutor, then lays bare the "equation of feeling" by responding: "Thee uses thyself only to learn how to love their neighbor, Ruth." Ruth then replies, "To be sure. Isn't it what we are made for? If I didn't love John and the baby, I should not know how to feel for her" (120).

In his later years, contrary to Stowe, Tolstoy would regard love of family as an impediment to love of neighbor. In "Sevastopol in December," however, the amputee's wife is capable of both kinds of love.

- 79 Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, 72.
- 80 Thus, Stowe's narrator addresses the reader: "And oh! mother that reads this, has there never been in your house a drawer, or a closet, the opening of which has been to you like the opening again of a little grave? Ah! Happy mother that you are, if it has not been so" (75).
- 81 In a letter of December 16, 1852, to Eliza Cabot Follen, Harriet Beecher Stowe writes that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* "had its root in the awful scenes and sorrow" she had experienced at the death of her child. She makes a very direct "equation of feeling" when she writes: "It was at his dying bed and at his grave that I learned what a poor slave mother may feel when her child is torn away from her" (*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 413).

(Her use of the epistemic modal "may" at least allows for some difference; she does not claim absolute knowledge of the other's pain or an actual equivalence.)

- 82 Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, 384.
- 83 The sister of mercy in "Sevastopol in August" will be discussed below. Tolstoy refers to sisters of mercy in his last two tales, but not in "Sevastopol in December." This fits the scenario outlined by Curtiss, according to which the Russian sisters of mercy were not in action until 1855.
- 84 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:110.
- 85 See Markovits (98-122) for the development of this feminine heroism in England and Nightingale's part in it. Nightingale was known for her administrative talents more than for her bedside manner. Her compassionate care was not sentimental, in the sense that it was *not* obviously rooted in the "equations of feeling" that Tolstoy presents. For her, the family was not the point of reference and inspiration. (She appears to have had no interest in family life personally, but also seems to have seen it as less central than many. Nightingale, for example, believed that children were better off brought up in crèches.) On Russian sisters of mercy, see Curtiss.
- 86 Quoted in Markovits, Crimean War, 106.
- 87 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:151.
- 88 Ibid., 2:86.
- 89 Eikhenbaum, Молодой Толстой, 118.
- 90 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:87.

- 91 Pascal, *Pensées*, 130. Pascal writes: "Imagine a number of men in chains, all condemned to death, among whom each day a few are slaughtered [*égorgés*] in sight of the others; those who remain see their own condition in that of their likes, and looking at each other in suffering and without hope, wait their turn. This is the image of the condition of men" (130, #199).
- 92 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:87.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Ibid. The Russian reads as follows: "похороны покажутся вам весьма красивым воинственным зрелищем, звуки—весьма красивыми воинственными звуками, и вы не соедините ни с этим зрелищем, ни с этими звуками мысли ясной, перенесенной на себя, о страданиях и смерти, как вы это сделали на перевязочном пункте."
- 95 Tolstoy, War and Peace, 3:2:37; 814.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 When Pierre reminds him that Christ forgave the woman taken in adultery, Andrei says that may be good for others, but he could not do it (2:5:21; 597). And when Marya begs him to forgive those who have wronged him (Natasha; Kuragin), in accordance with Christ's law, Andrei responds: "If I were a woman, Marie, I would be doing that. It's a woman's virtue. But a man must not and cannot forget and forgive" (3:1:8; 631).
- 98 On April 11, 1855, writing in his diary in the Fourth Bastion of Sevastopol, Tolstoy complained of a cold and fever, then wrote: "And furthermore I'm annoyed, especially now that I'm sick, that it doesn't even enter anyone's mind that I could be good for something more than *chair à canon*, and the most useless, at that" (*IICC*, Chertkov edition, 47:41). For Tolstoy, as for his fictional Napoleon a decade later, having a cold makes him more prone to think about dying. (Napoleon's cold at Borodino is a historical fact; Tolstoy refuses to let this have an effect on the war, but, drawing on his own experience in 1855, does imagine that a cold could affect Napoleon's personal response to what was happening—and to the threat of death.)
- 99 Tolstoy, War and Peace, 3:2:38; 815.
- 100 Pushkin, Евгений Онегин, ПСС, 5:36.
- 101 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:124. In the context of the Crimean War, reference to a "little Napoleon" would also bring to mind Napoleon's nephew,

- Napoleon III, who, after a coup d'état, had become emperor of France in 1851. This Napoleon was dubbed "*Napoléon le petit*" by Victor Hugo.
- 102 Stowe adheres to this same view and makes it explicit at various points: for example, Eva's mother denies the fact that a slave's maternal feelings are equal or equivalent to her own (151).
- 103 Tolstoy writes that Napoleon, "like all Frenchmen," "could not imagine anything sentimental without mentioning *ma chère, ma tendre, ma pauvre mère*" ["my dear, my tender, my poor mother"] (3:3:19; 873). Tolstoy is very aware of uses and abuses of "sentimental power," and careful to distinguish between Napoleon's sentimentality and that, for example, of Platon Karataev.
- 104 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:93.
- 105 Morson, "Reader as Voyeur," 387.
- 106 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:94.
- 107 Ibid., 2:94-95. The idea of solving the matter by one-on-one combat appears in folklore, in epic, and in the *Tale of Bygone Years* [Повесть временных лет].
- 108 Eikhenbaum, *Лев Толстой*, 170-77. Eikhenbaum draws attention to the presence of, and the contrast between, the two "styles," two "tones," and two modes of narration in "Sevastopol in May" (*Лев Толстой*, 171).
- 109 Vanity Fair was fresh in Tolstoy's mind and an important subtext for "Sevastopol in May." But some of the references to vanity, coupled with those to the sun rising and setting, while humans strive for naught, seem to evoke Ecclesiastes directly.
- 110 Eikhenbaum, Лев Толстой, 175
- 111 Eikhenbaum, Молодой Толстой, 123.
- 112 Tolstoi, ΠCC, Chertkov edition, 46:58; 46:60; 46:301.
- 113 Ibid., 46:204.
- 114 Likhachev, Человек в литературе, 133-134; 144.
- 115 See Richard Peace (10-11) for commentary on Gogol's sermonizing as it relates to the "strong homiletic element" that Likhachev has found at play in the medieval Russian literary tradition.
- 116 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , Chertkov edition, 46:82.
- 117 Quoted in Weinstein, Cambridge Companion, 1.

- 118 Warhol, *Gendered Interventions*, 106-8. In Stowe's early "Uncle Tim," the narrator herself moves into sermonic mode at various points; furthermore, at the heart of the tale is the first sermon preached by Uncle Tim's son upon his return home from Divinity School. (The Russian translation cuts and compresses Stowe's description of his style of preaching.)
- 119 Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, 384.
- 120 Ibid., 358.
- 121 Eikhenbaum, Лев Толстой, 173.
- 122 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:123.
- 123 Ibid., 2:126.
- 124 In Book 12 of Homer's *Iliad*, the two enemies, Glaucus and Sarpedon, find their ancestors had been "guest-friends," exchange armor, and agree not to kill each other. The ceasefire at the end of "Sevastopol in May" also brings to mind the halt in the fighting at the end of the *Iliad* for the burial of Hector (Book 24). But it is clear that the fighting here, as in Sevastopol, will start up again and will soon leave Achilles dead.
- 125 As David Hume explains in "A Treatise on Human Nature" [1740], "When our nation is at war with any other, we detest them under the character of cruel, perfidious, unjust, and violent: But always esteem ourselves and allies equitable, moderate, and merciful" [quoted in Hedges, 19]. This kind of binary thinking is often used to fuel war.
- 126 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:94-5.
- 127 Tolstoy evokes Ecclesiastes in the way he combines his indications of the sun rising with a message about the ultimate futility of human endeavors. Evocations of Ecclesiastes of this kind are likely to make war, like other human endeavors, seem pointless.
- 128 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:95. Tolstoy based this on his own diary entry, adding, however, the "shining just as joyfully for all," which, with its biblical resonance, changes everything.
- 129 Matthew 5:45.
- 130 Ibid., 5:44.
- 131 Konstantin Leont'ev complained that Tolstoy was unfair in his depiction of the educated classes, as he drew attention to their "vanity and self-love," qualities that Tolstoy's simple soldiers and мужики [peasants] in Sevastopol seemed to lack. For discussion see Burnasheva's commentary, 2:440-441.

- 132 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:127.
- 133 Ibid.
- 134 For discussion of this, see Knapp, "Development of Style and Theme." In *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Stowe also uses the child's perspective on slavery, young George Shelby's and especially little Eva's, to highlight the evil that the "civilized" adults cease to notice or manage to ignore. In the case of Eva, she offers an estranged—and otherworldly—perspective. Stowe uses her naïve point of view to draw attention to contradictions between the teachings of the Bible and the ways of the world.
- 135 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:128.
- 136 Stowe and Tolstoy share a desire for consistency in the application of Christian teaching. The following exchange, typical of Stowe, shows little Eva taking to heart and acting on Christ's teaching, whereas the community that surrounds her assumes that these teachings cannot or should not be taken seriously. When challenged about her love for the servants, Eva says, "Don't the Bible say we must love everybody?" to which her cousin replies: "O, the Bible! To be sure, it says a great many such things; but, then nobody ever thinks of doing them,—you know, Eva, nobody does" (237).
- 137 Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, 384.
- 138 Ibid., 358. Stowe not only sermonizes about this question in the voice of the narrator; many of her subplots show her characters coming to similar realizations, especially Augustine St. Clare, who, after Eva's death, professes: "My view of Christianity is such . . . that I think no man can consistently profess it without throwing the whole weight of his being against this monstrous system of injustice that lies at the foundation of all society, and, if need be, sacrificing himself in the battle" (272). Stowe's irony is that St. Clare himself is not strong enough to act on this conviction. He complains about the "apathy of religious people on this subject, their want of perception of wrongs that filled me with horror," but then admits that he himself had "only that kind of benevolence which consists in lying on a sofa, and cursing the church and clergy for not being martyrs and confessors" (272). Whereas Miss Ophelia, his cousin from the North, declares: "It seems to me I would cut off my right hand sooner than keep on, from day to day, doing what I thought was wrong," although even she admits that this is easier said than done (192). (Later in his life, Tolstoy would appeal to similar arguments.)

- St. Clare, as he makes "excuses" for going along with slavery, sounds like many Tolstoyan heroes as they reason that they, as individuals, cannot change systems or institutions. The only solution they see is to ignore the evil or divert themselves from it. "Of course, in a community so organized, what can a man of honorable and humane feelings do, but shut his eyes all he can, and harden his heart." It is thus that St. Clare explains his situation to his Northern cousin, Miss Ophelia, who keeps asking him: "How can you shut your eyes and ears? How can you let such things alone?" (191).
- 139 Although historians suggest that the real issues at stake in the Crimean War had more to do with political and territorial tensions than the keys to churches or the protection of the rights of Orthodox in the Turkish Empire in Jerusalem, the fact that this war was (ostensibly) in part over these matters of faith, and thus vaguely reminiscent of the Crusades, adds an edge of irony to the killing: Tolstoy wants to know whether one should be killing in the name of Christ. As he asks *why* these men do not embrace, he emphasizes the fact that, differences of Christian confession aside, these Catholics, Anglicans, and Orthodox all profess "the same one great law of love."
- 140 See Burnasheva's commentary on the Sevastopol tales and Layton for discussion.
- 141 Very late in life, Tolstoy would return to this same point in his correspondence with Gandhi, where he illustrates the contradiction at the heart of this passage in "Sevastopol in May." For example, he tells the story of a priest in a Russian school interrogating a girl on the catechism, asking her whether it is *always* true that "thou shalt not kill." The "correct" answer would be for her to cite the two exceptions outlined in Filaret's catechism, war and capital punishment. But the girl gives what Tolstoy considers the right answer: there are no exceptions. The authorities, however, tell her she is wrong.
- 142 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:128. In a characteristic verbal move (and a complex example of "defamiliarization" in action), Tolstoy now substitutes the word rags [тряпки] for what he had been calling flags [флаги] earlier. When the flags were flying and signifying a truce, Tolstoy was willing to call them flags, but as they are taken down and hidden away (and the

- fighting starts again), Tolstoy calls them what they are (from a "defamiliarized" point of view): nothing but simple rags.
- 143 The root of their family name "Kozeltsov" means "goat" in Russian, a detail that invites us to regard them as sacrificial animals.
- 144 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:151.
- 145 Ibid., 2:110.
- 146 As Tolstoy first introduces this sister of mercy, she is following an older one who speaks to her in French, as she also gives orders to a *feldsher*. As Curtiss notes, the delegations of Russian Sisters of Mercy, sponsored by the Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna, "ranged from illiterates of humble background to members of the upper nobility" (84).
- 147 Writing in his diary on April 11, 1855, Tolstoy regretted that he might end up as "*chair à canon*" and that nobody seemed to mind the thought of that. Then in the next sentence he announces, as a reason for living on: "I want to fall in love with the sister of mercy I saw at the dressing station" (Chertkov edition, 47:41).
- 148 Dostoevsky's Alyosha Karamazov undergoes an analogous transformative moment when, as his "soul longed for freedom, for space, for vastness," he prays. Dostoevsky then announces: "He fell to the earth a weak youth, but rose a warrior [δοεμ], steadfast for the rest of his life . . ." (Dostoevsky, PSS, 14:328).
- 149 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:157.
- 150 In "Reminiscences" ("Воспоминания") recorded late in life (1903-1906), Tolstoy wrote fondly of the feeling of love and tenderness he felt when he would huddle together with his brothers as they pretended to be "ant brothers" in the hope of unlocking a mystery that would make everyone happy, eliminate anger, and make everyone love one another. Tolstoy speculates that his oldest brother Nikolai, who made up this game of "ant brothers," had heard the grownups talking about the Moravian brothers and the brotherly love, inspired by the gospels, that they practiced and preached. (The Russian word for "ant" is close to the word for "Moravian.") Tolstoy notes that he himself made it the mission of his life to bring the love that he and his brothers yearned for, as they clung together in their hide-out between chairs draped with shawls, out into the open, to include all the people of the world (Chertkov edition, 34:385-86).

As Tolstoy's young hero Kozeltsov, yearning for his mother's protective embrace on his last night, disappointed in his reunion with his biological brother, and fantasizing about the sister of mercy, experiences, in the presence of "the angel of death," intimations of a form of transcendent brotherly love felt for all those who happen to be near him, Tolstoy follows a paradigm he would often repeat in his fiction. Tolstoy's testimony suggests that it also had deep personal resonance.

- 151 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:170.
- 152 In *Resident and Stranger* Richard Gustafson discusses the tension felt by Tolstoy—and Tolstoyan heroes—as they long for their "mother's arms" and a divine love that is motherly, but reconcile themselves with sonship to the Father and residence in his Kingdom (see esp. 14-15). This mindset, as I suggest below, would have come into play as Tolstoy read Stowe, since maternal pathos figures so prominently in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.
- 153 Tolstoi,  $\Pi CC$ , online edition, 2:163.
- 154 Ibid., 2:180.
- 155 The exclamation may echo Jesus's "My God, my God! Why hast thou forsaken me?" (Matthew 27:46). Like Jesus, the sister of mercy asks her God why his plan requires so much suffering. Certainly, her words are not directed only to God but also to humans in earshot, but God still should be taken into account as her addressee. Tolstoy's hero Nikolai Irtenev echoes this same line in *Childhood* when he declares: "Lord! Why do you punish me so terribly!" (1:72). The context there is a boy's humiliation as he flubs the steps of a mazurka, which is very upsetting to him, but, obviously, of a different order of magnitude from the blood, suffering, and death at Sevastopol. For discussion of Tolstoy's echoes of Christ's words in the trilogy, see Hruska, "Loneliness," 73.
- 156 Tolstoy sets it up so that echoing in the sister of mercy's "When will it all end!" are the laments of widows, sisters, and mothers, from Andromache, Hekabe, and Helen on down through the ages. Tolstoy praises the Russian people for their willingness to die for the motherland in "Sevastopol in December," but, for all the common ground between him and Homer, he may, in his "epic of Sevastopol," ultimately move toward a more sentimental, feminized ethos, if only because of his Crimean focus on regarding the pain of others.

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