REMEMBERING THE VETERAN
DISABILITY, TRAUMA, AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, 1861-1915

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ABSTRACT

Erin R. Corrales-Diaz: Remembering the Veteran: Disability, Trauma, and the American Civil War, 1861-1915
(Under the direction of Ross Barrett)

My dissertation, "Remembering the Veteran: Disability, Trauma, and the American Civil War, 1861-1915," explores the complex ways that American artists interpreted war-induced disability after the Civil War. Examining pictorial representations of disabled veterans by George Inness, Thomas Nast, William Bell, and other artists, I argue that the veteran's broken body became a vehicle for exploring the overwhelming sense of loss that Northerners and Southerners experienced in the war's aftermath. Oscillating between aestheticized ideals and the reality of affliction, visual representations of disabled veterans uncover postwar Americans' deep and otherwise unspoken anxieties about masculinity, identity, and nationhood. This project represents the first major effort to historicize the visual culture of war-related disability and presents a significant deviation from previous Civil War scholarship and its focus on death. In examining these understudied representations of disability and tracing out the ways that they rework and reinforce nineteenth-century constructions of the body, this project models an approach to the analysis of period imaginings of corporeal difference that might in turn shed new light on contemporary artistic responses to physical and psychological injuries resulting from warfare.

To my family.

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INTRODUCTION

On August 26, 1865, *Harper's Weekly* published an engraving by Winslow Homer, "Our Watering Places--The Empty Sleeve at Newport," to accompany a sentimental short story about the return of a Civil War veteran (Fig. 1.1).[1] The illustration depicts a fashionable young couple taking a carriage ride along the shores of Newport, Rhode Island, a common summer location for wealthy Americans. At first glance, the print appears to depict an idyllic jaunt during the throes of courtship, but upon closer inspection, the image divulges significant commentary on post-war gender roles and disability. The veteran is missing his left arm. Despite their close proximity on the chaise, the pair seem disengaged from one another in an unequal partnership. The young woman, identified as Edna in the accompanying short story, grasps the reins and whip with flexed, outstretched arms. Her poise and focused gaze on the road suggests her grim acceptance of the couple's changed circumstances. Homer posits her in contrast to the veteran, Captain Harry Ash, who wears his kepi hat from the war and keeps his eyes towards the ocean. Notably, Harry's disability, while present, is not the focal point of illustration. In fact, his pinned empty sleeve blends into the rest of his overcoat through repeated parallel lines to suggest shading and color. The emphasis of "Our Watering Places," then, is not on the corporeal disfigurement of Captain Ash, but is rather upon his missing limb, which in turn suggests romantic detachment and a physically unequal partnership. Such a scene alludes to the cultural anxieties regarding the reintegration of wounded soldiers into civilian life. Homer's subtle gesture towards the ubiquity

of maimed soldiers in everyday life and the veteran's uneasy gender position transforms the print into a lens on the unease and fluidity of American culture after the Civil War.

Homer's iconic image stimulated my interest in this project. Venerated, emotional, and accessible, "Our Watering Places" seemed to offer an ideal lens on the ways in which images of disabled veterans functioned as vehicles for the collective commemoration of the Civil War. Yet Homer's vision, while powerful, obscures and shields its viewers from the harsh, painful realities that veterans faced in the immediate aftermath of the war. While concealed, Americans knew what was inside Harry's empty sleeve—the jagged, raw stump. *Harper's Weekly*, a middle-class family illustrated periodical, spared its readers from reliving the violence of the surgical table by offering a tasteful depiction of war-related disability. Perhaps not surprisingly, the anonymously written article that accompanied the print tempered Homer's radical gender reversal: "His eye is on the road and his voice guides her; so that, in reality, she is only his left hand and he, the husband, drives."[2] As the literary narrative shaped and suppressed the "threat" of disability, it negated Homer's disconcerting visual commentary in favor of a semblance of antebellum stability embedded within the magazine's text. Viewers could thus encounter and digest the foreignness of disabled veterans within carefully calibrated parameters. This effort at a carefully tempered interpretation points us to the difficulties that complicated the representation of the wounded veteran during and after the American Civil War—a conflict whose bloody and often incomprehensible violence transformed and shook the nation, causing representational and epistemological crises in the visual arts.[3]

This dissertation examines the diverse representational strategies that American artists developed to contend with the trauma and upheaval of the Civil War. Analyzing paintings, prints, photographs, and objects of material culture between 1861 and 1915, I show that

American artists employed the veteran's broken body as a vehicle for exploring the overwhelming sense of loss and disillusionment experienced in the war's aftermath. In taking up the trauma and agony of the war, artists such as Homer worked out visual strategies that either concealed or revealed the aberrant body. As the complicated interpretation advanced by "Our Watering Places" suggests, the disabled veteran straddled a liminal and irresoluble position between war hero and social other, one that could be obfuscated or highlighted depending upon context. Oscillating between aestheticized ideals and the reality of affliction, visual representations of disabled veterans uncover postwar Americans' deep and otherwise unspoken anxieties about masculinity, identity, and nationhood. Contending with a subject that had the potential to deeply unsettle their viewers, American artists produced multivalent images that told a complicated narrative of corporeal difference as a result of warfare, one that was far from static and ultimately tied to how the Civil War was remembered, forgotten, interpreted, and comprehended over time. Representations of battle-scarred survivors directly engaged the suffering that Americans had hoped to leave behind on the battlefields or in the newly created national cemeteries. At the same time, these "living relics" challenged artists to find ways to represent disfigurement for viewers allied to period ideals of normative bodily identity.[4]

Surveying artistic production featuring war-inflicted disability in a variety of media from the beginning of the American Civil War in 1861 to the end of the semicentennial anniversary in 1915, this dissertation traces the ways in which American artists visualized the cultural anxieties regarding the rehabilitation of the war's maimed survivors. Throughout this fifty-year period, artists both established and lesser-known took up the challenge of portraying the war's living casualties, while the nation sought to make sense of the immense toll of death and destruction. In their efforts to represent the troubling figure of the disabled veteran, these illustrators,

photographers, and painters developed a new pictorial type that voiced their ideas, arguments, and anxieties about postwar multiracial America, and analyzed the mental and physical suffering of both their viewers and themselves.

These artistic responses to veterans' visible and invisible wounds intervened in broader cultural dialogues about post-war pain. The war's bloody aftermath forced Americans to confront and come to terms with death and disability, and the nation became, in the words of landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, a "republic of suffering."[5] Americans viewed horrific photographs of deceased, bloated bodies on the battlefield, or heard the sounds of amputee soldiers hobbling on their crutches; these and countless other sensory experiences produced an environment where pain and misery were inescapable. Suffering became the lens through which mid-nineteenth-century Americans viewed their past and future, and pain and trauma in turn became common themes in postbellum literature, philosophy, and even medicine. Poets such as Walt Whitman, Emily Dickinson, and Herman Melville all addressed the harrowing sights they witnessed on battlefields, hospitals, or the home front in evocative language that grappled with the "truth" of physical and psychological suffering.[6] Yet suffering also had the potential to be cleansing and unifying in period reckonings; thus, for example Walt Whitman wrote, "curious as it may seem, the War, to me, proved Humanity, and proved America."[7] Certain prose authors also attempted to articulate the war's horrors in their writing, forging a relationship between literary realism and depictions of painful events; John William De Forest's detailed depictions of corpse-ridden battlefields, for instance, enabled future generations to experience total immersion into the tragedy of conflict, while Ambrose Bierce's scathingly brutal short stories delved unrestrainedly into the war's carnage.[8] As a reaction to the overwhelming weight of suffering, prominent intellectuals such as Charles Sanders Pierce,

William James, and John Dewey sought to alleviate the cultural pain through pragmatism and the rejection of any and all absolutes.[9] Finally, science and medicine strove to cure physical and mental ailments resulting from the war with advances in anesthesia and nerve studies.[10] Pain and grief, in short, dominated the creative imagination, scientific understandings of the human body, and intellectual thought during and after the war.

This dissertation studies visual representations forged in this climate of rumination and experimentation. If they shared certain thematic concerns with period poets and philosophers, postwar artists also pursued their own objectives when they contended with the wounded veteran. Most significantly, they cast this figure as a pictorial type, a cultural form that worked to translate the trauma, suffering, loss, and pain associated with the wounded veteran into visual terms. In so doing, they remade the veteran into a mechanism that could embody their fears and desires regarding the conditions of post-war America. Broken and disabled, the wounded veteran type resisted interpretive closure; as a liminal figure and ambiguous visual form, the pictorial veteran was ideologically malleable. Thus, for example, Democratic white Southern artists used the disabled veteran to decry the impoverished status of a post-war South, even as white Northern artists employed the same type to demonstrate the heroism of Union veterans. The flexibility and fluidity of the wounded veteran type allowed artists of varying political or geographic backgrounds to use the figure (and in some cases even the same image) for opposing or contradictory arguments. At the same time, visual representations of wounded veterans worked to make apparent issues that might not be otherwise observable and, in so doing, opened space for artists and audiences to work through the abstract histories and complicated emotions of warfare.

Although seemingly ubiquitous in the visual arts, the disabled veteran type rarely transcended racial boundaries: nearly all pictorial representations render the wounded veteran as a white man (I will discuss a handful of exceptions to this rule in chapter four). White artists and audiences largely resisted visualizing the disabled black body. Celebratory images of the veteran African American's wounded body would necessarily compel white viewers (many of whom were anxious about the consequences of the war and emancipation) to address black soldiers' heroic service during the conflict and confront the possibility of a new interracial order spawned by the war—one in which all men were not only free, but equal. African American artists were likewise reluctant to represent wounded black veterans; this hesitation likely sprang from a number of concerns. Picturing the disabled black soldier risked reinvigorating the pejorative and objectifying modes of imagery that underwrote slavery's existence during the antebellum period. The only known photographic example of a pictorial representation of an African American amputee (Fig. 1.2)—a picture made to document the pension case of Private Lewis Martin from the 29th Regiment of the U.S.C.T. (United States Colored Troops), and now in the collection of the National Archives—sheds light on the dangers that attended the visualization of the wounded black body.[11] Martin sits, half-naked and without the use of crutches, and meets the gaze of the viewer with forthright directness. His name, company, and regiment are written in elaborate cursive on a chalkboard propped atop a stack of books. The photographer, most likely Dr. Reed Bontecou of the Harewood Army Hospital in Washington, D.C., posed Martin to emphasize the veteran's corporeal losses.[12] Turned slightly to his right, Martin crosses his wounded left leg over his right creating a diagonal that draws the viewer into the photograph and to his right arm stump. Bontecou, a white doctor interested in the application of photography to medicine, allows

the viewer to consume Martin's exposed body through a position of power, one ultimately intertwined with racial prejudice.

The Martin photograph recalls the slave daguerreotypes taken by J.T. Zealy for Harvard naturalist Louis Agassiz a little over a decade earlier (Fig. 1.3). These photographs, here exemplified by "Jem, Gullah, belonging to F.N. Green," were meant to support Agassiz's stance on polygenesis, or the notion that the human races derive from different origins.[13] The resonance between Martin's photograph and the Zealy image points us to a significant difficulty confronting artists who would depict a wounded black Civil War veteran for the African American community. Embedded within discourses of power and the gaze, detailed depictions of the injured black body could remind viewers of a slave past riddled with racial typologies and inequality.

The complicated status of many black soldiers within the Union army only raised the stakes of representation. Lewis Martin saw active duty during the war: he lost his limbs during the Battle of the Crater at Petersburg, Virginia, a disastrous attempt to take Richmond, the Confederate capital, which resulted in high casualties among black troops.[14] Like other black soldiers who experienced battle, Martin faced the almost certain possibility of death if captured. Most of the free or fugitive African Americans who enlisted in the Union army, however, did not see this kind of action, and were instead conscripted into mundane forms of labor away from the battlefield. African American service was thus imbued with momentous implications, even as it was channeled into supporting or non-fighting roles. Facing this complex legacy, postwar African American artists and audiences embraced depictions of the black soldier that emphasized his full-bodied agency and heroic soldierly potential; tintype of a soldier from Company B 103 Regiment, (Fig. 1.4) exemplifies these kinds of celebratory depictions. Representations of

incomplete or partial bodies—bodies reminiscent of a dependent, enslaved past—were far less appealing in this context.[15] Most African American artists (including, Edmonia Lewis, Robert S. Duncanson, and Edward Bannister) avoided the disabled veteran type as a strategy to distance the veteran's body from that of the enslaved. When African Americans were struggling for citizenship and equal rights, allusions to slavery detracted from the struggles at hand.

As a pictorial type, then, the disabled veteran was largely a white construct. Nevertheless, the figure fit uneasily within the racialized category of whiteness. Richard Dyer, Michael Eric Dyson, and other scholars have argued that whiteness has long been imagined in white culture to be a quality that is (in Dyer's words) "in but not of the body;" white people as such have long been free to understand their identities as transcending mere embodiment.[16] The wounded veteran refuses this possibility. The figure's defining characteristic, after all, is the clear visual signification of physical trauma. If this quality was meant to conjure up the theme of heroic sacrifice, it also ensures that the viewer's understanding of the veteran as a social type was inseparable from his embodiment, his status as a damaged or partial physical form. As we will see, artists developed various tactics in an effort to downplay or conceal the disabled veteran's bodily difference. Some rendered disabled veterans on the margins of works; others pictured the veteran with prosthetics. In so doing, however, artists always maintained some reference to the veteran's corporeal suffering—to do otherwise would be to court illegibility or diminish the figure's visual impact. Despite the figure's light skin tone, then, the disabled veteran carried persistent resonances of bodily otherness that challenged nineteenth-century constructs of normative whiteness.

Although I had hoped to find and write about images made by a variety of artists equipped with diverse regional perspectives, this dissertation focuses on artworks with a largely

Northern point of view due to the evidence available for study. At the start of the Civil War, New York City dominated the American art world, playing host to many of the nation's most important art schools and studios. In contrast, the art centers in the South—Charleston, New Orleans, Richmond—dissipated as patrons fled abroad, hindering their art markets.[17] Such difficulties meant that few Southern artists exhibited outside of their local cities, or found room to comment upon the sectional conflict. The dearth of artistic output in the South continued during Reconstruction, when destruction, poverty, and trauma crippled artistic production. Consequently, the majority of artworks discussed in this dissertation adopt a white Northern perspective. At times, however, art of the white Confederate South and post-Civil War African Americans in the North will take the center stage in the narrative.

The geographical regions of North and South were of course broad and diverse during the mid and late nineteenth century; if the North had many Confederate sympathizers, the South had its share of anti-Confederate activists. And both North and South had African American populations, freed and enslaved, whose perspectives would not always align with the dominant white cultural point of view. As such, it would be reductive and problematic to refer to such areas with sweeping categories of North and South without a definition of terms. Throughout my text, I make every effort to specify and further clarify Northern or Southern culture, whether black or white, free or slave, Confederate or Union.[18]

Artists from many of these varied backgrounds and outlooks attempted to interpret and visualize the disabled veteran. The U.S. Army Surgeon General's Office employed artists, such as William Bell and Edward Stauch, who presented harrowing before-and-after depictions of surgical procedures and strove to humanize their violent and often clinical images by employing strategies to invoke viewer empathy. Little-known illustrators such as Adelaide Sawyer and

Frances Brundage swapped the bloody reality of amputation or wounding for sentimental depictions of disabled veterans with the able-bodied progeny of future generations. George Inness, by contrast, used the veteran's marginal status to agitate for social justice, and Thomas Nast employed the plight of disabled former soldiers in order to advance his staunch Republican views during Reconstruction-era presidential elections. And still others offered tantalizing spectacles of corporeal disfigurement during sanctioned events, such as Decoration Day or military reunion parades, which allowed American civilians to openly gaze at and consume bodily difference through the frameworks of remembrance and reunification.

What did Americans make of the disabled men who, in the words of Ambrose Bierce, were "sentenced to life" while their brothers, sons, and fathers lay buried in the ground?[19] In an effort to engage these questions while remaining focused on problems of visual representation, my dissertation examines the efforts artists took to depict or avoid veterans in American visual culture, exploring the unfolding perception of disability and trauma over time. Artists were a critical part of a constructive project to shape the narratives of the conflict, molding the raw and volatile emotions of post-war America to fit their political, economic, and visual ideologies. In so doing, they engaged in cultural mythmaking, carefully crafting idealized accounts of war-wounded disabled bodies. As we will see, artists perpetuated the notion of physical normality by visualizing maimed Civil War veterans as aberrant bodies existing outside the imagined boundaries, othered figures who were nevertheless simultaneously heralded for their corporeal sacrifice to the nation.

The fifty years studied in this project traverse an especially fluid and volatile moment in American history, during which the mnemonic parameters of the legacy of the war were formulated and instigated. These first few decades after the war were crucial in establishing how

the divisive conflict would be remembered and how the nation would move towards reunification.[20] The visual arts were a critical component in developing and sustaining such a historical narrative, and one that concentrated on the interpretation of the survivors. But this period was more than a moment in memory-making. It also saw drastic shifts in the ways that Americans responded to corporeal difference. Indeed, this fifty-year period saw significant legal reforms that awarded wounded Union veterans and their families increased financial security, federal benefits, and other support systems, all of which dramatically reconstituted the social standing of disabled former soldiers.[21] While the federal government never granted Confederate veterans pensions, individual former Confederate states offered veterans and widows pensions.[22] Civilian responses to the increased federal assistance of disabled veterans and veterans' ubiquitous societal presence inspired a wide range of feelings—from sympathy to apprehension—that in turn impacted the cultural manifestations of the former soldiers in the visual arts.

This dissertation investigates the varied, conflicted, and deeply ambivalent interpretations that post-Civil War artists developed when confronted with the disabled veteran. By reconstructing the visual tropes that nineteenth-century American artists used and extrapolating the anxious and exploitative character of their interpretations, my project encourages us to reconsider the meanings and effects of the many wounded veteran images that have circulated in the century and a half since the Civil War—including those that circulate today. Combat survival and disability rates have increased during recent wars in Asia and the Middle East, making the place of disabled veterans in American culture and society just as important in the present day as during the aftermath of the Civil War. While modern popular culture sensationalizes disability, as in a recent *People Magazine* spread about the wedding of a heavily scarred Iraq War veteran,

or eulogizes it with tragedies like the 'story-truth' of Tim O'Brien's *The Things They Carried*, the lack of effectively empathetic conventions for representing disability remains painfully evident.[23] The contemporary artist Dario Robleto presents a powerful visual manifestation of the dually damaged mind and body in *his A Defeated Soldier Wishes to Walk His Daughter Down the Wedding Aisle* (2004; Fig. 1.5). Created from a cast of a Civil War soldier's hand-carved leg and a multitude of other materials of war, Robleto envisions the psychological impact of a veteran having to carve his own prosthetic in order to participate in a vaunted family ritual. In offering a new approach to the aesthetic theories of war-related disability, this dissertation illuminates particular desires, concerns, and hegemonic forces that continue to inform interpretations of contemporary veterans. While advancing new insights on the pictorial imaginings of trauma-inflicted bodies, this dissertation will be the first study to historicize the nineteenth-century American visual culture of war-induced disability, and will offer an alternative perspective to the canonical narratives of the American Civil War through representations of the survivors.

In addition to providing new perspectives on modern and contemporary wars, my dissertation also opens up new ways to interpret better-known images of the Civil War. Timothy O'Sullivan's oft-reproduced photograph, *A Harvest of Death* (Fig. 1.6), for example, functioned in its moment and the decades thereafter as an iconic representation of the sectional conflict and its bloody consequences. When we reconsider this picture in relation to wounded veteran imagery, however, it becomes clear that *Harvest of Death* offers a very particular interpretation of the effects and aftermath of war. By focusing entirely on the dead, O'Sullivan's iconic photograph imposes a neat conclusion on the Battle of Gettysburg (and by extension the broader war), an end point belied by the many wounded veterans, Union or Confederate, who survived

the battle, carried its violence with them, and made their own arguments about what it and the Civil War meant in the decades after the war. Attention to the visual culture of the disabled veteran similarly allows us to reconsider the implications of the innumerable common soldier monuments that appeared after the war (Fig. 1.7). In lionizing the able-bodied survivor as an epitome of masculine heroism, an icon of military service, and an emblem of the war's memory, these monuments worked to exclude the disabled soldier from public dialogues about the war's agents, impact, and legacy.

This dissertation examines images of the disabled veteran in an array of media aimed at a diverse set of audiences. By juxtaposing "high" and "low" media in my dissertation, I aim to obtain a fuller spectrum of the issues at stake when artists of various kinds represented the war-inflicted disabled body. This project approaches the disabled subject through a "critical history of images," one with a span reaching beyond the canon of conventional artworks to include popular, mass media, and visual culture situated within a specific socio-historical context.[24] As we will see, relatively few fine artists were willing to take up the difficult figure of the disabled veteran. Linked by decades of aesthetic discourse to edification, spirituality, and the ideal, academic painting and sculpture were less amenable than other period cultural media to the representation of the traumatized veteran. As I will show, however, a few artists (including Eastman Johnson, Thomas Waterman Wood, and George Inness) successfully navigated the delimitations of their medium to address the veteran in paint.

Artists working in new pictorial technologies—printmaking and photography—explored the subject of the veteran more frequently, generating a wave of popular images that reached new classes of American viewers and came to represent a much broader cross-section of American society. What arose was a dialogue between the fine arts and visual culture, in which

photographers drew upon landscape paintings to question the morality of the war and oil painters used stock images from prints for visual economy in genre paintings. The disabled veteran became successful as a pictorial type strictly because of its malleable and polyvalent nature to distinct audiences. The artistic conventions of the disabled veteran type remained consistent—empty sleeve or pant leg, crutch, and military uniform—regardless of audience, but its meaning changed as it shifted across media and engaged new sets of viewers. While tracking the movement of the veteran across media lines, this dissertation will examine the ways that fine and popular artists interpreted and reinterpreted the wounded figure for Northern and Southern, white and black, elite and common audiences.

My interest in using the visual object as a lens on the disabled Civil War veteran and his cultural context stems from visual culture studies. In fact, this project's methodological foundation is located at the intersection between visual culture studies and art history. In my approach, I do not grant privilege to one particular medium as evidence; rather I consider a wide range of images in different media as objects that offer equally rich and complicated revelations when brought together. By engaging in this egalitarian approach to visual evidence, I can elucidate the circulation and distribution of social and political ideologies. Additionally, my project is attentive to the ways that the specific qualities of different media shape these ideological constructs. Embedded within various media, such as paintings or cartoons, are conditions of possibility, or the limits and associations that structure and frame an artist's consideration in selecting the medium. Throughout my dissertation, I attempt to be conscious of the artistic limitations of media. This dissertation aims, then, to explore the connections and divergences between disparate objects and socio-cultural issues. By exploring these relationships, I intend to reconstruct what art historian Sarah Burns calls a "constellation of

images," or a broad field of interrelated pictorial works in a historically-specific arena.[25] In addition to Burns, my work builds on several other scholars who have embraced visual culture approaches to art history. These include Michael Leja, whose work on deception in the late nineteenth century explores a period-specific set of concerns through a combination of high art and popular culture; Maurie McInnis, whose work on colonial art and material culture engages in a kind of visual archaeology, in which she traces the evolution of an image by reconstructing a network of ideas and objects; and Marcus Wood, whose scholarship on representations of slavery examines a collective experience across different media while remaining attuned to the capacities of each visual type.[26]

The absence of known paintings depicting amputee or disabled Civil War veterans can account for the subject's relative invisibility in previous scholarship on the art and visual culture of the American Civil War. Furthermore, most contemporary writings on Civil War veterans in art conclude with the war's immediate aftermath in 1865, and, as a result, have neglected a body of paintings (and other visual forms) produced in the decades that followed that year. Yet there are a number of art historians that consider individual artists, such as Winslow Homer or George Inness, who interpreted the war and its aftermath; and many others critically survey broad bodies of artworks made during or in response to the Civil War. These scholars include Eleanor Jones Harvey, who considers the postwar paintings of the American West as therapeutic pictures that attempt to cope with the war's aftermath in the recent catalogue and exhibition *The Civil War and American Art*; Sarah Burns, who discusses the ubiquity of disabled veterans in the work of Lilly Martin Spencer; and Christopher Kent Wilson and Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., who have established Winslow Homer's vision of postwar life.[27] My comparison of wounded bodies to the destroyed Southern landscape in the paintings of George Inness has been influenced by the work

of Megan Kate Nelson, who traces the complicated relationship between destruction and construction through embodied ruins including bodies and the landscape.[28] Perhaps most crucial in establishing a basis for Civil War painting and its obscurity has been Steven Conn's 2002 article, "Narrative Trauma and Civil War History Painting, or Why Are These Pictures So Terrible?"[29] In his work, Conn argues that the devastating and traumatic experience of the war produced a "crisis of representation" in which the traditional models of narrative history painting were woefully inadequate for describing and visualizing a divisive and violent conflict.

While paintings of the Civil War and Reconstruction failed to capture public attention or garner success in the market, printed media, on the other hand, visualized the disabled veteran in abundance. In analyzing the artistic strategies for constructing and utilizing the disabled veteran type in printed media, this project builds on the work of Megan Kate Nelson, Frances Clarke, and Franny Nudelman, who have traced out the complicated duality of the maimed former soldiers' bodies in the graphic arts.[30] The conditions for circulating and consuming such images during the Civil War have been addressed to some extent in Joshua Brown's seminal text on the ideological dynamics embedded in *Frank Leslie's Weekly*.[31] Art historians such as Jennifer Greenhill, Baird Jarman, and David Tatham have considered how specific artists, Thomas Nast and Winslow Homer, navigated cartoons, caricatures, and other graphic arts as sites of experimentation for their cultural or political beliefs.[32] And Alice Fahs's study on the impact of Civil War literature in shaping cultural politics has offered a useful foundation and counterpoint to my exploration of wartime popular graphic arts.[33]

As the American Civil War was the first significantly photographed American war, the medium played a crucial role in the creation and circulation of the disabled veteran type. My exploration of photographic depictions of maimed former soldiers draws upon and expands the

rich body of scholarship that probes the nature of war photography—a mass of work that has only cursorily considered the conflict's aftermath and bodily destruction. Important studies include Anthony Lee's work on Alexander Gardner, Jeff L. Rosenheim's discussion of medical Civil War photographs by Dr. Reed Bontecou, and Alan Trachtenberg's study on the difficulty of representing the reality of war and the battlefield through the photographic medium.[34] My account of photography's relationship to medical discourse and its intertwining with the objectification of the body and the scrutinizing medical gaze draws on the work of Tanya Sheehan, who argues that medicine helped promote photography as an art form, and Shawn Michelle Smith, who has examined how the sciences of the nineteenth century and commercial portrait photography were "mutually constructive."[35] And Karen Halttunen's study on the antebellum anxieties around deception and fraud were useful in my examination of veterans' photographic uses of prosthetics and rehabilitation.[36] The photographic medium is a complicated tool in figuring disability, one that straddles a fine line between art, science, and documentary imperatives. This project expands our understanding of how photography captured the trauma of war not just through battlefields of the dead, but through the living bodies of the survivors, and, as a result, enables to us to obtain a fuller account of the impact of the medium and its relationship to the Civil War.

One medium largely omitted from this dissertation is sculpture. Public sculpture tended to celebrate the veteran, Union or Confederate, as able-bodied in the form of a generic citizen soldier.[37] The disabled veteran type turned out to be intensely problematic for public sculpture, which by nature takes on a commemorative form. Too intimate and personal, the wounded body continued to recall repressed or neglected war-related trauma and suffering. Disabled veterans resisted historical closure in their broken bodies, dispelling the myth of reconciliation; as such,

the veteran type was ill-suited for monumental sculpture. And the medium's focus on the human body rooted in neoclassical ideals of perfection made it challenging for sculptors to represent an imperfect or disabled figure. There were certain exceptions to the period's general antipathy to sculptural imaginings of disabled veterans. Montgomery Meigs had sculptor Caspar Buberl envision a Parthenon-like frieze with wounded and disabled soldiers on a newly built pension office (Fig. 2.49). And John Rogers created two small-scale, private sculptures, *Wounded to the Rear* and *Wounded Scout*, which addressed the bodily destruction as a result of warfare (Figs. 1.8 and 1.9) Curiously, the Rogers groups were popular gifts among Civil War veterans.[38] Yet the disabled veteran never obtained the same presence as in other media. His absence in public sculpture highlights the societal ambiguity of disabled veterans and the unresolved issues of nationhood and masculinity in their wounds.

By looking across media, this project seeks to recapture the shared ways that American artists constructed social identity through the disabled body. Much like sex, gender, race, and class, disability factors into the cultural construction of a social normative body. Operating on the principle that we see culture revolving around a central core that is defined by what it is not, this project explores the complicated ways that identity is constructed and maintained in nineteenth-century American visual culture.[39] Continuing the work of Rosemarie Garland Thomson and Lennard J. Davis, I strive to go beyond mere physical difference and expose the complications that characterize social identities rooted in dichotomies, such as white/black, male/female, or able-bodied/disabled.[40] Additionally, my project considers historical images that may initially appear to have little or nothing to do with war-related disability. Through my analysis of the images, however, I uncover their quiet engagement with the problems of bodily difference. However, these examples are far less common than works that depict readable,

physical trauma, typically translated into an empty sleeve, peg leg, or use of a crutch. In all cases, artists sought to develop representational strategies that either highlighted or suppressed the trauma of the war. Disability came to serve as visual shorthand for engaging in postwar debates over identity, nationality, and masculinity.

As the American Civil War introduced disability on such a vast scale, artists were forced to reevaluate and contend with customary representations of corporeal otherness. Masculine identity has long been connected to notions of virtue, civic duty, and honor; all components similarly idealized in the military.[41] Stretching even beyond the nineteenth century, the epitome of masculinity in most western cultural traditions was the soldier hero. And artists typically rendered the military man as possessing a healthy and whole body. During the American Civil War, the failure to fight called into question one's masculinity, as noted in the six-paneled cartoon, "The Art of Inspiring Courage" from an 1863 issue of *Frank Leslie's Budget of Fun* (Fig. 1.10). The print taunts men who forgo the battlefield as only being "parlor soldiers" or as unworthy of womanly love. But the traditional intertwining of heroic masculinity and "whole" embodiment becomes strained when considering the disabled veteran. For when the ideal man is struck down in battle and emerges as a fraction of his former self, is he less of man? A loss of limb, even when lost for the nation, put the male body at risk for acquiring "feminine" traits of dependence and weakness, a far cry from the physically strong soldier hero. No longer could the sight of a maimed or mutilated body automatically constitute a foil to a normative American self because to negate the disabled Civil War veteran's body would be to undermine his military service. The paradox posed by the wounded veteran became a source of conflict within nineteenth-century American culture, and one that artists struggled to resolve, mask, and perpetuate. Further complicating the uneasy relationship between military masculinity and

disability was the African American veteran's wounded body. Present within the disabled black veteran's body is the intersectionality of race, gender, and corporeality, or the experience of multiple or interlocking oppressions in the presence of white hegemony.

Even as it upset antebellum gender and racial roles, the veteran's disabled figure fractured national identity. Embedded within the body of the soldier are discourses of nationalism.[42] Enlisted men fight to preserve and protect boundaries and ideologies that contribute—so the myth goes—to a national, glorious narrative. And when those bodies are mutilated or destroyed, it serves as a metaphor for the current status of the nation, recalling the anthropologist Mary Douglas's argument that the physical body acts as a microcosm for the social body.[43] Although the white Republican Northerners went into war to maintain the Union, the American Civil War ultimately forged a *new* nation.[44] This was no longer the Union of 1776, but a nation purged of slavery and committed to free-labor capitalism. Yet as historian Caroline Janney has noted, reunion was not the same as reconciliation—the latter suggested forgiveness instead of a reluctant acceptance.[45] For underneath the façade of political reunion lingered resentments stemming from the failure of Southern nationalism. The United States may have transformed into a whole, unified democratic country, but its sections remained divided, and as such, the shattered body of the veteran as an embodiment of irreparable brokenness had the potential to reveal the nation's ongoing internal strife. This poignant symbol resisted the desire for closure and a mythic reconciliationist narrative.

Through this denial of closure, the veteran's body recalled the abysmal divisions that sparked and sustained the war.[46] Though it may have formally concluded in 1865, the American Civil War continued to be felt long after the cessation of hostilities, and the broken body of the veteran served as one of the more palpable mnemonic triggers of the conflict in the postwar

years.[47] In this charged climate, Americans embarked on another conflict—how to remember the Civil War. Memorial Day services, soldiers' reunions, special publications, and issues of illustrated weeklies devoted to the war were active attempts to shape the war's memory and contributed to the persistence of the disabled veteran's visual presence.[48] Certainly, the scholarship on the American Civil War as it relates to memory studies is extensive, and that body of work largely endeavors to tease out the distinctions between history and collective memory.[49] My project is especially concerned with the "processual" changes of memory and how its evolution affected the visual strategies and ideologies that informed artists who utilized the figure of the disabled veteran.[50] Considering textual representations of wounded soldiers alongside popular images of the same subject, I address the body of the disabled veteran as a *lieu de mémoire*, or site of memory, which historian Pierre Nora has identified as a location where memories of the nation crystalize or fuse around cultural artifacts.[51] Even as it recalled the war for its viewers, I argue the veteran's wounded and disabled body became a symbol, a *lieu de mémoire*, which would allow of a variance of mnemonic interpretations. Unlike the bronze, marble, or granite Civil War monument of the common soldier that graced the center of most towns, the veteran's body was a living memorial that activated both the collective and personal past.

Because my topic spans a considerable scope in chronology and medium, this dissertation is synthetic and selective, chronologically surveying artistic responses to the disabled veteran that fit within four socially resonant categories. First, the project examines the ways that federally-funded efforts to document the ailments and treatment of disabled veterans explored the problem of physical trauma. Second, I consider the problem of spiritual suffering during the postwar decades, a period of nationally motivated erasure when many Americans focused on the

future and not the lingering ramifications of the sectional conflict. Third, I explore the politics of nationhood and reunification during wartime and postwar presidential elections. And finally, I examine the production of collective memory within the burgeoning "reminiscence industry," a broad discourse that re-popularized the war and kept alive the debates around reunion.[52] Unfolding between the onset of war and the culmination of its semicentennial, these cultural projects commented upon and shaped reactions to the memory of the conflict through the veteran's disabled form. In what follows, I trace, and at times unveil, the broad visual explorations that developed during these four pivotal cultural undertakings as artists attempted to traverse the anxiety around corporeal difference and contend with the irresoluble memories wounded bodies invoked.

My first chapter considers the medical illustrations, photographs, and material remains that the U.S. Army and its Medical Museum solicited as visual sites where art and trauma converged. Photographs and watercolor illustrations for the six-volume *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion* (1870-1888) presented objectively rendered surgical cases that contrasted with the phenomenon of body parts on display, such as the leg of Union General Daniel Sickles. Inherent in these images and objects is a struggle to render the body, and by extension, the nation, in pain. Additionally, this chapter considers how artwork foregrounds the capacity of art and material objects to communicate complicated physical effects and abstract psychological experiences.

The second chapter considers the 1870s and 1880s when George Inness produced a series of Civil War-related paintings that depicted the Southern landscape and Northern veterans and strove to bring together his interests in social reform and spiritualism. While Inness's pictures critiqued the marginalized social status of Civil War veterans, the works were not a success and

he repainted or covered several of the human figures with more conventional landscapes. Here I argue that Inness's failed venture in painting disability and the ruins of the Civil War speaks to the limits of representation that guided attempts to visualize disability. In a period when the nation sought to suppress the trauma of the recent past, Inness's paintings were uncomfortable reminders of the haunting physical and material remains of war.[53]

The third and fourth chapters primarily focus on the period extending from c.1885 through the semicentennial anniversary in 1915, an era in which the veteran was almost incessantly represented in paint and print. Chapter three addresses the political nature of disabled bodies, considering the ways that wounded flesh and missing limbs were manipulated to convey a variety of nationalist arguments. This chapter offers comparative case studies of political cartoons for the presidential elections between 1864 and 1880 by Thomas Nast and other artists. My discussion of political bodies also explores the intimate connection between these presidential elections and the struggles that disabled African American veterans faced in seeking enfranchisement and pensions.

The fourth and final chapter examines the early twentieth-century phenomenon of disabled bodies on display. Through the popularization of Memorial Day, soldiers' reunions, and Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) events in the last nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Civil War veterans found a new presence in the public sphere. All eyes were on the disabled veterans in these spectacles, and as I demonstrate, their status as social other was simultaneously heightened and celebrated. Americans praised and honored veterans for their heroism during the war, but the novelty of an empty sleeve in a sanctioned event proved an alluring entertainment for civilian audiences. And these parades and events necessitated a vast amount of souvenir material featuring the disabled veteran. Postcards, advertisements for tobacco or coffee,

lithographs, and celluloid buttons obtained a level of exposure and circulation for the disabled veteran had no precedent in the earlier postwar years.

The increase in visual exposure of the disabled Civil War veteran in the early twentieth century marks something of a transition point in how artists, predominantly white Northerners, dealt with war-related disability and memory. The semicentennial gave way to a vast array of organized reunion celebrations; these events (which included a grand reunion at Gettysburg) organized spectacles of commemoration that centered on the bodies of survivors. The centrality of war-inflicted disability during the semicentennial propelled a shift that would replace the previous century's reticence to visualize corporeal difference. To be sure, artists still responded to war-induced physical disability with anxiety, but the figure of the disabled veteran became a more conventional stereotype in the American body politic. In the years following the semicentennial celebrations, however, the disabled Civil War veteran would be displaced by another symbol more relevant to the twentieth century's upheaval of identity and masculinity: the World War I veteran.[54] Once again, a traumatic event would require new figures in which to enact the struggle between trauma, memory, and disability.

[1] "The Empty Sleeve at Newport; Or, Why Edna Ackland Learned to Drive," *Harper's Weekly* (August 26, 1865): 534.

[2] Ibid.

[3] This has been argued by Steven Conn in "Narrative Trauma and Civil War History Painting, or Why Are These Pictures So Terrible?" *History and Theory* 41:4 (December 2002): 17-42; and Eleanor Jones Harvey in *The Civil War and American Art* (New Haven, CT: Smithsonian American Art Museum in association with Yale University Press, 2012), 5-15.

[4] Civil War veterans were often referred to as "living relics" or "living monuments" in postwar writings. See Charles L. Cummings and George Reed, *The Great War Relic: A Poetical Description of the 6th Army Corps Campaign during 1863* (Harrisburg, PA: Meyers Printing and Publishing House, 1870); and "Pension Day," *Neighbor's Home Mail: Ex Soldiers' Reunion and National Campfire* (Jan. 1875): 7, copy in New-York Historical Society Library, New York, N.Y. The latter citation is from Brian Matthew Jordan, "'Living Monuments': Union Veteran Amputees and the Embodied Memory of the Civil War," *Civil War History* 57:2 (June 2011): 121-152.

[5] Frederick Law Olmsted, *Hospital Transports: A Memoir of the Embarkation of Sick and Wounded from the Peninsula of Virginia in the Summer of 1862* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1863), 115.

[6] For example, Eliza Richards, "Death's Surprise, Stamped Visible": Emily Dickinson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Civil War Photography," 54:1 *Amerikastudien / American Studies* (2009): 13-33; Timothy Sweet, *Traces of War: Poetry, Photography, and the Crisis of the Union* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); and Richard Fuller, *From Battlefields Rising: How the Civil War Transformed Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[7] Walt Whitman, *Memoranda during the War* (Camden, NJ: Author's Publication, 1875), 78.

[8] Frances M. Clarke, *War Stories: Suffering and Sacrifice in the Civil War North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); and Joseph William De Forest, *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1867).

[9] Louis Menard, *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 2001).

[10] Valentine Mott, *Pain and Anesthetics* (Washington, DC: US Sanitary Commission, 1863); and Silas Weir Mitchell, Sr., *Injuries of Nerves and Their Consequences* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1872).

[11] Lewis Martin, Company E 29th USCT, Pension Records, Invalid 102311 Certificate 61049, National Archives and Records Administration.

[12] A significant number of Bontecou's photographs are privately held in the Burns Archive. See Stanley B. Burns, M.D., *Shooting Soldiers: Civil War Photography by Reed Bontecou* (New York: Burns Archive Press, 2011).

[13] For an in-depth analysis of the Zealy photographs and contemporary artistic responses to such images, see Brian Wallis, "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerreotypes," *American Art* 9:2 (Summer 1995): 38-61.

[14] An excellent reference for another USCT regiment, the Massachusetts 54th and visual representation is Sarah Greenough and Nancy Anderson, et al., *Tell it with Pride: The 54th Massachusetts Regiment and Augustus Saint-Gaudens' Shaw Memorial* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2013).

[15] I found Nell Painter's discussion of Sojourner Truth's reluctance to be photographed with her disability helpful in forming my argument regarding the absence of images of disabled African American veterans. See Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1997), 185-199.

[16] Richard Dyer, *White: Essays on Race and Culture* (London: Routledge, 1997), 14. In addition, cultural theorist Michael Eric Dyson has been useful in thinking through the societal construct of whiteness, especially "The Labor of Whiteness, the Whiteness of Labor, and the Perils of Whitewashing" and "Giving Whiteness a Black Eye." Michael Eric Dyson, *The Michael Eric Dyson Reader* (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2004). See also David Batchelor, who shows how whiteness is not limited to skin color, rather whiteness is a culturally and politically determined position of looking that naturalizes and consolidates power. Batchelor, *Chromophobia* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2000).

[17] Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art* (New Haven, CT: Smithsonian American Art Museum in association with Yale University Press, 2012), 3.

[18] Some scholars have sought to address this discrepancy. For example, see Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); and Ira Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974).

[19] Ambrose Bierce, *San Francisco Examiner* (December 11, 1887): 4.

[20] The best study on the politics of Civil War memory remains David Blight's *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), but the recent work by Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013) presents an addendum to Blight's work, focusing on the distinction between reunion and reconciliation.

[21] The Pension Act of 1862 increased pension rates and allowed those who had served in the Union military or navy since March 4, 1861 as eligible for a pension as well as their widows dependents. Throughout the next two decades Congress modified the pension laws to increase eligibility and rates. The Arrears Act of 1879 which increased the number of eligible veterans for pensions and granted a lump sum in pension back payments. But it was the 1890 Dependent and Disability Pension Act that dramatically altered the pension process. Veterans could claim disability status for non-military injuries and the law eased restrictions on widows and dependents obtaining pensions. An excellent overview of the various stages of Civil War pension reform is Peter David Blanck and Michael Millender's "Before Disability Civil Rights: Civil War Pensions and the Politics of Disability in America," *Alabama Law Review* 52:1 (Fall 2000):1-50.

[22] Alabama and North Carolina were the first former Confederate states to begin offering pensions to Confederate veterans in 1867. For additional information, see Jeffery E. Vogel, "Confederate Veterans and the Southern Responses to Federal Civil War Pensions," *Civil War History* 51:1 (March 2005): 67-93.

[23] Nina Berman's photograph of Marine Sgt. Ty Ziegel and Renee Kline appeared on the cover of *People Magazine* on November 13, 2006.

[24] John Davis, "The End of the American Century: Current Scholarship on the Art of the United States," *The Art Bulletin* 85:3 (September 2003): 544-80; and Patricia Johnston, "Introduction: A Critical Overview of Visual Culture Studies," in *Seeing High and Low: Representing Social Conflict in American Visual Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 1-24.

[25] Sarah Burns, "Rending and Mending: The Flag, the Needle, and the Wounds of War," July 12, 2012, NEH Summer Institute on the Visual Culture of the American Civil War.

[26] Michael Leja, *Looking Askance: Skepticism and American Art from Eakins to Duchamp* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007); Maurie McInnis, *Slaves Waiting for Slave: Abolitionist Art and the American Slave Trade* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); and Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America* (New York: Manchester University Press and Routledge Press, 2000).

[27] Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War in American Art*; Sarah Burns, "Rending and Mending: The Needle, the Flag, and the Wounds of War in Lilly Martin Spencer's *Home of the Red, White, and Blue*," in *Home Front: Daily Life in the Civil War North*, by Peter John Brownlee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 99-126; Christopher Kent Wilson, "Winslow Homer's *The Veteran in a New Field*: A Study of the Harvest Metaphor and Popular Culture," *American Art Journal* 17 (1985): 3-27; and Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., "A Harvest of Death: *The Veteran in a New Field*," in *Winslow Homer: Paintings of the Civil War* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco and Bedford Publishers, 1988), 83-101.

[28] Megan Kate Nelson, *Ruin Nation: Destruction and the American Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012).

[29] Conn, 17-42. This is actually a revision of a previous article co-authored with Andrew Walker, "The History in the Art: Painting the Civil War," *Museum Studies* 27 (2001): 60-81.

[30] Megan Kate Nelson, *Ruin Nation: Destruction and the American Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012); Frances M. Clarke, *War Stories: Suffering and Sacrifice in the Civil War North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); and Franny Nudelman, *John Brown's Body: Slavery, Violence, and the Culture of War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

[31] Joshua Brown, *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002).

[32] Jennifer Greenhill, *Playing it Straight: Art and Humor in the Gilded Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2013); Baird Jarman, "The Graphic Art of *Thomas Nast*: Politics and Propriety in Postbellum Publishing," *American Periodicals* 20:2 (2010): 156-189; David Tatham, *Winslow Homer and the Pictorial Press* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003).

[33] Alice Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and the South, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

[34] Anthony Lee, *On Alexander Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008); Jeff L. Rosenheim, *Photography and the American Civil War* (New Haven, CT: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2013); Alan Trachtenberg, "Albums of War," *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), 71-118.

[35] Tanya Sheehan, *Doctored: The Medicine of Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2011); and Shawn Michelle Smith, *American Archives: Gender, Race, and Class in Visual Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

[36] Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982).

[37] Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth -Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); and Sarah Beetham, "Sculpting the Citizen Soldier: Reproduction and National Memory, 1865-1917" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2014).

[38] Kirk Savage "John Rogers, the Civil War, and 'the Subtle Question of the Hour'" in *John Rogers: American Stories*, edited by Kimberly Orcutt (New York: New-York Historical Society, 2010), 68.

[39] I draw on Richard Dyer who has argued that whiteness is marked and defined by "what it is not" to conceptualize able-bodiedness. Richard Dyer, *White: Essays on Race and Culture* (London: Routledge, 1997).

[40] Rosemarie Garland Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); and Lennard J. Davis, ed., *Disability Studies Reader*, 4th ed. (New York: Routledge, 2013).

[41] See Stephen McVeigh and Nicola Cooper, eds., *Men after War* (New York: Routledge, 2013) for a comprehensive look at post-conflict military masculinity in the western world. And see Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Free Press, 1996); and E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993) for a slightly different interpretation. While antebellum America would have viewed masculinity through self-discipline, after the Civil War the physical becomes more present in these debates.

[42] For embodied nationality see Susan-Mary Grant, "Reconstructing the National Body: Masculinity, Disability and Race in the American Civil War," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 154 (2008): 273-317; and "Reimagined Communities: Union Veterans and the Reconstruction of American Nationalism" in *Nations and Nationalism*, 14:3 (July 2008): 498-519. See also Lisa Herschbach, "Prosthetic Reconstructions: Making the Industry, Re-making the Body, Modelling the Nation," *History Workshop Journal* 44 (Autumn 1997): 22-57; and her dissertation "Fragmentation and Reunion: Medicine, Memory, and Body in the American Civil War" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1997).

[43] Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970).

[44] James McPherson, *The War that Forged a Nation: Why the Civil War Still Matters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[45] Caroline Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013). Janney's argument runs counter to David Blight's thesis that the war's memory invoked forgetting rather than remembering.

[46] Brian Matthew Jordan, "'Living Monuments': Union Veteran Amputees and the Embodied Memory of the Civil War," *Civil War History*, 57:2 (June 2011): 121-152.

[47] Robert Penn Warren, *The Legacy of the Civil War* (New York: Random House, 1961), 4.

[48] *Century* magazine published an important series about the war from November 1884 to November 1887, which drew upon veterans' memories and was extensively illustrated. Blight, 173-181. Frank Leslie's wife also printed in 1895 a compilation of the newspaper's sketch-artists war illustrations in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated History of the Civil War* (New York: Mrs. Frank Leslie, 1895). Benson J. Lossing published the two-volume text, *Pictorial History of the Civil War* (Hartford, CT: Thomas Belknap, 1880); and Paul F. Mottelay and T. Campbell-Copeland edited the illustrated publication, *The Soldier in our Civil War: A Pictorial History of the Conflict* (New York: Stanley Bradley Publishing Company, 1890).

[49] See, for example, Pierre Nora, "Between History and Memory: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7-24; Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1981).

[50] Barbie Zelizer argues that one of the six basic premises for collective memory is its processual nature; that is, memory continues to change and transform over time rather than remaining a finite activity. Barbie Zelizer, "Reading against the Grain: The Shape of Memory Studies," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 12:2 (June 1995): 218.

[51] Pierre Nora, *Rethinking France: Les Lieux de Mémoire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) and "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7-24.

[52] David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 171-181. Blight discusses how remembering the Civil War became a sought after commodity and an advantageous industry after the 1880s.

[53] Historian Gerald Linderman put forth the notion of a fifteen-year period of "hibernation" on the part of Civil War veterans and the trauma of the war, which has been continued with the work of David Blight, who noted the decline in GAR membership during the 1870s. More recently, Brian Matthew Jordan has argued against this idea, suggesting that Union veterans needed to work through their traumatic memories while reintegrating into civilian life. Jordan reveals the complexity of the relationship between collective and individual memories of the war, and how trauma continues to reside in veterans even when the cultural impetus is to look to the future rather than the recent past. Yet, in each case the historians have neglected the visual record in terms of veiling the war's memories. In my dissertation, I have found a dearth of artwork from the 1870s in comparison to the flood of imagery during the war and from the 1890s onwards. Certainly, this sampling is far from comprehensive, but it does suggest that there was less of a market during those years for Civil War art, especially featuring disabled veterans. See Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1987); Blight, *Race and Reunion*; and Jordan, *Marching Home: Union Veterans and Their Unending Civil War* (New York: Liverpool Publishing Company, 2014).

[54] For World War I discussions of disabled veterans, see Beth Linker, *War's Waste and Rehabilitation in World War I America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); and David Lubin, *Flags and Faces: The Visual Culture of the First World War* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2015).

CHAPTER 1: VISUALIZING "THE REAL WAR": THE U.S. ARMY SURGEON GENERAL'S OFFICE AND CIVIL WAR SUFFERING

In 1873, Louis Bagger, a reporter for *Appleton's Journal*, recounted his visit to the Army Medical Museum in Washington, D.C. Upon entering the building, Bagger might have noticed a flurry of clerks and paperwork, for the floor was home to the record and pension division of the Surgeon General's Office and authenticated all pension claims. Walking up another flight of stairs, Bagger would have landed in the office's surgical records division. Within the building's wings was a chemical laboratory and a photographic studio, the latter frequented by disabled veterans to amend their pension reports or to provide follow-up procedures after their surgeries. After mounting a massive iron staircase to the third floor, Bagger would have finally reached his destination: the Army Medical Museum.[1]

Long hallways lit with skylights illuminated "blanched skeletons and grinning skulls" displayed within the glass cases and cloches (Fig. 2.1). Among this "chamber of horrors" hung a small gallery of watercolor drawings painted by artists of the U.S. Army Surgeon General's Office.[2] One painting of a young boy who had undergone a hip amputation inspired Bagger to declare:

> There is such an expression in this eyes and features as tells—oh, what a tale!—of suffering, long and patiently borne…That pale, youthful face, with the large brown eyes, sank deep into my memory; only one other face have I seen, a painting, also, that possessed for me the same fascination—that of Guido's "Beatrice Cenci."[3]

The watercolor in question was by Hospital Steward Hermann Faber (1832-1913) of Private Eben E. Smith of Co. A., 11th Maine Volunteers (1867; Fig. 2.2). The young man reclines on a

bed, propped up with pillows and sheets tossed aside, exposing the lower half of Smith's body.[4] His nightshirt, rolled up to his hips, reveals not only the healed wound from his amputation but also his genitalia. Directly below the pink scar, Smith holds a palm-leaf fan, reminiscent of the martyrdom of Christ. And, for Bagger at least, the boy's youthful face, brown curled locks of hair, blushing pink cheeks, and red cupid-bow lips evoked the pathos of Guido Reni's portrait of Beatrice Cenci (ca. 1662; Fig. 2.3). The latter, well known in mid-nineteenth-century America through lithographic prints, appeared in Nathaniel Hawthorne's in his 1860 novel, *The Marble Faun*:

> I looked close into [Beatrice Cenci's] eyes, with a determination to see all that was in them, and could see nothing that might not have been in any young girl's eyes; and yet, for a moment afterwards, there was the expression—seen aside, and vanishing in a moment—of a being unhumanized by some terrible fate, and gazing at me out of a remote and inaccessible region, where she was frightened to be alone, but where no sympathy could reach her.[5]

Hawthorne's passage illuminates the complex associations that Faber's watercolor of Private Smith raised for Bagger: in linking the wounded veteran to Beatrice, the reporter cast the soldier as a tragic figure "unhumanized by some terrible fate," a victim whose suffering set him apart in some "remote and inaccessible region" beyond the reach of even the most sympathetic viewer.

Bagger's anecdotal account of his visit to the Army Medical Museum foregrounds medicine as a register through which to imagine the former soldier's wounded body. When Walt Whitman bemoaned in *Specimen Days* (1882) "that the real war will never get in the books," he alluded to the epistemological and ideological crises that would complicate attempts to represent trauma.[6] Surgeons, hospital stewards, and nurses contended directly with the war's ruination of the human body; given the necessarily practical or instrumental character of these practitioners' encounters with the body, we might assume that wartime medicine gave rise primarily to "objective" representations of corporeal trauma. Yet Bagger's moment of pathos with the

disabled body of Private Smith among the medical specimens and living veterans at the Army Medical Museum suggests that the medical realm had room for alternative, humanizing perspectives. The artists of the Surgeon General's Office sought to articulate suffering visually, and Bagger's encounter with the watercolor suggest that the artworks and material objects that these artists produced successfully communicated complicated physical effects and abstract psychological experiences in visual terms. Cultural anthropologist Robert Plant Armstrong, describes this experience as an "affective presence," or "the process of bringing the work into the powers of being, of making the hidden visible, the latent manifest, the inaudible audible, the stilled dynamic."[7] Essentially, this affective presence has the capacity to bring forth "socially articulated values" that are ingrained as learned or shared behaviors, and "visceral values" that are instinctual, stemming from an interior condition of natural habits or impulses.[8] In this way, Faber's watercolor unconsciously asks the viewer to compare his or her body with the wounded Smith, and triggers sympathy and even empathy through wounded bodily association.

The tensions that mark Faber's account of Smith's body points us to broader opposing forces that defined the artistic and cultural efforts by the U.S. Army Surgeon General's Office to comprehend the physical trauma of the Civil War. Beyond the difficulties of representing a wounded, suffering body, the Civil War raised a series of problems for the artists and curators who worked for the Surgeon General's Office; these figures had to find ways to articulate the distinction between individual and collective suffering and subsequent healing, to discern the precarious position of the disabled veteran between the medical "other" and war hero, and to work up the scientific and cultural responses by which to redefine or eradicate postwar pain. This chapter examines the multiple, and sometimes contradictory, ways that the veteran's wounded body was envisioned through the Civil War exhibitions of bone and "homomaterial" fragments

at the Army Medical Museum and the medical illustrations and photographs of disabled veterans commissioned by the U.S. Army Surgeon General's Office.[9]

Faber's watercolor of Private Smith was one of several artworks and medical specimens commissioned and solicited by the U.S. Army Surgeon General's Office as part of its broader effort to publish the *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* (1870-1888).[10] The six-volume, six-thousand-page, and nearly fifty-six pound text, detailing surgical cases and diseases, became the magnum opus of the American medical community and a monument to the collaborative record keeping of the Army's medical and surgical staff on the battlefields. As the project continued to grow in scope and direction, the Surgeon General's Office also initiated a related work, *Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens* (1865-1881), that consisted of four hundred photographs in eight volumes. Field surgeons collected such a vast quantity of "specimens of morbid anatomy" for writing and illustrating *The Medical and Surgical History* and its related publications that the Army Medical Museum was established in 1862 out of necessity.[11] By 1866 the U.S. Army Surgeon General's Office and the Army Medical Museum's collections exceeded their spatial constraints, and Congress allowed the department to move to a vacant building in the nation's capital—Ford's Theatre (Fig. 2.4).[12] For the next twenty years, the infamous site of President Lincoln's assassination would become a "somber treasure-house, devoted to the study of disease and injury, mutilation, and death," in addition to orchestrating veterans' affairs.[13]

This chapter considers the ways that these themes and issues played out in the undertakings of the Army Medical Museum and Surgeon General's Office and two other local institutions: the Pension Building and the Patent Office. Designed by Army Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs in 1881, the Pension Building sought to ameliorate the difficulty

disabled veterans faced when reintegrating into civilian life by providing a bureau where former soldiers could plan for their future. As I will show, the building and its sculptural program sought to fulfill a growing postwar desire for the healing of national wounds, while simultaneously recognizing the corporeal sacrifices of the country's veterans. The Patent Office showcased the latest in medical technologies, displaying miniature patent models of artificial limbs where wounded veterans and the public could view the rapid advances in rehabilitative machinery. Each of these buildings became pilgrimage sites for the disabled, who visited to consult with medical staff about injuries or to fulfill pension requests. When considered together, these institutions in the nation's capital reveal an effort to contend with the trauma of the war.

"An Enduring Monument"

On June 9, 1862, Dr. William A. Hammond, Surgeon General of the U.S. Army declared his intent to compile data and statistics from all medical officers in the Army in order to prepare for a publication on the medical and surgical history of the Civil War.[14] In addition to the figures, Hammond also required his medical officers to collect "specimens of morbid anatomy together with projectiles and foreign bodies removed" for inspection and analysis at the newly founded Army Medical Museum.[15] Previously, no country had undertaken such a comprehensive study of the injuries or the advances in medicine during a period of war. Dr. Jean-Charles Chenu published a medical history of the Crimean War in 1865, but it was woefully incomplete in scope and deficient in providing visual examples.[16] Hammond assigned *The Medical and Surgical History* to two members of his staff: Dr. Joseph J. Woodward and Dr. John H. Brinton, who would each lead the production for the medical and surgical sections. Brinton also became the first curator of the medical museum. Between 1864 and 1865 both Hammond and Brinton left the Surgeon General's Office; the resulting vacancies were filled by Dr. Joseph K. Barnes as the

Surgeon General and Dr. George A. Otis as museum curator, overseer of *The Medical and Surgical History*'s surgical section, and project manager of the *Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens*.

The Medical and Surgical History developed slowly. The amount of data collected for the survey was overwhelming; in addition to Union information, the text included statistics gathered from Confederate surgeons and tables for Colored Troops. By November 1870 the government printed the first volumes from each section in a run of 5,000 copies financed through Congressional funds, a practice that would continue until the project's conclusion in 1888.[17] As a reference book, *The Medical and Surgical History* was freely distributed among men in the sciences and to medical libraries. In circulating the massive work around the globe, the United States government sought to reaffirm, "the acute practical common-sense of the American *mind* which often rises to the level of genius."[18] After twenty-three years, *The Medical and Surgical History* could live up to Barnes's statement that "no work of this character, of equal magnitude, had ever been undertaken."[19]

"A Bureau of Art"

Compared to the statistical information and photographs in *The Medical and Surgical History*, the illustrations have received little scholarly attention. This oversight has ensured that scholars have missed a critical aspect in reading the text: the illustrations' attempts to incorporate an element of humanity to the data-ridden case studies. Period observers registered the importance of this imperative to the project; as one reviewer wrote, "These…volumes…must serve as an enduring witness to the fierceness of the struggle, and as impressive monuments to mark a luxuriance of suffering and sorrow."[20] While the war brought about significant advances in medical care and surgical operations, it did so at great cost. Confronting this tidal wave of

injury and affliction, the artists of the U.S. Army Surgeon General's Office sought to elevate their art beyond the mere visual documentation of diseases and the illustration of surgical procedures to explore the more aesthetically fraught subjects of pain and suffering. In so doing, they transformed *The Medical and Surgical History* into a memorial to lives and limbs lost, developing a new visual language that altered the field of medical illustration towards the humanization of the patient.

After Dr. John Brinton accepted his position as director of the surgical section of *The Medical and Surgical History* and as the first curator of the Army Medical Museum, he set about securing illustrators, print makers, and photographers for the Surgeon General's Office's "art bureau."[21] With the war underway, Brinton had little difficulty hiring artists—many of whom were German-American immigrants from Philadelphia—to document medical and surgical cases. Despite their prolific work for *The Medical and Surgical History*, many of these artists left behind a dearth of personal information beyond enlistment details. Eager to participate in the war but not on the frontlines, these artists enlisted as hospital stewards and Brinton assigned them to the Surgeon General's Office at a high-pay rate.[22] As hospital stewards, the artists also learned minor surgical techniques, pharmaceutical knowledge, and administration of the wards, all skills that provided them with an insider's perspective of the wounded bodies they painted.[23] And many were sent to draw and paint unusual cases in hospital wards, producing on the spot reports that echoed the firsthand accounts produced by the artist-illustrators deployed by *Harper's Weekly* or *Frank Leslie's*. Works documented from life, from an identifiable living and breathing body, maintained a level of authenticity for the medical community that a generalized body or medical specimen could not. The original sketches for these works (now housed in the collections of the National Museum of Health and Medicine) reveal the time-sensitive process

the medical artists employed while drawing their subjects.[24] A sketch by Edward Stauch (1830-?) shows the notes he wrote to himself about color choices; Augustus Pohlers's watercolors feature test brushstrokes the artist used to find the accurate color of wounds (Figs. 2.5 and 2.6). Once the patient was identified in the ward, such as in the case of Private Milton E. Wallen of the Kentucky Home Guard, the artists would produce an oil sketch of the wound, then a pencil study, and finally, a watercolor drawing produced at the Surgeon General's Office that would be later translated into a chromolithograph (Figs. 2.7-2.10).[25]

The artists employed by the Surgeon General's Office sought out disabled bodies with unusual case histories and patients who had undergone successful operations; in so doing, they sought to celebrate the scientific achievements of the medical profession during the Civil War and to assist the future of medicine. Brinton was aware of the educational importance of visual material to accompany *The Medical and Surgical History*. Combined with textual or verbal explanations of the conditions or cases, the images offered students and doctors a more complete and effective understanding of the human body.[26]

Ars Medica

In their efforts to produce images that could function both as memorial documents and as educational tools, the artists of the Surgeon General's Office contended with a fundamental problem: how to render the wounded soldier's body in pain while still maintaining a level of scientific objectivity. The new visual language that these artists were often both affectively charged and indebted to a tradition of medical illustration that advocated a singular, dominant mode of vision. This forensic gaze as I call it, of an expert examining a wounded body for clues on identifying the source of the pain, offered a way of seeing the body that the artists of the Surgeon General's Office adapted in their illustrations for *The Medical and Surgical History*.[27]

Such a gaze also makes the invisible visible, and as such employs a culturally and politically determined position of looking that naturalizes and consolidates power.

American artists, such as Raphaelle Peale and Thomas Eakins have employed this tradition of making the invisible visible in their study of anatomy.[28] *The Medical and Surgical History*, however, draws upon another source in understanding how the human body experiences and endures trauma: surgical manuals. Unlike anatomical texts, which were concerned with opening up the dead human body and exposing the mysteries of life much like an atlas, surgical texts were typically pragmatic, step-by-step instructions on cutting open the body and repairing it (Fig. 2.11).

The first surgical text published in America and written by an American was developed and used during the Revolutionary War: John Jones's *Plain Concise Practical Remarks on the Treatment of Wounds and Fractures* (1776). In the throes of "the present calamitous situation of this once happy country," Jones sought to assist his countrymen by compiling surgical operations most likely to occur in warfare, and in so doing contribute to the war effort by saving lives.[29] The work was not illustrated, a practice that would not occur until the early nineteenth century with the advent of improved printing techniques.[30] Even without the inclusion of illustrations Jones' text gestures to a critical correlation between military conflict and health care that would influence the creation of *The Medical and Surgical History*: vast quantities of maimed and militated bodies necessitated advances in battlefield recovery techniques and clinical knowledge.

Despite Jones' pioneering work, antebellum Americans rarely embarked on writing surgical texts. Many students of the subject instead used reprints of British or French medical books that faithfully reproduced the illustrations from the originals.[31] Claude Bernard and Charles Huette's *Précis iconographique de médecine opératoire et d'anatomie* (1846) and Jean

Baptiste Marc Bourgery's *Traité complet de l'anatomie de l'homme, comprenant la medicine opératoire* (1831-1854) were widely known surgical texts in America and their illustrations set the conventions for representing the surgical body (Figs. 2.12 and 2.13). Yet as the American surgeon Jacob Pancoast pointed out in his introduction to his popular *A Treatise on Operative Surgery* (1844), the "voluminous and expensive character of these works…as well as their being clothed in a foreign language," made these texts less accessible to the American medical community.[32] Pancoast's *Treatise* was an American attempt at an illustrated surgical text, one that was in the English language and which sought to assist the surgeon with images. Pancoast understood the importance of including images in his surgical text as "a means of rendering… [surgical] processes…intelligible to the student."[33] He argued that an image of a surgical procedure was more likely to penetrate the eye and mind of the medical student than text alone. The sequential fragmented drawings that appeared in Pancoast's text read as a process; the space in between the drawings in turn allows the viewer to reconstruct mentally the surgical procedure as a continuous, unified reality.[34] One of the copied illustrations in Pancoast of an upper arm amputation reveals a mass of disembodied hands and limbs, generic and universalized bodies (Fig. 2.14). Multiple hands appear at odd angles holding the arm down, while the saw seems to act on its own accord. In the middle image, one floating hand grasps the raw cut stump, displaying the surgeon's handiwork of the amputation. "The drawings, in almost every instance, have been represented in such a point of view," Pancoast wrote, "that the examiner may, in the stage of the process immediately shown, consider himself the operator."[35] According to Pancoast, the viewer takes on the invisible body connected to the surgeon's hand, for the forensic gaze is an embodied phenomenon, requiring a physical body in order to see. In this surgical text, the position of the surgeon/artist overlaps with the physical body of the spectator, forging a close

relationship between sight and body, and knowledge and materiality. In so doing, the gaze reveals the powerful stance of the surgeon/artist and the submissive nature of the patient.

During the Civil War, many American surgeons relied upon Stephen Smith's *Handbook of Surgical Operations* (1862).[36] The work contained copied images from several sources, including Bernard and Huette's surgical manual. Smith went through surgical treatises, selecting the illustrations that "were deemed most valuable."[37] A comparison of Smith's images to the original color plates from Bernard and Huette sheds light on the losses that these reprintings entailed; much of the visceral quality of bodily immediacy is lost, for example, in Smith's reproductions of Bernard and Huette's illustration of an amputation of the upper extremity (Figs. 2.15 and 2.12). The rich color of the original image invited viewers to contemplate the subject's physical form; translating this image into black and white, the Smith reproduction concentrates attention instead on surgical concepts. The resulting images read as systematic guides, easily legible without invoking sympathy from the viewer. Such critical distance was necessary in a surgical field manual, and later manuals published by the Union and Confederate Surgeon Generals adopted the outlined format (Fig. 2.16).

Comparing these earlier surgical illustrations to those produced for *The Medical and Surgical History* reveals a shift in representational devices used to present the wounded and diseased body. Stauch's watercolor of Private Wallen, for example, seems to incorporate customary forensic and newer sympathetic tactics of representation. By employing vivid color to render gangrenous tissue, the watercolor allowed surgeons to identify the relatively unusual skin condition (one which flourished primarily during times of war). And the illustration thereby works forensically, organizing an interpretative encounter that culminates in the viewer/surgeon's identification of the disease. One of the guiding principles in creating *The*

Medical and Surgical History was to continue expanding the range of clinical and operating knowledge to students of medicine, a structure that frames earlier surgical texts.

Yet Stauch's watercolor of Wallen also rejects the generalizing paradigm of bodily representation typically found in surgical texts exemplifying the forensic gaze (Fig. 2.9). Rather than a surgeon operating on an anonymous body part, the viewer is positioned as an observer at Wallen's bedside at close range and almost eye-level. This close proximity to Wallen's bleak visage and festering gangrenous wound forces the viewer to contend with the destructive forces of war upon a human body and to identify with the patient. In a single frame rather than the sequential methods of previous surgical texts, Stauch composed the drawing to encourage a sympathetic understanding of Wallen's suffering. Much in the way that Faber's illustration of Private Smith recalled Reni's painting of the tragic Beatrice Cenci, Stauch's watercolor conveys infinite pathos through his suffering, pitiful gaze. A poem from the U.S. Sanitary Commission summarizes this exchange of viewer's sympathy and patient's pain:

> For know that leg, that arm and that head,
> Is suffering now in our own limbs stead.[38]

Echoing other similar texts, the poem describes an encounter in which the bedside visitor assumes the patient's throbbing pain. This engagement with pain and suffering through art—painting and poetry—was timely, as the impact and meaning of the war's physical and psychological duress permeated the American consciousness.[39]

In his efforts to create a representation of Private Wallen that might elicit pathos on the part of the viewer, Stauch also drew upon the aesthetic tradition of delineating emotions. Charles Le Brun's influential *Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner les passions* (1698) offered a visual theory of emotional expressions that outlined how the surface of the body reveals the inner workings of the soul and spirit; Le Brun's widely read treatise would later inform the popular

nineteenth-century pseudo-science of physiognomy (Fig. 2.17). Certainly, as many of the artists employed by the Surgeon General's Office received formal training abroad, such a visual language would have been a part of their education.[40] The above-cited review in *Appleton's Journal* had remarked on the similarities between Faber's painting of Private Smith and Reni's *Beatrice Cenci*, suggesting a familiarity on the part of the viewer, if not also the creator, of artistic imaginings of pain or suffering. Not only does Faber invoke the emotive drama and sensation of Italian Baroque art, he also equates Smith with the biblical stories of martyred saints and the lamentation of Christ (Figs. 2.18 and 2.19). In so doing, Faber aligns the wounded soldier's suffering to that of the spiritual realm, a gesture that erases the chaotic and irrational nature of war by suggesting the bodily pain is a sacrifice for a higher purpose.

Extending longstanding traditions in surgical illustration, the artists for *The Medical and Surgical History* created images that employed the forensic gaze to advance interpretations of the wounded body that would enable medical practitioners to isolate the source and determine the cause of pain. Yet the artists also felt that existing conventions in surgical illustrations were insufficient vehicles for conveying the trauma of the war. They spoke a new visual language, one that adapted prior paradigms of earlier surgical texts to create artistic renderings that humanized bodily pain and suffering. While the text may convert "wounds and wounded bodies into data," according to one historian, the images rectify the objectification of the war's impact by amplifying the real effects of wartime violence upon the body.[41] By creating illustrations that evoked pathos and sympathetic projection, the artists highlighted the soldiers', and by extension the nation's, pain. The viewer enters into a difficult dance in which she or he contended with the acute pain of the soldiers, these veterans' permanently disabled bodies, and their own sympathetic concerns (or even survivor's guilt). It is the latter, the suffering and sorrow

expressed in the illustrations of the text and its ultimate effect upon the viewer that make *The Medical and Surgical History* more than an enduring monument to medicine, but to the period's shared anguish over the war.

Metonymical Flesh

Inherent in the illustrations for *The Medical and Surgical History* is a tension between objectivity and subjectivity, one further complicated by the artists' processes and personal observations of wounded soldiers. As head of the surgical section, Dr. John H. Brinton felt that in-person sketches possessed a greater verisimilitude than studio work, and he directed his artists to paint and draw patients from life. Brinton sent Edward Stauch, whose specialty was rendering hospital gangrene, to a general hospital in Maryland where Union prisoners from Richmond were transferred. Stauch found Wallen succumbing to hospital gangrene after a botched amputation of his upper right arm resulted in a protruding bone and disheveled flaps of skin. While Stauch's watercolor and subsequent chromolithograph of (rechristened as Case 1662) were what the public saw in *The Medical and Surgical History* and the Army Medical Museum, his preparatory sketches reveal the contradictory pictorial impulses that shaped post-Civil War surgical illustrations (Figs. 2.7-2.10). Furthermore, these sketches indicate Stauch's artistic process in fragmenting the body, much as surgeons were sending "specimens of morbid anatomy," or pieces of bone or diseased flesh to the Museum.[42]

On a scrap of textured paper, Stauch painted the gangrenous flesh of Private Wallen from life (Fig. 2.7). His upper arm stump with its rough edges of inflamed red skin, blackening of tissue, and exposed bone—at the center as a pink indented circle—is illustrated with enough detail to identify the various tendons and ligaments, but is nevertheless far from the specificity found in earlier surgical drawings. Only Wallen's upper arm retains its living skin tone, a sharp

contrast to the dying, unnatural blackness of dead flesh. Stauch has focused on the arm stump, painting the sleeve of Wallen's white hospital shirt, which fades into large areas of color. The unfinished quality of the sketch and its rapidity of execution add to the intensity of the wound and its visceral quality. Visually disembodied, the stump of Wallen's arm encompasses his entire essence; his identity and personhood becomes subsumed by his gangrene as Case 1662. Such visual consumption is apparent in another of Stauch's oil sketches, a hip amputation of Private James E. Kelly. This image appears even more foreign—a lump of pink flesh, red scars and green pus—no longer human but monstrous (Fig. 2.20).

Stauch's oil sketches of unidentifiable body parts and flesh metonymically render the horror and trauma that occurred in the hospital wards. Whereas the final illustration of Private Wallen encourages a sympathetic portrayal of the wounded soldier, the gangrene sketches transform the human body into rotting meat. In writing about antebellum artist Raphaelle Peale's still life paintings of meat, art historian Alexander Nemerov argues that the artist sought to evoke bodily dismemberment as embodied non-identity (Fig. 2.21).[43] This Civil War oil study works in a similar manner, thrusting the throbbing wound into the viewer's face, forcing recognition of the brutal violence of warfare and human failure. Yet unlike Peale, the meat is human and attached to a living, breathing, albeit anonymous body. In the oil study, the fears of dismemberment have already occurred, for it depicts a body flayed, sliced, and dressed. Through the abstraction and aestheticization of flesh and decay, Stauch visualizes the unthinkable, the live dismemberment resulting in an aberrant, partial, asymmetrical, and permanently disabled body.

After a close study of the wound, Stauch would then produce a pencil drawing of the patient (Fig. 2.8). This image of Wallen is in sharp contrast to the oil study; in fact, his gangrenous right upper arm has been reduced to the lightest of outlines, leaving behind a trace of

the wound. Stauch focuses instead on Wallen's face, giving particular attention to his expression. Wallen's head rests propped up on two pillows sunken by the weight of his body and burden. He meets the viewer's gaze with his head slightly turned; his brows are furrowed and slanting upwards towards the deep-set wrinkles on his brow. His mouth is set in a slight frown, accentuated by his downward sloping mustache. Even without the wound present, the viewer is able to sense the pain in Wallen's body, his silent suffering captured with a few strokes of a pencil. This absence of the wound derives from an excess of knowledge about gangrene on the part of the artist. His copious oil study summarized the wound in detail, removing the need to depict it once again. This ghostly, phantom outline of Wallen's stump—a gaping wound in the drawing—nevertheless remains present as the cause of Wallen's acute suffering.

The final product is a composite of the two sketches merging the forensic close-up of the gangrenous stump with an affective pathos of the face (Fig. 2.9). These sketches were in preparation for the watercolor Stauch would complete upon his return to Washington, D.C. The concluding image is a composite of both the oil and pencil works, uniting the visible wound with the contorted facial expressions of pain. The dying, discolored tissue vertically aligns with Wallen's head, a connection further accented by the corresponding colors of pinks, reds, and blackish-browns. The viewer's eye moves between the arm stump and the face, oscillating between the inflamed flesh and the healthy but discomforted face. Stauch has captured an individual in *acute* pain produced by his wound, a cause and effect of pain within the body. While the body part sketches represent the trauma of the war metonymically, the composite image merges the forensic gaze and an affecting presence to create an image that conjures up the suffering of the patient.

Mnemonic Bones

The artists' touch could not capture such vast numbers of wounded and maimed bodies, and the Surgeon General's Office relied upon field doctors and surgeons to send statistical data, visual materials, and specimens to Washington, D.C. for cataloguing in the Army Medical Museum. Established in 1862 by U.S. Army Surgeon General William A. Hammond, the Army Medical Museum served as a repository for anatomical remains and as a public branch of the Army's intensive effort to record the war's medical history. Unlike the recently founded Mütter Museum in Philadelphia (1858), the Army Medical Museum curators sought to dispel the impulse to sensationalize medical specimens in curiosity cabinets. As a result, the exhibition displays at the Army Medical Museum, especially those of bone fragments from Civil War soldiers, offered a sterilized, democratic view of death and disability, one that honored a nation's corporeal sacrifice. Yet the complexity of the war's aftermath, with its shifting attitudes towards disabled veterans, resulted in competing meanings regarding the bone displays between the exhibitors. On the one hand, the viewer was encouraged to feel that the osseous specimens were a testament to a glorious national past; on the other hand, period audiences viewed the bones as objects of personal suffering.

Hammond offered Dr. John H. Brinton the position as the first museum curator, and Brinton participated in the collecting process. He went to extreme measures to obtain body parts such as those documented by Dr. Reed Bontecou (Fig. 2.22). "Many and many a putrid heap have I had dug out of trenches where they have been buried," he wrote, much to the amazement of his fellow doctors and surgeons.[44] The mutilated limbs, sometimes piled as high as the windows of a house, were typically covered in a mass grave, if they were buried at all. The Surgeon General's Office sought to counter such chaos photographed by Bontecou by using the

ordering mechanisms of labeling, cataloguing, and systematic display in the Army Medical Museum. This institution "was not for the collection of curiosities" according to Brinton, but for the instruction of future generations of medical students.[45] He considered several potential locations for the museum, starting with the Old Riggs Bank Building on Pennsylvania and 15th Street, and later moving to the Corcoran Building on H Street (Figs. 2.23 and 2.24). Despite Brinton's efforts in developing the Army Medical Museum, he was reassigned in 1864, and Dr. George A. Otis became the institution's second curator. Under Otis's direction, the Museum grew in scope and design and eventually relocated to the third floor of the vacant Ford's Theatre (Fig. 2.4). As the site of President Lincoln's assassination, Ford's Theatre offered a symbolic location in which to allow doctors, former soldiers, and the public to grapple with the trauma of war. For what, as Dr. Joseph J. Woodward wrote, "nobler monument could the nation erect to his memory than this somber treasure-house, devoted to the study of disease and injury, mutilation, and death?"[46]

When the Museum opened to the public on April 13, 1867, it attracted local Washingtonians' attention for its macabre subject matter; for veterans, however, the Museum became a sacred repository of war remains. Otis organized the Army Medical Museum into four departments: surgery, medicine, anatomy, and comparative anatomy. Paintings, photographs, and mounted specimens in glass cases, which ranged from a craniological cabinet to a display of plaster casts and examples of facial reconstructive surgery, lined the four walls of the museum hall (Fig. 2.25). In the surgical division, Otis exhibited "thousands of mounted specimens…the freaks of bullets and cannon-shot," with each object labeled with a catalogue number and brief case history. Veterans often came by the Museum after having their picture taken in the photography lab or gathering information for pension applications to see their limb in "its last

resting place."[47] Brinton noted one example in his memoirs of a disabled Colonel who after searching through the glass cases shouted out to his daughter: "Come here, Julia, come here,--here it is, my leg, No. ----, and nicely fixed up too."[48] The delighted veteran was able to be reunited with his body part among the thousand other osseous specimens of "all the brave soldiers."[49] In one case, General Daniel Sickles, who lost his leg at Gettysburg, repeatedly visited his limb at the Museum on the anniversary of his amputation.

These bodily fragments were more than medical oddities to the visiting veterans; they also served as relics or memento mori, physical forms that carried profound emotional and political meaning. In this light, several medical historians have argued that the Army Medical Museum became a national reliquary for the veterans' remains, sanctifying the bodily loss endured by the soldiers, much in the same way relics of saints maintained Christian narratives.[50] As historical relics, however, the Museum's bone fragments served another collective purpose: they provided meaning for the loss and trauma of the war that was rooted in the discourse of sentimentality (rather than the sacred).[51] Additionally, these specimens can also be called pathetic relics, which according to Teresa Barnett, are sentimental tokens that bring the viewer into contact with the disabled body, injecting the viewer's body with pathos and engineering sentimental sympathy towards the physically maimed.[52] Even disabled veterans used this convention; thus, for example the self-proclaimed "great war relic" Charles Cummings used the trope to appeal to his readers for funds (Fig. 2.26).[53]

The national ownership of an individual's body parts without gaining his consent troubled some veterans. Such ownership and display also cast a pall on the specimen collections in the Army Medical Museum--for while they are relics, both historical and pathetic, they doubly act as souvenirs of disability.[54] As the literary critic Susan Stewart has argued, the souvenir is

always incomplete and requires the possessor to complete it with a narrative.[55] It also acts to save the past but to discredit the present. Furthermore, not only is the souvenir always partial and metonymic, but is it illicit. As Stewart writes, "[It] always displays the romance of contraband, for its scandal is its removal from its 'natural' location." [56] One former private was quite surprised to find his limb on display in the Museum and demanded that his "property" be returned. Brinton refused, declaring: "The United States Government is entitled to all of you, until the expiration of the specified time. I dare not give a part of you up before then."[57] According to Brinton, the private's limb was under government ownership; the moment the surgeon severed the limb from the body, he argued, the part belonged to the nation and not the individual.[58] As a souvenir, the bone specimens preserved by the US Surgeon General's Office work to recall the heroic acts of the soldiers during war, but in so doing erase their present meaning: the loss of the limb entails a disabled body. The limb is also a piece of contraband taken from its natural environs—the body—to be displayed in unfamiliar surroundings as an authentic experience internalized and narrativized. Silas Weir Mitchell articulated such a fear in his short story, "The Case of George Dedlow." When participating in a séance, a quadruple amputee veteran's lost legs materialized before him bearing the labels "United States Army Medical Museum" and their catalogue numbers.[59] Civil War surgeons claiming discarded body parts suggests a parallel to the body snatcher phenomenon at medical colleges, where doctors sought out freshly deceased bodies for anatomical dissection.[60] The public fear of "body snatching" takes a different turn when regarding the bones in the Army Medical Museum as it engages with a living body, one that is conscious of the loss, and the stolen quality of the souvenir is displayed in glass cases meant for public consumption.

The transition from "homomaterial" relic, or the metonymic function of a material piece of the past, to souvenir becomes more solidified when we consider that the exhibition displays of the bone specimens were sometimes juxtaposed with artist sketches or photographs of partial or disabled bodies of soldiers.[61] In a photograph taken at the Army Medical Museum, specimen 1148--an upper portion of a femur—is placed in front of a photographic card of Stauch's illustration of the patient, Private James E. Kelly (Fig. 2.27). Wounded in battle near Fredericksburg by a musket ball, Kelly's shattered femur required a primary hip amputation under the direction of Dr. Edward Shippen, who fulfilled his duty to the Surgeon General by shipping Kelly's femur off to Washington, D.C. In another instance, a visitor noticed an arm specimen in which "the photograph of its owner is set up under it, while the living original may come and look at it any moment he chooses."[62] These comparisons of the expunged body part and the visual representation of the suffering patient suggest that the US Surgeon General's Office considered the artwork and the bone specimens to be part of the same task.

The Surgeon General's Office photographers, William Bell (1830-1910) and E.J. Ward, produced carte-de-visites of thousands of specimens. Cheaper and easier to process, the carte-de-visite (CDV) photographs were adhered to wooden blocks on which the engravers likely carved through the image for printing in *The Medical and Surgical History*.[63] Additionally, the CDVs acted as an inventory of the specimen collection; to this end, they were held in a photographic album at the Museum. Specimen 710A represents a typical example of the Museum's CDV collection, an isolated shot of the bone mounted on a wooden support (Fig. 2.28). Yet a few CDVs in the Museum were not mere specimen shots, but photographs that reunited the body part with the veteran. In one CDV of Private Julius Fabry, the disabled veteran exhibits his healed hip amputation while standing next to his specimen and crutches (Fig. 2.29). While the CDV's

biography or provenance remains unknown, the compositional difference between this image and that of the bone specimens speaks to an underlying anxiety regarding the communicability of the artifacts. Exhibited among thousands of similar pieces, the bones act as a testament to a heroic national past, providing a much sought after meaning for a war that divided a nation. Apart from the rest of the body, the bone fragments nullify not only the individual suffering endured during surgery, but the human causality of warfare. But when the bones are juxtaposed beside their living remains, the viewer is forced to confront the realities of war and its affect upon the body. In one instance, a CDV of Charles McCurnell, who endured head trauma, depicted an outline of his skull fragment on the verso (Fig. 2.30). The viewer is meant to make a connection between the bone tracing and the human face. Both the CDVs of Fabry and McCurnell brought an element of humanity to the Museum's objectification of the veteran and collection of the soldiers' bones.

In this way, the composite illustration of Private Wallen by Stauch and the Army Medical Museum specimen CDVs achieve a similar goal: both types of images inject scientifically objectified objects with humanity and sentiment. They act as pathetic relics and souvenirs of disability. While the institution may have wanted to collect and display the specimens and artwork as part of a historical narrative that praised the heroism of the soldiers, the individual viewers and veterans saw such objects in a different light. [64] These visual components brought "the real war" to light in a way data and graphs could not. Lists of numbers could not convey the suffering of an amputation or the ongoing pain of using crutches or prosthetics. By forging a relationship between the viewer and the disabled body through the language of sentiment, these objects call attention to the soldiers' sacrifices and the nation's pain. Foregrounding the object and artwork of the disabled body encouraged awareness of the plight of the veterans and the

nation's obligation to the former soldier. Artistic renderings of wounds and collected bone specimens worked, finally, to advance a viscerally affecting account of the war's violence that invited the viewer to imagine the traumatic impact of the war on her or his own body.

Inscribing the Disabled Body

Viewing the illustrations in *The Medical and Surgical History* or the body parts and original artwork at the Army Medical Museum not only conveyed pathos and sympathy, but fear of bodily disability and of existing outside the confines of perceived physical normalcy. The terror of surgical amputation was well documented and some soldiers tried to resist the procedure. John D. Billings of the 10th Massachusetts Volunteer Artillery Battery wrote in his memoirs of an instance where a wounded corporal drew a revolver on his surgeon crying, "The man that puts a hand on me dies!"[65] The corporal stood up to old "sawbones," but most men could not prevent surgeons from amputating their limbs.[66] Indeed, over sixty thousand injured Union and Confederate soldiers ultimately endured amputation. William Blackford described an amputation in horrifying detail:

> Tables about breast high had been erected upon which screaming victims were having legs and arms cut off...the surgeons and their assistants, stripped to the waist and bespattered with blood, stood around, some holding the poor fellows while others, armed with long, bloody knives and saws, cut and sawed away with frightful rapidity, throwing the mangled limbs on a pile nearby as soon as removed.[67]

This description was just one of many examples of terrifying amputation cases printed in the press. The art historian Sarah Burns has shown that accounts like these contributed to the negative image of surgery, so much so that surgeons became associated with "butchers" or as in a comic valentine from the period, a nineteenth-century version of the grim reaper ready "to mangle, saw, and hack us."[68] (Fig. 2.31)

In his diary Private Alfred Bellard visually captured a scene of an amputation table at Chancellorsville, similar to Blackford's description (Fig. 2.32). Three doctors huddle around a wounded patient, one giving him chloroform, while two others prepare to saw off the soldier's leg; a pile of limbs under the table suggests the impending fate of the leg. The picture is somewhat autobiographical as Bellard was wounded in the right leg at Chancellorsville and frightened that he would lose his leg: "The next morning I got some bandages from the hospital steward and dressed the wound myself, for I was afraid from the looks of the wound, which had turned black, that the doctors would want to experiment on it and perhaps cut it off all together."[69] Bellard managed to save his leg by self-bandaging, but he projected the fear of amputation onto his drawing.

As the public came to see Civil War surgeons as "butchers" or "sawbones," some doctors began to voice their own concerns about the number of operations. Confederate Surgeon General Julian John Chisholm wrote, "Amputations have often been performed, when the limbs could have been saved, by inexperienced surgeons, over simple flesh wounds."[70] Yet not everyone in the medical community agreed. Dr. William W. Keen felt that surgeons were too hesitant to perform amputations and thereby contributed to the death toll.[71] U.S. Sanitary Relief Agent Samuel Ferguson Jayne also viewed Civil War surgery as a life-saving procedure. A small drawing of an African American soldier with an amputated left arm was enclosed in a letter to his wife (Fig. 2.33). His left hand is bandaged and in a sling, and blood drips from the suture marks of his right stump. Underneath the drawing, Jayne wrote the caption, "For this are we doctors." The text suggests the importance of medicine regardless of race, yet Jayne's sketch seems to contradict his statement in referencing stereotypes of African American men. This tension between a racialized depiction and sensitivity towards equality in medical care gestures

towards the complexity of race during the Civil War and its uncertain outcome. In so doing, Jayne distances the African American soldier's sacrifice for his freedom and celebrating the white surgeon for saving the soldier's life.

Violent warfare left its mark on the bodies of soldiers. Much like a pen or pencil mark on a page, surgical scalpels and sawbones could inscribe the body. As the artists of the US Army Surgeon General's Office drew cases from life, they would have been privy to the blood-curdling screams, rank sweat, and pungent smells that accompanied the surgical wards. But for all the anxiety over losing a limb, it was the aftermath of the procedure and its eternal impact that most concerned soldiers. Period audiences were uncomfortable around disabled bodies, an anxiety that stemmed from the notion that surgical operations deeply affected the body's communication of identity. In nineteenth-century America, the anatomical body became identical to the self, and the politics of embodied selfhood became a vast concern during the Civil War.[72] To endure amputation was to lose autonomy over one's corporeal identity as the surgeon held the power to shape or mold the surface of the body.[73] Doused with chloroform, the patient became corpse-like, numbing the pain and unconscious of the procedure. The prevention of pain, according to Dr. Valentine Mott, took away "from surgery its greatest horrors," while at the same time tipped the balance of power in favor of the surgeon, as a patient could no longer resist a surgical operation.[74] As civilians encountered wounded veterans attempting to reintegrate into public life, they viewed the disabled body as a site where the authority of medicine subverted the individual's personhood.

In the nineteenth century, the pseudo-sciences of phrenology and physiognomy suggested a cultural desire to "read" the inner self through visual scrutiny of the body to identify character and identity based upon appearance.[75] A wide variety of cultural forms—including photography

and fiction—catered to this desire, and the discernment of inner qualities in outer bodily features soon became a widespread habit of nineteenth-century Americans. In this climate, the veteran amputee appeared to many observers as another readable body, a form whose surface could be inscribed with and interpretable as a "living significations" of social identity.[76] Yet unlike other forms of bodily display or adornment, an amputation was often not the choice of the individual patient, but rather a condition imposed on that individual by the surgeon in charge (some soldiers, of course, did choose to have an amputation performed as a means of treating infection, crippling injury, or other maladies). As the surgeon cut away at the flesh, sinew, and bone on his patient, the body was forever marked as a war veteran, "branded" as it were. In fact, depending upon the surgical technique, such as a circular or flap method for a hip amputation, it would indicate whether a Union or Confederate surgeon operated on the patient.[77] As the wounded lay on the surgical table, perhaps rendered immobile with anesthesia, the surgeons took on the patient's voice. Such surgical inscription marked the bodies of returning veterans as permanently affected by war and set aside from those on the home front.

Performing (Gendered) Pain

Prior to the Dependent and Disability Pension Act in 1890, disabled veterans were required to undergo regular physical examinations and to transcribe their disability narratives in order to authenticate their injury for a government pension. To assist communicating the veteran's pain to agents viewing the reports, some applicants included images—both photographs and prints—as representations that validated the injury and communicated their suffering.

Artist Eastman Johnson (1824-1906) visualized the shameful process of verifying a veteran's disability in *The Pension Claim Agent* (1867; Fig. 2.34). Pension fraud and malingers

became a national concern in the moment, and veterans were subject to home interviews in order to check disability claims.[78] While the scene contains several secondary figures, Johnson focuses on an amputee Union veteran, standing with a crutch under his left arm, under scrutiny by the seated pension claims agent, who is dutifully taking notes over the case. The dim glow of light through the window illuminates the head of the agent, the source of veteran's livelihood. In order to prove his patriotism again, the veteran has to recount his war wounds and put his body on display as verification of his sacrifice. Between the agent and veteran, Johnson includes a dog, a traditional symbol of fidelity, to reiterate the former soldier's devotion to his country. A favorite at the National Academy of Design's 1867 exhibition, Johnson's painting brought to a broader public the problems with the pension claims process.[79] Johnson makes manifest in visual form the emotional turmoil of the veteran having to perform his pain and the incongruity of government's support for their military.

Yet not all disability claims required a visit from a pension claim agent. In some instances, the images attached to the pension requests acted as a surrogate body to perform on behalf of the applicant. The artists of the U.S. Surgeon General's Office reinserted pain into their illustrations, ascribing a performance of suffering that invoked spectatorial sympathy and affect, as in the case of the reporter Louis Bagger when he described the watercolor of Private Eben E. Smith (Fig. 2.2). The artistic visualization of pain became a crucial aspect in acting as an agent of social reform on the part of disabled veterans, and, at the same time, such depictions carried important implications for how pain functioned in American society.

Faber's illustration of Private Smith does not recall the unendurable agony of cries and screams enacted by wounded soldiers on the battlefield; instead, Smith seems to languish and swoon on his bed. Much in the same way death and grief were gendered in Victorian America,

so too were responses to pain. According to the widespread belief at the time, those most sensitive to pain were women and the wealthy, typically white. This hierarchy of sensibility placed the poor, the criminal, and the non-white outside the range of those who acutely felt pain.[80] The female body, in particular, was believed to be weak and especially susceptible to suffering.[81] More concerning, however, was contemporary critics fears about a "crisis of masculinity" that added to anxieties about proving manhood.[82] The illustration by Faber of Private Smith's disabled body complicates assumptions about masculinity after the Civil War, as he positioned a war hero in the manner of a classical female nude, such as John Vanderlyn's *Ariadne Asleep on the Island of Naxos.* Smith outwardly expresses his pain and suffering contrary to gendered behavioral roles (1809-14; Fig. 2.35).[83]

Much as their bodies marked the disabled veterans as outsiders, so did their grievous expressions of suffering. Suffering had strategic value: the anguished veteran prompted viewers to dwell upon the cost of war and contend with the former soldier's liminal social position. Recall that Bagger referenced Beatrice Cenci in his review of Faber's watercolor, a story of a female noble woman who under duress murdered her father with the assistance of her stepmother and siblings to escape paternal violence. Certainly, the reference to the (supposed) Reni painting of Cenci evokes pathos and sympathy, but her suffering also spoke to the nineteenth-century ideals about feminine sensitivity. Private Smith's languid pose, with his arms so limp he can barely lift his fan and angelic head from his pillows, is not the body language of "manhood," but of the realm of the female invalid.[84]

Comparing Faber's illustration of Smith to that of Louis Lang's painting, *The Invalid*, illuminates the artist's feminization of the disabled body in pain (1870; Fig. 2.36). In Lang's work, the invalid reclines on a comfortable bed, propped against two oversized pillows, glancing

towards a bouquet of flowers in the lower left-hand corner. Her book precariously rests at the edge of the bed with her right hand gently holding her place. She is too weak to lift the book; her left hand dangles limply. Private Smith's position is rendered in a comparable manner down to the placement of the hands. The stylistic and compositional conventions of the invalid are easily read in each case with both bodies in a resting position with languishing limbs. While Lang's *The Invalid* represents the perceived "weak-bodied" female, Faber's illustration is of a disabled male soldier. He is not dressed in loose layers of bed clothes, but a mere smock lifted to his hips to reveal his healing stump and genitals. He displays the body language of the feminine, but his anatomy highlights his manhood. Cultural historian Diane Herndel has argued that the nineteenth-century trope of female invalidism was paradoxical, both a location of power and powerlessness. Similarly, we can view Faber's illustration of Private Smith's disabled body as a complicated site of both heroic manly power and abject powerlessness in a society that privileged able-bodiedness.[85]

Faber had another art historical example at his disposal in rendering Private Smith, Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770; Fig. 2.37). West depicts General Wolfe swooning from a fatal musket wound while his attendants hold him in an embrace reminiscent of the Lamentation. In comparing Wolfe's death to that of Christ, West asserts the General's heroism in his ultimate sacrifice for his country and beliefs—his body. Smith's languishing form with his weak limbs and eyes rolling upwards mirror those of the Christ-like Wolfe. In referencing West's famous painting, Faber alluded to an earlier example of a war-inflicted body, one in which suffering entailed a noble and patriotic act. The artist complicates Private Smith's seemingly gendered reactions to pain by invoking Wolfe's masculine valor. In so doing, Faber

comments upon the disabled veteran's liminal status through conferring Smith with both masculine and feminine traits.

Tropes of suffering also regularly occurred in abolitionist slave narratives or sentimental novels. Barring the exceptions of Frederick Douglass or Harriett Tubman, these novels touted the suffering victim as a powerless mute that required a white narrator.[86] Similarly, disabled veterans had their own outlets to express agency, not in the artwork, but in its afterlife as evidence for government pensions. Receiving a pension for disability was a lengthy process, requiring the veteran to have a medical examination (sometimes biannually) as well as signed testimonies that the claimant was indeed who he said he was along with any additional evidence (such as photographs).[87] Disability was defined in broad terms and based upon whether the veteran's disability was permanent or prevented him from labor. While such documentation of the claimant's wounds and injuries may be subject to performative flourishing, especially when requesting a pension increase, the narratives provide insight into how the veterans encountered and described pain. Many recounted how the "pain was so constant and so severe as to suggest the idea that the large nerves were caught and held" or how a "muscular tremor" would prevent a veteran from the ability to drink from a glass.[88] One soldier, Private James E. Kelly, recounted being drawn and painted by Edward Stauch in the Annapolis hospital in a personal narrative for a pension increase to prove his unusual surgical case.[89] And Private Milton E. Wallen even had Assistant Surgeon General Dr. George Otis send the chromolithograph of Milton for his pension file (Fig. 2.38).[90] Here the chromolithograph becomes an extension of the body of Private Milton acting as a performative agent to prove his disability in his stead.

The disabled and wounded body became an object to be analyzed, studied, and eventually controlled by the US Army through artistic creation. The Surgeon General's Office could ill

afford to document every unusual or interesting case in such a manner if *The Medical and Surgical History* was to be published with some expediency, and photography came to be the primary medium in which to procure quickly thousands of images for the engravers.[91] Typically, the photographer would snap reference images of the bone specimens, but the photographs were also taken of the soldiers' bodies years after surgery. These postoperative images were sometimes at the request of the surgeon to document his handiwork and in other cases solicited by the veterans themselves. During Brinton's short tenure at the U.S. Army Surgeon General's Office, he founded the photographic department and went to great effort to engage the services of Philadelphia photographer William Bell.[92] Once Otis took over Brinton's position as head of the surgical department and museum curator, Otis undertook a parallel eight-volume publication to *The Medical and Surgical History*, *Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens*. By 1865, the Surgeon General's Office released the first volume of the series, which consisted of fifty photographs and limited to an edition of forty sets—a practice that would be continued for the next seven volumes, concluding in 1881.[93] Much like *The Medical and Surgical History*, *Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens* had a limited circulation, one largely relegated to medical libraries.[94]

Unlike the watercolors and the chromolithographs commissioned by the Surgeon General's Office, the wounded soldiers and veterans in *Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens* rarely depict scenes of *acute* pain (that is, the bodily sensation provoked by an injury); instead, they typically represent a body whose wound has healed, or "cured" in medical rhetoric. The body remains, nonetheless, in *chronic* pain through the use uncomfortable prosthetics or extreme poverty resulting from the injury. A typical photograph from the Otis's *Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens* depicts the veteran standing erect, removed from

the sick bed, holding his balance by grasping a crutch with his left arm (Fig. 2.39). He is photographed in the studio with a bare wall, side chair, and mirror. Naked from the waist down, bearing a strategically placed white cloth across his genitals and a rumpled wool sock on his only surviving foot, the veteran seems nonplussed to be stripped and exposed (literally) to the photographer. He stares right at the camera's lens with his heavy brow bone casting dark shadows over his eyes, and only his mouth—the slight raise of his upper right lip—conveys annoyance or possibly defiance.

Critical writings of portrait photography have typically focused on the staged qualities of the object and the subjective intervention on behalf of the photographer, but we can also view these disabled veteran photographs as a kind of performance. Notably, the veteran in question is none other than Private Eben Smith, the subject of Faber's drawing that so affectively moved Baggert. Unlike the swooning figure in Faber's representation, Bell's photograph of Smith operates under two different modes of artistic vision. On the one hand, the viewer assumes the veracity of the photographic medium. Thus, the resulting image appears as an objective scientific document of Smith's physical trauma. This "mirror on reality" acts as a meta-reference for the physical mirror in the picture; it serves to expose more of Smith's leg to the human eye, thereby commenting on the image's documentary status. With a medical gaze upon his subject, the photographer becomes a pseudo-surgeon, whose purpose is to observe the surface of the inscribed body, dissecting with his eyes and camera the effects of light and shadow upon muscles and bones, and to create a permanent image to examine the surgeon's handiwork. But this overexposure of truthfulness, an obvious reaffirmation of the photograph's indexicality, suggests an underlying anxiety over the medium's supposed authority.

On the other hand, the photograph of Smith also speaks to the subject's pain and the image's capacity to convey that agony to support a pension claim. Major Henry A. Barnum enacted such a performance for the camera by inserting a skewer through his still as-yet unhealed wound for a cabinet card that accompanied his appeal for a pension increase (Fig. 2.40).[95] And in the case of Smith, "the rhetoric of the pose" speaks to this notion that the subjects are characters in a performance.[96] Smith has to stand still, balancing his weight on one leg and a crutch with the rest of his body held in a posing apparatus visible at the base by his feet. As art historian Tanya Sheehan has shown, such uncomfortable devices aligned the medium with medical operations where the body suffers not under a scalpel but by the photographic equipment contorting and disfiguring the sitter.[97] The painful effects of photographic portraiture are amplified by Smith's own performance of his disability. In this way, the disabled veteran plays a dual-role in front of the camera as he performs for the documentary aspect of the photograph and the image's secondary role in communicating physical suffering.

While the individual photographs can be read as objects that speak through their subjects' performances to the painful experience of disability, collectively in *Photographs of Case Studies and Specimens* the images function to create an archive that reinforced the otherness of the disabled. In Allan Sekula's work on criminal photographs, he argues that photographic archives became a social tool in which to identify, control, and regulate the deviant body.[98] Similarly, Otis's text continues this categorizing impulse, providing a visual guide to identify the disabled body in contrast to an imagined social "norm." As nineteenth-century Americans became concerned with "reading" the body as a means to undercover one's true character, such an archive could enforce through surveillance the "ideal" of a symmetrical body. Such knowledge and power of the medical gaze is "bent on achieving a universal inventory of appearance."[99] It is

in the *Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens* that the disabled body is contained, archived for future reference. It is the afterlife of these photographs as documentation of disability for pensions that the pictures reveal their true power as authorities on disability.

Even with an archive of deviant bodies at hand, American society was ill-prepared to cope with the multitude of disabled veterans, whose asymmetrical bodies seemed so foreign. A series of photographs of Private Columbus Rush of the 21st Georgia, Company C, indicate an impulse to repair the broken body (Figs. 2.41-2.43). As one of a handful of Confederates represented in *Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens*, Rush's presence in the volumes was more than an attempt at documenting war wounds—it was a gesture of reunion. In the inclusion of a wounded southerner among photographs of disabled Union men, the medical profession advanced beyond politics of North and South to value the lives of all men, regardless of ideology.[100]

The series also alludes to the postwar need for medical and technological solutions to disability, pain, and trauma. Dr. Erasmus Darwin Hudson commissioned the photographs of Rush (along with several other veterans), documenting "before-and-after" shots with and without the prosthetic legs. In the "before" photograph, Rush sits on a low chair, his amputated legs exposed and visible, and his gaze meets the camera with a quizzical expression and slight frown (Fig. 2.41). The "after" image shows Rush standing erect with Dr. Hudson's prosthetic legs. The chair from the "before" photograph has been pushed aside, and now Rush stands, passable as his pre-disabled self. While Hudson would later published a letter from Rush in which the veteran praises the doctor's prosthetics for allowing him to walk once again, he is far from stable in the photograph.[101] Rush holds a cane in his right hand and firmly plants his left on a decorative pedestal, both reminders that while Rush can now stand, mobility and comfort remain elusive

(Fig. 2.42). A final photograph not included in the *Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens* shows the prosthetic legs standing up on their own (Fig. 2.43). Such a photograph suggests the agency of the Hudson artificial legs; they are literally standing on their own two feet.[102] Aesthetically positioned so that a bordered curtain falls behind the prosthetics much like a studio portrait, the photograph metonymically reiterates a bodily norm—the ability to stand and walk upright. By wearing the prosthetics, veteran Rush could "pass" in society, concealing the wound to become one of the crowd and a manikin to model a national ideology of a normative body.

"The Human Wheel"

The sound of "the clank of crutches on the pavements" and the thump of a prosthetic of the marked bodies of amputee veterans echoed across "the floors of Washington" both in the Army Medical Museum and Pension Office in Ford's Theatre, and also the Patent Office (now the Smithsonian American Art Museum and National Portrait Gallery) around the corner on F Street (Fig. 2.44).[103] Converted into a hospital during the war and the site of Lincoln's second inaugural, the Patent Office was a "temple of invention," a building meant to inspire and house the creative and brilliant minds of Americans, much in the same way the U.S. Army Surgeon General's Office cultivated medical artists and photographers.[104] "The noblest of Washington buildings," according to Walt Whitman, the Patent Office offered a place for Americans to see the future in progress tucked in glass cases; in fact, nearly ten thousand visitors viewed the models and plans on display each year (Fig. 2.45).[105] Exhibited in a similar fashion as the specimens on view at the Army Medical Museum, the Patent Office models were miniature feats of human ingenuity rather than historic relics, but both encapsulate the same desire to repair and heal the nation.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr. wrote of the multitude of disabled soldiers: "It is not two years since the sight of a person who had lost one of his lower limbs was an infrequent occurrence. Now, alas! There are few of us who have not a cripple among our friends, if not in our own families."[106] As noted earlier, nearly sixty thousand soldiers endured some form of amputation during the Civil War; with a seventy-five percent survival rate, veteran amputees suddenly became part of the social landscape of America.[107] American inventors responded to this wave of disability as part of a postwar commitment to providing for their veterans. Before the war there were fewer than thirty patents for artificial limbs, but the high percentile rate of amputation survival stimulated inventors to create over one hundred and fifty new prosthetic patents between 1861 and 1873.[108] In antebellum America, as we have seen, amputees were seen as dependent outsiders, and artificial limbs were considered poor substitutes for the missing appendage.[109] The boom in the prosthetics industry during and after the Civil War demonstrated an underlying desire for a technological solution to the mass of fragmented bodies.

According to postwar prosthetic inventor A.A. Marks, an artificial limb must "conceal the loss, protect the stump, restore a natural appearance to the dismembered side."[110] That is, the prosthetic must replace the lost limb in such a way as to assist the veteran in reintegrating into society. For as Marks wrote:

> Any deficiency of the body that becomes conspicuous will attract attention and invite comment and sympathy. No person who maintains his self-respect, no matter what his disability may be, cares to be constantly reminded of it, and the commiseration of others, above all things, is most abhorrent. To be frequently asked: "How did it happen?" "Did you lose your arm in the war?" "Were you in a railroad collision?" or to have such utterances as: "Poor, unfortunate man!" "How he must have suffered!" "What a terrible loss!" whispered within your hearing, may, for a while, be accepted in good part, but their repetition soon becomes annoying and odious.[111]

For the amputee, it was better to conceal the wound, to hide the loss, than contend with a barrage of questions from strangers. By wearing a prosthetic, the amputee veteran successfully "passed" in society, avoiding uncomfortable questions and stares. At the same time, in covering up their disability, veterans put the public at ease, or in the words of Holmes, prosthetics make "the cripple…presentable in polite society."[112]

Putting the veterans' broken body back together became a metaphor for healing the war-torn nation, and the sudden expansion in the prosthetics industry eased veterans back into society. Whereas the Army Medical Museum reunited the broken body with its lost fragment as in the case with Private Julius Fabry (Fig. 2.29), the Patent Office provided veterans with an apparatus to make the body whole once again. A patent model for an artificial limb by Dubois Parmelee offered the amputee veteran an opportunity to reconstruct his body and the future means to an improved lifestyle (Fig. 2.46). In some manufacturer's catalogues, clients would submit letters proclaiming their newfound mobility, or in the case of A.A. Marks's artificial limbs, allow an amputee to ice skate (Fig. 2.47). A patent model, like Parmelee's, presented a forward-seeking momentum towards repairing the nation, as creative inventors carved out a new future from the wreckage of the war.

If the "prosthetically-reconstructed veteran" was, as historian Lisa Herschbach argues, symbolic of a healed nation, then this new body was meant to be viewed free of scars or wounds.[113] In so doing, the repaired body concealed the wounds, presenting the veteran's body as ideal, healthy, and symmetrical, or "passing" as an able-bodied individual. When an "empty sleeve" or a peg leg could signify a badge of manly heroism, disguising the wound removed that signifier. Without the constant reminder of the veterans' sacrifices, the memory of the Civil War

became part of the distant past. Reconstruction required the nation to move forward, and one way to do that was to cloak the war's bodily impact.

A veteran with financial means would travel to Washington and have his photograph taken among the artworks and osseous specimens and to seek out records to support his pension claim. And around the corner at the Patent Office, he could view models of artificial limbs that his pension would provide. This proximity between the two buildings speaks to a geographical alignment in which the disabled veteran would navigate the city as if on a pilgrimage seeking out financial and material amelioration for his chronic pain and damaged body. Within the landscape of the nation's capital were physical structures designed to provide for their veterans and alternative means of coping with the trauma of war.

Served, Suffered, and Sacrificed

By 1882 it was apparent that the Pension Bureau needed a larger space, and it hired Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs to build a central facility to meet the flood of demands.[114] A few blocks over from Ford's Theatre and the Patent Office, the U.S. Pension Building occupied a block on F Street between 4th and 5th Street NW (Fig. 2.48). The design he developed was innovative, incorporating elements such as open arcades and low stairs to accommodate both the clerks and disabled veterans entering the building. Thus, the building became the first disability accessible structure, constructed to meet the needs of the veterans' broken bodies. Meigs also considered the aesthetic appearance of the building. He hired the sculptor Casper Buberl (1834-1899) to design a Parthenon-inspired frieze that would allude "to the origin of the Bureau for whose use the building is intended."[115] This "Great Frieze" as Meigs called it, became one of the few representations of disabled veterans in sculpture, representations

that would come into visual contact with the physical bodies of disabled veterans entering and exiting the building.

Below the frieze, the four entrances into the Pension Office aligned to the cardinal ordinates. The North Gate and its accompanying sculptural program adopted the moniker, "Gate of the Invalids"[116] (Fig. 2.49). Members of the medical corps assist wounded me in alternating groups of twos or threes. Some hobble with crutches or on peg legs while others have bandages wrapped around their heads or hands, and one group depicts a man with an empty sleeve. Buberl represented a wide array of war-induced injuries that the Pension Office would encounter. Rather than strive for individual portraits, Buberl and Meigs opted for generic bodies and facial features as a visual strategy to convey the universal costs of war. While some of the soldiers glance away from their destination, none of the men display the same sympathy-invoking gazes or emasculated bodies as portrayed by the artists of the U.S. Army Surgeon General's Office. Rather these men represent the epitome of masculine valor by persevering through pain and suffering. As the parts of the frieze were terra cotta slabs, Buberl could extend or condense the procession with ease, and he opted to include slabs of wounded veterans on three of the four sides of the Pension Office; thus reiterating the sacrifice paid on the part of the soldiers and the government's duty to support their disabled veterans.[117] This interchangeability and repetition of terra cotta groupings also foregrounds the return to a generic "disabled veteran" type instead of attempting to humanize an individual's suffering.[118] By the time the Pension Office was built in 1882, *The Medical and Surgical History* was nearing completion, and the federal government fulfilled its national obligation to its veterans.

The Pension Building acts as a final spatial and aesthetic capstone to the work begun by the U.S. Army Surgeon General's Office to garner federal support for disabled veterans and

reshape national attitudes about the suffering of former soldiers. *The Medical and Surgical History*, the Army Medical Museum, and the Patent Office all visualized "the real war" in varying degrees both to remind Americans of the physical trauma and to envision a productive future for disabled veterans. The visual impulse to depict disabled veterans in pain constitutes an important feature of the nation's shifting relationship with war-torn bodies and how pain was understood. The artists of the U.S. Army Surgeon General's Office visually put the words of Whitman's "real war" on the page, carefully documenting war's effects on the body to retain the veteran's identity, and to garner national support on behalf of the plight of disabled veterans.

[1] Louis Bagger, "The Army Medical Museum in Washington," *Appleton's Journal* 9:206 (March 1, 1873): 294-297.

[2] "Chamber of Horrors: Sights That Are To Be Seen in the Army Medical Museum," *Courier-Journal* (September 15, 1895): B; and Bagger, "The Army Medical Museum in Washington," 294-297.

[3] Bagger, 296. While scholars currently speculate as to the artist's attribution of the painting today, in the nineteenth-century the work was viewed as produced under Guido Reni's hand and widely distributed as a print across the United States.

[4] Private Eben E. Smith, Pension Records, National Archives and Records Administration.

[5] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Marble Faun, or the Romance of Monte Beni* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860) 84-85.

[6] Walt Whitman, *Specimen Days* (1882; rep., Boston: David R. Godine, 1971), 60. For the theoretical rationale for trauma engineering representational crises, see Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). Steven Conn's "Narrative Trauma and Civil War History Painting, or Why Are These Pictures so Terrible?" from *History and Theory* 51:4 (December 2002): 17-42 is useful for discussing a parallel representational crisis regarding the Civil War and Grand Manner history painting.

[7] Robert Plant Armstrong, *The Powers of Presence: Consciousness, Myth, and Affecting Presence* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1981), 20. For additional discussion of affect theory, see Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth, eds., *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); and Lynn Meskell, *Object Worlds of Ancient Egypt: Material Biographies Past and Present* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2004).

[8] Armstrong, 43-44.

[9] The term "homomaterial," according to Susan Stewart by way of Umberto Ecco, describes the metonymic function of a material piece of the past. Teresa Barnett's use of homomaterial representations to discuss the category of the relic has been extremely influential in my understanding of the concept. See Teresa Barnett, *Sacred Relics: Pieces of the Past in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 25 and 50-53.

[10] The U.S. Army Surgeon General's Office issued several broadsides, pamphlets, and books (all known as circulars) prior to the publication of *The Medical and Surgical History*. Faber's watercolor was likely commissioned by Assistant Surgeon General Dr. George A. Otis for *Circular No. 7* from 1867, where it appeared as a chromolithograph. A photograph of the watercolor is also found in the first volume of the *Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens* (Washington, D.C.: Surgeon General's Office, 1865).

[11] William A. Hammond, *Circular No. 2* (Washington, D.C.: Surgeon General's Office, May 21, 1862).

[12] For the history of the Army Medical Museum, see Michael G. Rhode and James T.H. Connor "A Repository for Bottled Monsters and Medical Curiosities: The Evolution of the Army Medical Museum," from *Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities*, ed. Amy K. Levin (Lantham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007), 177-197.

[13] Joseph J. Woodward, "The Army Medical Museum at Washington," *Lippincott's Magazine of Literature, Science and Education,* 18:1 (March 1871): 234.

[14] Joseph K. Barnes, *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* 1:1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1870), ix; William A. Hammond, *Circular No. 5* (Washington, D.C.: Surgeon General's Office, June 9, 1862).

[15] Ibid.

[16] Jean-Charles Chenu, *Rapport au Conseil de Santé des Armées sur les Résultats du Service Médico-Chirurgical aux Ambulances de Crimée et aux Hopitaux Militaires Francais en Turquie pendant la Campagne d'Orient en 1854-1855-1856* (Paris, 1865). For example, the combined armies suffered 653 gunshot fractures, while over 5,000 were reported in the Civil War.

[17] Lyman Trumball, 40th Congress 2d session, July 22, 1868. The second surgical volume was published in 1876 and the second medical volume in 1879. The last surgical volume was published in 1883 under the direction of Dr. David L. Huntington and Dr. Charles Smart published the last medical volume in 1888.

[18] Otis Historical Archives 18, *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion* Reviews and Correspondence Scrapbook, "The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion," *The Medical Record* (April 15, 1873).

[19] Barnes, *The Medical and Surgical History*, 1:1, VIII.

[20] Otis Historical Archives 18, *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion* Reviews and Correspondence Scrapbook, "Reviews and Books Notices," *Northwest Medical and Surgical Journal* 3 (1873): 484.

[21] John H. Brinton, *Personal Memoirs of John H. Brinton, Major and Surgeon U.S.V., 1861-1865* (New York: Neale Pub. Co., 1914), 194.

[22] Brinton, 189. The pay rate was about $30 dollars a month.

[23] Joseph J. Woodward, *The Hospital Steward's Manual* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1862), 20.

[24] Brinton mentions that artists would start with an oil study of the wound, move on to a pencil sketch and then paint the final product. Brinton, 286.

[25] In *The Medical and Surgical History* Milton is listed as being from Company C 1st Kentucky Cavalry, but this was actually his nephew. Such confusion caused difficulties for Milton in receiving a pension, see Milton E. Wallen, Kentucky Home Guard, Pension Record, National Archives and Records Administration.

[26] This idea that medical students would better absorb the material and create a lasting impression through an accompaniment of images than just text alone is well documented. See, Alexander Nemerov*, The Body of Raphaelle Peale: Still Life and Selfhood, 1812-1824* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), 101-124. For artists and anatomy lessons, see, Amy Werbel, *Thomas Eakins: Art, Medicine, and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007). For visual education pedagogy at the time see, Diana Korzenik, *Drawn to Art: A Nineteenth-Century American Dream* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1985).

[27] The concept of the forensic gaze has been most widely used in analyzing crimes and detective narratives, but also stems from Foucault's *Birth of the Clinic* regarding the clinical/medical gaze. The forensic is also about power structures thru which the viewer consumes an image, thus rendering the body abject and controlled. Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973).

[28] See, for instance, Nemerov, *The Body of Raphaelle Peale*; Amy Werbel, *Thomas Eakins: Art, Medicine, and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*; and Sarah Burns, *Painting the Dark Side: Art and the Gothic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004).

[29] John Jones, *Plain Concise Practical Remarks on the Treatment of Wounds and Fractures* (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1776), 3.

[30] Christopher Hoolihan has done a comprehensive study of early medical illustrations in American surgical texts and from 1800-1809 71% of all surgical texts published in the United States lacked illustrations, see Christopher Hoolihan, "Wood Engraving and the Illustration of American Surgical Texts during the Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 15:2 (1998): 337-349.

[31] Hoolihan, 337.

[32] Jacob Pancoast, *A Treatise of Operative Surgery* (Philadelphia: Cary & Hart, 1844), 2.

[33] Ibid.

[34] This concept about the "gutter" comes from Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993), 60-94.

[35] Pancoast, 2.

[36] Ira M. Rutkow, *The History of Surgery in the United States, 1775-1900* (San Francisco: Norman Publishing, 1988), 45.

[37] Stephen Smith, *Handbook of Surgical Operations* (New York: Baillière Brothers, 1862), v.

[38] Mrs. E G D Powell, "Come to the Soldier's Aid," *The Sanitary Commission Bulletin* 1:28 (December 15, 1864), 55.

[39] For an extended analysis of the American Civil War's emotional impact on period audiences see, Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 2008).

[40] While it has been difficult to find information about Edward Stauch's art training, we do know that Hermann Faber studied illustration at the University of Giessen. Even if the majority of the artists at the Surgeon General's Office lacked formal training, most spent their formative years in Europe, especially Germany, where they would have been exposed to these deep-rooted traditions of physiognomy.

[41] William M. Etter, *The Good Body: Normalizing Visions in Nineteenth-Century American Literature and Culture, 1836-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010).

[42] Brinton, 286.

[43] Nemerov, 89-92.

[44] Brinton, 187.

[45] Ibid., 186.

[46] Woodward, "The Army Medical Museum at Washington," *Lippincott's,* 233.

[47] Brinton, 189.

[48] Ibid., 190.

[49] Woodward, "Army Medical Museum at Washington," *Lippincott's,* 233.

[50] Lenore Barbian, Paul S. Sledzik, and Jeffrey S. Reznick, "Remains of War: Walt Whitman, Civil War Soldiers, and the Legacy of Medical Collections," *Museum History Journal* 5:1 (January 2012): 7-28 and J.T.H. Connor and Michael Rhode, "Shooting Soldiers: Civil War Medical Images, Memory, and Identity in America," *Invisible Culture* 5 (https://www.rochester.edu/in_visible_culture/Issue_5/ConnorRhode/ConnorRhode.html). Certainly the comparison merits consideration; however, as Teresa Barnett has pointed out, a historical relic is not merely another version of the saint's relic, rather it is also an object steeped in sentimental discourse and not limited to any relationship to the sacred. Barnett, 50-53

[51] Barnett describes a historical relic as an object that is positioned to construct national identity based on sentimental notions of family. Ibid., 74-75.

[52] Ibid., 91-95.

[53] Charles Cummings, *The Great War Relic* (Harrisburg: n.p., 1890).

[54] This is contrary to what Rhode and Goler have argued that the specimen photographs were meant to provide a visual record of the scientific holdings and not to honor individual soldiers. See Michael Rhode and Robert Goler, "From Individual Trauma to National Policy: Tracking the Uses of Medical Civil War Records," in *Disabled Veterans in History*, ed. David A. Gerber (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 169-184.

[55] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, and the Collection* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 132-139.

[56] Ibid., 135.

[57] Brinton, 190.

[58] Etter has argued that the Museum acted to re-assert federal authority by owning the specimens.

[59] Silas Weir Mitchell, "The Case of George Dedlow," *Atlantic Monthly* 18: 105 (July 1866): 1-11.

[60] Michael Sappol, *A Traffic of Dead Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Society Identity in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

[61] Mary Clemmer, *Ten Years in Washington: Life and Scenes in the National Capital as a Woman Sees Them* (Washington, D.C.: Queen Publishing Company, 1874), 484.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Conversation with former chief archivist of the National Museum of Health and Medicine, Michael Rhode (email February 7, 2014).

[64] Rhode and Goler, 167.

[65] John D. Billings, *Hardtack and Coffee: The Unwritten Story of Army Life* (Boston: George M. Smith and Co, 1887), 310.

[66] Charles Dickens is credited with coining "sawbones" as a moniker for a surgeon in his 1837 novel, *The Pickwick Papers*.

[67] William Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart* (New York: Scribner's, 1945), 27.

[68] Burns, 194-196.

[69] Alfred Bellard, *Gone for a Soldier: The Civil War Memoirs of Private Alfred Bellard*, David H. Donald, ed. (New York: Little Brown and Co, 1991), 218; see also, William Etter, "Cripple, Soldier, Crippled Soldier: Alfred Bellard's Civil War Memoir," in Disability in/and Prose, eds. Brenda Jo Brueggemann and Marian E. Lupo (New York: Routledge, 2008), 70-82.

[70] Cited in James Schmidt and Guy Hasegawa, *Years of Change and Suffering: Modern Perspectives on Civil War Medicine* (Roseville, MN: Edinborough Press, 2009), 62.

[71] William Williams Keen, *Surgical Reminiscences of the Civil War*, College of Physicians of Philadelphia, 1905.

[72] Michael Sappol's work tracks the trajectory of body/self in nineteenth-century America, including the Civil War. See Sappol, *A Traffic of Dead Bodies*.

[73] I can compare this distinction between surgeon and patient to what Michael Sappol has described as the cultural poetics of the dissector and dissected, or that the dissector generates the meaning (the mind) and the dissected appropriate that meaning (the body). Anatomy or medicine was seen as a triumph of mind over matter, but such epistemologies also produced cultural anxieties over corporeal control.

[74] Valentine Mott, *Pain and Anesthetics* (Washington, DC: US Sanitary Commission, 1863).

[75] See John Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990); and Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982).

[76] Elizabeth Grosz "Inscriptions and Body Maps: Representations and the Corporeal," From *Feminine, Masculine, and Representation*, eds. Terry Threadgold and Anne Cranny-Francis (North Sydney: Allen and Uwin, 2000): 62-74.

[77] The Union tended to prefer the flap method due to speed of which that amputation style could be performed. Glenna R. Schroeder-Levin, *Encyclopedia of Civil War Medicine* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2008), 17.

[78] Claire Prechtel-Kluskens "'A Reasonable Degree of Promptitude': Civil War Pension Application Processing, 1861–1885," Prologue 42:1 (Spring 2010) (http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2010/spring/civilwarpension.html).

[79] Russell Sturgis, "American Painters. The National Academy Exhibition," *Galaxy* 4 (June 1867): 230-231; cited in Teresa A. Carbone and Patricia Hills, *Eastman Johnson Painting America* (New York: Rizzoli, 1999), 70.

[80] Martin S. Pernick, *A Calculus of Suffering: Pain, Professionalism, and Anesthesia in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

[81] Diane Price Herndl, *Invalid Women: Figuring Feminine Illness in American Fiction and Culture, 1840-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 10.

[82] See Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[83] Vanderlyn's painting happened to be on view at the Great Sanitary Fair in Philadelphia during the war.

[84] Herndl, 8.

[85] Ibid.

[86] See David Blight for a few other exceptions of slave narratives that forgo the trope of a white interloper. David Blight, *A Slave No More: Two Men Who Escaped to Freedom, Including Their Own Narratives of Emancipation* (New York: Mariner Books, 2009).

[87] Prechtel-Kluskens "A Reasonable Degree of Promptitude": Civil War Pension Application Processing, 1861–1885."

[88] Pension record 104650 and Certificate 69520, Private George W. Lemon, Co. C, 6th Maryland Infantry, National Archives and Records Administration, and Pension Record 37194 and Certificate 23718, Private James E. Kelly, Co. B, 56th Pennsylvania Infantry, National Archives and Records Administration.

[89] Letter from Private James E. Kelly to Hon. S.A. Bently, Commissioner of Pensions, September 6, 1879, Pension Record 37194 and Certificate 23718, Private James E. Kelly, Co. B, 56th Pennsylvania Infantry, National Archives and Records Administration.

[90] Letter from Assistant Surgeon General George Otis, July 13, 1875, Pension Record 184803 and Certificate 921110, Private Milton E. Wallen, Kentucky Home Guard, National Archives and Records Administration.

[91] In some instances, a field surgeon would sketch or photograph his cases and forward them to the Surgeon General's Office, which would become the basis for the contributed photographs collection at the National Museum of Health and Medicine.

[92] Brinton, 284. There is debate as to whether Bell arrived at the Army Medical Museum in 1864 as Brinton says or on February 22, 1865 as per Bell's re-enlistment materials. When Bell's enlistment details lapsed on February 22, 1868, he left the service and returned to Philadelphia and opened his own private studio, Bell & Silver, although it seems that Bell occasionally still did work for the Medical Museum. As a result, it can be assumed that the first volume represents Bell's work, and some of his photographs may appear in the second or third volumes, but the photographers of later volumes are largely unknown. See Finding Aid, Eric W. Boyle, Bell (William) Collection. Otis Historical Archives 111, National Museum of Health and Medicine.

[93] Many of these photographs also appeared as engravings in *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*. For a detailed history of the *Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens*, see Michael Rhode, *Index to* Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens *and Surgical Photographs* (Washington, DC: National Museum of Health and Medicine, 1994).

[94] For example, George Otis gave the Warren Anatomical Museum (Harvard's medical museum) the first four volumes of the *Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens*. Dominic Hall, curator of the Warren Anatomical Museum, email message to the author, August 28, 2013.

[95] Pension Record 119346 and Certificate 78753, Major Henry A. Barnum, Co. I, 12th New York Infantry, National Archives and Records Administration.

[96] Henry Sayre, *The Object of Performance: The American Avant-Garde Since 1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 39-65.

[97] Tanya Sheehan*, Doctored: The Medicine of Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2011), 48-53.

[98] Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (Winter 1986): 3-64.

[99] Allan Sekula, "Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital," from *Visual Culture: A Reader*, Jessica Evans and Stuart Hall, eds. (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 185.

[100] Of course, this attempt at peace was only extended to white Southerners, not African American Union soldiers. African Americans were present in the volumes, but not as veterans.

[101] Columbus Rush to Hudson quoted in Blair O. Rogers, "Rehabilitation of Wounded Civil War Veterans," *Aesthetic Plastic Surgery* 26 (November-December 2002): 507. Cited in Susan-Mary Grant, "The Lost Boys: Citizen-Soldiers, Disabled Veterans, and Confederate Nationalism in the Age of People's War," *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 2:2 (June 2012), 246.

[102] For object agency, see Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); and Lynn Meskell, *Object Worlds of Ancient Egypt: Material Biographies Past and Present* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2004).

[103] Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Human Wheel, Its Spokes and Felloes," *The Atlantic Monthly* 11:67 (May 1863): 567-580. Even the journalist Bagger, whose article introduced to the Army Medical Museum, was no stranger to the neighborhood. A local editor for the Daily Patriot and a patent lawyer, his offices were directly across from the Patent Office Building, just one block away from Ford's.

[104] Charles Robertson, *Temple of Invention: History of a National Landmark* (Washington, D.C.: Scala Publishing, 2006).

[105] Walt Whitman, "The Great Army of the Sick," *The New York Times*, February 23, 1863, 2.

[106] Holmes, 574.

[107] Guy Hasegawa, *Mending Broken Soldiers: The Union and Confederate Programs to Supply Artificial Limbs* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2012), 2.

[108] Ibid., 10.

[109] Etter, 154-155.

[110] A.A Marks, *Manual of Artificial Limbs*, (New York: A.A. Marks, 1907), 183.

[111] Ibid, 183-4.

[112] Holmes, 574.

[113] Lisa Herschbach, "Prosthetic Reconstructions: Making the Industry, Re-Making the Body, Modelling the Nation," *History Workshop Journal* 44 (Autumn 1997): 22-57.

[114] 890,000 pensions had been filed by the 1880s.

[115] Montgomery Meigs, Meigs Family Papers, Library of Congress.

[116] See Joyce L. McDaniel for extended analysis and description of each of the four gates, McDaniel, "Caspar Buberl: The Pension Building Civil War Frieze and Other Washington, D.C. Sculpture," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 50 (1980) 309-344.

[117] These are the North, South and East sides.

[118] Sarah Beetham makes a similar case for the emergence of the common soldier type public statues in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Beetham, "Sculpting the Citizen Soldier: Reproduction and National Memory, 1865-1917" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2014).

CHAPTER 2: VANISHING VETERANS: PICTORIAL HAUNTING, METAPHYSICAL TRAUMA, AND THE LIMITS OF REPRESENTATION

"[Art] is not a thing of surfaces, but a moving spirit."—George Inness[1]

During the summer of 1881, George Inness (1825-1894) completed his largest figure painting of the period, *The Old Veteran*, (Fig. 3.1) an awkward and puzzling scene of an elderly, crippled man—more specifically, a veteran of the Civil War. The painting is an anomaly not only for its presence in the landscape painter's oeuvre, but also for its deviation from the decade's preference for concealing the living reminders of the war. A national desire to forget the sectional conflict marked the post-Reconstruction years, a period in which many Americans preferred to concentrate on the centennial of the Declaration of Independence and the newly reunited country's promising future rather than bloody sectional conflict.[2] Working in this climate, Northern artists largely avoided the disabled veteran type and the war altogether.[3] Inness's *The Old Veteran* therefore represents a visual rebellion against the period trend towards historical amnesia, one that claims to offer in Inness's words a "very real-looking" perspective on the current state of affairs regarding the nation's veterans.[4]

Years later in 1917, Inness's son compiled his father's "mountains of writing" into a book where a curious anecdote about *The Old Veteran* put the picture in a different light.[5] During a visit to a gentleman patron, George Inness, Sr., encountered *The Old Veteran*, a painting thought lost by the family. Inness inquired as to where the patron obtained the work, and the gentleman declared that he had purchased it from the artist, an exchange that Inness, Sr., denied. Apparently, the patron purchased an Inness landscape under which he found another

canvas with the veteran. Since the patron bought the stretcher, he argued that he had, in fact, purchased both Inness paintings. In fact, the repurposing and recomposing of paintings was a well-known trait in Inness's artistic process. Inness did not agree with his patron's reasoning and retorted: "I supposed that if you bought a pair of shoes and found that a five-dollar bill had accidently dropped into one of the shoes while the clerk was wrapping them up, you would keep the five dollars."[6] Art historians have read this incident as evidence of Inness's commitment to the single-tax principles of economist Henry George, who saw the imposition of a tax on land as a means of creating a system of "common property" where ownership was communal.[7]

Yet this story illuminates more than the artist's political leanings. As I hope to show in this chapter, Inness's concealment of *The Old Veteran* offers unusual testimony to the limits of visual language to explore trauma. When in financial straits, Inness would typically paint over an old canvas and reuse his materials. However, in this singular instance, he erased *The Old Veteran* by covering it with another canvas—notably, a more saleable and conventional landscape painting.[8] During his summer sketching expeditions to upstate New York and central Virginia between 1880 and 1884, Inness had sought to refashion his persona from a landscapist to a figure painter. His brief foray into figural studies coincided with a period of poverty and a desire to appeal to a larger market. Inness was convinced that while "the sale of landscapes is too uncertain," his new figure paintings would "bring money readily" and thereby allow him "to get out of debt this winter."[9] Over the next four years, Inness painted three pictures of disabled Civil War Veterans: *The Old Veteran*, *In the Gloaming (The Old Veteran)* (ca. 1881-1883; Fig. 3.2), and *The Veteran's Return* (ca. 1881-1883; Fig. 3.3). While *The Old Veteran* remains the only known painting that artist subsequently covered with another painted canvas, both *In the*

Gloaming and *The Veteran's Return* reveal refigurations and modifications of the compositions. Despite Inness's optimism in readily selling these figural paintings, the works never sold.[10]

In this chapter I argue that Inness's frequent reworking of his veteran series and eventual concealment of the figure in *The Old Veteran* constitute a series of ventures and retreats that speak to the intense representational and psychological difficulties posed by the disabled veteran in this historical moment. In this way, Inness performs an act of *sous rature*, or the deconstructionist concept regarding the recognition of the inadequacy of language by deliberate erasure. By willfully concealing *The Old Veteran* with another canvas of a landscape, he signaled his awareness of the painting's representational limits and self-consciously recorded his insufficient attempts to visualize the war-torn veteran. As he added or took away layers of paint, scumbled the outlines of borders, altered compositions, or obscured entire paintings, Inness engaged in a therapeutic process of contending with post-war psychological trauma. *Sous rature*, however, is not absolute; there always remains some ghostly evidence of the violent aftermath and haunting presence of pentimenti.[11]

The inability of *The Old Veteran* to provide satisfactory meaning and its subsequent erasure coincides with historical and cultural concerns about the place of disabled Civil War veterans in postwar society and the public sphere. Traditionally referred to as a period of "hibernation," these decades witnessed a decline in public consciousness of the disabled veteran.[12] An editorial in the *Burlington Daily Hawk Eye* in 1878 summarizes this point of view, calling the veteran an "extinct race":

> He is dead. Or Lost. Strayed or stolen, possibly. We do not know where he is, but he is not here. He has gone away from place. Perhaps he has ceased to be necessary. Perhaps, if he were here, he would be in the way. At any rate, he is not around. He does not go to legislature. We do not find him in congress. He is not eagerly sought as a candidate for anything. Nobody appears to know anything about him.[13]

Ten to twenty years after the Civil War, the veteran no longer retained his position as a prominent and publically celebrated war hero. By the early 1880s, many Americans desired (in the words of a period article on the legacy of the Civil War) to "do away with the memories of the war so far as possible" and to think about the future instead of dwelling on the past.[14] Inness's attempts at painting disabled veterans corresponded, then, with a period of willful forgetfulness and mnemonic repression. Undertaken in this context, Inness's meditations on the broken body of the veteran redirected his viewers' attention to this neglected figure in American society. In so doing, these works prefigured a shift that would unfold in the 1880s, when the cultural suppression of disabled veterans began to give way and injured soldiers found a new voice in politics and pension reform.

After he completed (and covered over) *The Old Veteran*, Inness continued this experimentations with war subjects in *Goochland, West Virginia* (1884; Fig. 3.4), a painting art historian Michael Quick argues is a painting of a prisoner being escorted to a court trial that Inness describes in a letter from March 25, 1884.[15] This Southern landscape scene provides an aesthetic bridge to his Northern veteran paintings in his consideration of lingering, shadowy traumatic memories. As was the case with *The Old Veteran*, Inness was unable to fully realize his artistic vision in *Goochland, West Virginia*, and he eventually painted out the scene's figures. Inness's deliberate reworking of his figural post-Civil War Virginia scenes into ethereal visions of the land evokes the soldier's fading presence in the Southern landscape.

This interest in capturing invisible or fading entities in the landscape can be viewed as an extension of the artist's familiarity with the Swedenborgianism. According to Swedenborgian doctrine, the natural or visible world corresponded to an invisible or spirit world beyond the realm of human sight. As Rachael Delue has shown, Inness sought to visualize the internal

world, which he believed to be true sight, and instruct his viewers how to "see" the spiritual world through the fog of the external.[16] Inness's desire to inculcate spiritual sight in his viewers went hand in hand with his conviction about social justice.[17] Drawing on these and other discourses, I argue, Inness developed a syncretic painting method that fused art, religion, and social awareness. By exploring Inness's veteran series in light of this multifaceted approach, this chapter draws together scholarship on the artist's social consciousness and his concern with the invisible.[18] Yet, as we will see, these investments also prevented Inness from fully articulating and achieving his artistic goals.

Inness's Limits of Realism

As a landscape painter Inness initially drew upon the tightly-rendered detail of the Hudson River School before distinguishing himself with smaller, more intimate canvases that explored light and color in the manner of the French Barbizon School. He devoted almost the entirety of his oeuvre to the study of landscape, which makes his short foray into figure painting a curious and noteworthy episode. In the early 1880s, the artist became, according to his son, "very enthusiastic about figure painting, and decided to go into that almost to the exclusion of the broader subject."[19] The majority of his figure paintings coincide with summer sketching excursions that he took to Milton, New York in the years between 1880 and 1884. A refuge from the dirty city that obstructed his clear view of nature with a "vapor barrier" of pollution, pastoral Milton offered the artist an opportunity to diverge from his trademark landscapes and to paint local characters.[20] One Milton resident, Private Lyman C. Beam, possibly inspired Inness to create his unusual figural series of Civil War veterans.[21] Whether sparked by a specific figure or not, these paintings sought out the universal; his disabled veteran was to be representative of all veterans, not of a specific individual.

Inness's turn to figure painting has not fully been explored by scholars; nor has his decision to focus his figural works on an elderly and disabled Civil War veteran. Certainly, younger American artists of the late nineteenth century, inspired by French Realism and the movement's socially-charged painting with a moral message, fashioned figure painting as the period's stylistic trend.[22] Works such as *Two Sisters in the Garden* (1882) or *On the Farm, Milton, NY* (1882) reveal Inness's embrace of the movement through his depictions of ordinary life and pastoral setting (Figs. 3.5 and 3.6). Yet *The Old Veteran* suggests something more poignant and topical than the typical realist celebration of the common laborer. Unlike the sentimental and heroic images of veterans that emerged immediately following the war (Winslow Homer's "Our Watering Places—The Empty Sleeve at Newport" is a prime example), Inness's veterans expose the difficult realities of post-war reintegration and delve into the broader societal neglect of former soldiers (1865; Fig. 1.1).

The largest canvas in the veteran series, *The Old Veteran* best exemplifies Inness's social project. The painting depicts an informal pyramidal composition of an elderly man and three children with an open paint box and partially painted scene in the lower right-hand corner. Within the composition, the veteran stands slightly off-center and appears to pause in his ambulation to turn to face the viewer. The spindly homemade crutch and cane awkwardly distribute the veteran's weight, and further exaggerate the contortedness of his age-wracked body. His crooked back resonates with Inness's early 1870s paintings of gnarled, twisted trees from his trip to Italy, such as *Olive Grove near Rome* or *Tivoli, Italy* (Figs. 3.7 and 3.8). Olive trees grow in curves, twists, and turns—anything but straight lines. Inness recalled in an interview: "In Italy I remember frequently noticing the peculiar ideas that came to me from seeing odd-looking trees that had been used, or tortured, or twisted—all telling something about

humanity."[23] Reminiscent of the ancient trees of the Old World, the back of the elderly veteran suggests that his physical body, much like the trunk of the tree, responds to and reflects the environment around it. Many period artists and image makers drew this sort of connection between the Civil War soldier and the landscape. Photographer Mathew Brady, for example, explored a visual analogy between the battlefield landscape and the human body in his well-known 1863 *Wounded Trees at Gettysburg*, which depicts one of the cameramen's colleagues posing beside bullet-ridden tree trunks (Fig. 3.9).[24] Inness emphasized this issue with the overgrown and decrepit picket fence behind the veteran. Strategically framed by the veteran's contoured body and weathered face, the ramshackle fence appears to reflect upon the comparable deteriorated states of body and land. Humanity, while resilient, bears the marks of strife and age.

The veteran's clothing bears a dirty and worn appearance suggesting destitution and squalor akin to beggars and ragpickers found in city streets. As various observers noted, poverty-stricken veterans were a common sight in the urban environment soon after the war; like many other period accounts of urban life, James McCabe (Edward Winslow Martin)'s 1868 book, *Secrets of the Great City* (Fig. 3.10) addressed this ubiquitous figure. In the illustration "The Soldier's Minstrel," an amputee veteran plays a hand-organ to passersby on Broadway Street in New York City. His limp empty sleeve dangles prominently on his left side; as adults walk past, children have stopped to listen to the veteran's music. McCabe admonishes the reader:

> This is the end and reward for his services and suffering. In a land so prosperous, so favored as our own, a soldier of the Union, in his garb of honor, who has given for his country everything but his life, is forced to resort to an avocation formerly considered only fit for vagrants…Perhaps you may know, dear reader, who is responsible for it.[25]

In this passage McCabe makes it clear that the American public is at fault for letting their war heroes suffer as street beggars. Over a decade later, Inness's painting suggests that the beggar veteran still exists and remains a social problem.

Inness was one of several nineteenth-century American artists who became proponents for social justice. Eastman Johnson (1824-1906) had been addressing questions of race and equality since his 1859 *Negro Life at the South*, but he also engaged the plight of suffering vagrants, paupers, and indigent veterans. Johnson's 1867 painting *The Pension Claim Agent* (1867; Fig. 2.34) centers on the last type. Depicting a veteran reenacting his war wounds for a self-satisfied pension officer, Johnson's picture outlines a humiliating performance that visualizes the stigma of disability. Similarly, Johnson's *The Tramp* explores the artist's fascination with characters on the fringes of society and in positions of hardship (1876-1877; Fig. 3.11). The tramp, much like the pictorial symbol of the disabled veteran, was an equally threatening figure to social order.[26] Like Inness, Johnson strove to make viewers aware of the social concerns facing the nation with the use of visual types. To do so, however, Johnson's paintings used the familiar language of genre painting to render social suffering understandable to diverse audiences; in so doing, he diverged dramatically from Inness's more convoluted attempts to render similar subject matter.

Inness's *The Old Veteran* drew upon several pictorial types found in socially aware nineteenth-century visual culture and genre paintings. Much like the entranced children in "The Soldier's Minstrel" from *Secrets of the Great City*, Inness's veteran surrounds himself with the younger generation in *The Old Veteran*. A girl in a long pink gown hides behind the veteran and to the right; an adolescent barefoot boy reclines on his belly in the grass propped up on his forearms. In depicting an intergenerational relationship between an elderly Civil War veteran and young children, Inness took up a theme that found wide expression in the 1880s. Following the Civil War, childhood took on new importance as Americans recognized the fragility of life and doted on future inheritors of the newly reunited country.[27] Artists represented the veteran as a

kindly and nurturing grandfather figure with his grandchild, a visual trope of "the Northern Madonna" that I explore in a later chapter exemplified by *Decoration Day* (Fig. 5.21). In these images, the grandchild serves as a caregiver for the veteran, one whose sole existence is to provide for the aged soldier and maintain allegiance to his patriotic lessons. Although the young girl in *The Old Veteran* embraces her older relative in a gesture of devotion, Inness provides visual cues that destabilize the seemingly intimate relationship. Their shadowed faces and closed body language render the pair unapproachable and melancholic—a far cry from the optimistic and joyful perspective in *Decoration Day*. The setting's broken-down fences and rocky, barren landscape seems in turn to present the rural home as unsuitable to idyllic play and unable to foster a promising future.

The young boy that appears to the right of the veteran recalls the earlier genre type of the barefoot country boy, a specialty Winslow Homer explored in the 1870s in pictures such as *The Nooning* (Fig. 3.12). Homer and Inness's paintings embrace the carefree nature of an adolescent boy idly shirking chores to enjoy the outdoors. A common pictorial type found in antebellum paintings and prints such as Eastman Johnson's popular *Barefoot Boy* (1860; Fig. 3.13), the country boy came to represent the youth and prevailing spirit of the democratic nation.[28] Rather than basking in the noonday sun, Inness has cast his painted boy in a dim shadow, receding into the space of *The Old Veteran*. The metaphorical suggestion is that young America now resides in the dark, having lost some imagined childhood innocence. Nearly twenty years after the war its traces linger on, marring the sunny outlook on America's future. The veteran's slightly angled body mimics the maulstick below him, a compositional element that links the boy with the old veteran. Even the boy's clothing—the bucket hat, blue slacks, and off-white shirt—mirrors those of the veteran's. Using formal devices, Inness reiterates a connection between the boy and

veteran, and, in so doing, suggests the psychological scarring that occurs when youth are forced to grow up too quickly.

A patch of sunlight streaks across the hill in the background illuminating the fourth figure in *The Old Veteran*. Comprised of only a few brushstrokes, this hazy figure recalls the small figures that appear in many other Inness landscapes. In *The Coming Storm* (1878), *October Noon* (1891), (Figs. 3.14 and 3.15) and other pictures, these staffage figures serve to indicate scale and guide the eye towards parts of the canvas. In some cases, such as *October Noon*, these figures appear like an apparition on the horizon composed of only a few strokes of red and black. Faceless, they allow the viewers to insert themselves into the scene. Yet the figure in *The Old Veteran* confuses rather than assists. Is this figure a child as the scale would suggest? Is Inness attempting a version of the contemporaneous John Singer Sargent's *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit*, (1882; Fig. 3.16) swapping the stages of girlhood for the passages of life (youth, middle, old age) or time (past, present, future)? Such an interpretation, while tempting, runs contrary to Inness's entire oeuvre. More likely, this elusive fourth figure is a residual holdover, a visible pentimento from Inness's landscapes, his past work haunting his current attempts at a new artistic mode.

Four sets of eyes encroach on the susceptible viewer and break the divide between the surface of the picture and reality. Yet the paint box and maulstick in the foreground complicate this exchange of looking between the painted figures and the spectator (Fig. 3.17). An artist's sketch box was an intimate object, often equated as an iconographic embodiment for the artist. In fact, one contemporary critic wrote of *The Old Veteran*, "the presence of the Artist, who is not shown, but his sketch-box on the ground is, and at once the observer and painter are the same."[29]

The implied presence of the artist shifts the meaning of *The Old Veteran* as the focus becomes about the artistic process of materializing the traumatized veteran into a painting.

We might compare Inness's paint box to another artist's work that contains autobiographical objects in the foreground: the canteen and uniform in Winslow Homer's *The Veteran in a New Field* (1865; Fig. 3.18). Nearly obscured by the fallen wheat lies the veteran's jacket bearing the insignia from the same division Homer had followed as a sketch artist for *Harpers Weekly*. Nestled on top of the jacket sits a canteen marked with Homer's initials, an additional signature to the one present in the lower left-hand corner. Such personal emblems suggest that Homer inserted himself into the painting and in the process drawn a connection between the artist and the veteran.[30] In much the same way, Inness's maulstick and cane invite us to make similar comparisons. Unlike Inness, however, Homer saw firsthand the horrors of the battlefield, which profoundly affected him, so much so that his mother wrote that Homer had returned home from the war "so changed that his best friends did not know him."[31] The connotations of the war relics in the foreground of *The Veteran in a New Field* are necessarily different, then, from the artistic implements in Inness's painting: in working to link the Homer's painted veteran with the artist himself, these foreground objects allude to the painter's own exposure to the mass violence (evoked by the falling stalks of wheat) and psychological toll of war.

Inness never came close to the front lines, despite being "not only a fervent American but an Abolitionist."[32] George Inness, Jr., recalled that his father "was all enthusiasm" when war broke out and immediately attempted to enlist.[33] Family lore states that the examining doctor punched Inness in the abdomen and when Inness fainted from shortness of breath, he failed the physical. Reputedly known for his fits of ill health, such an outcome was perhaps unsurprising.[34]

A recently discovered draft register from Medfield, Massachusetts, lists Inness's military exemption as "short-sightedness," a possible period euphemism for a variety of maladies (including, most commonly, myopia).[35] Despite his medical exemption, Inness still wished to assist the Union and support the abolitionist cause. He rallied around Boston giving lectures to inspire other men to enlist, and he even borrowed money from an art dealer to buy socks for the soldiers on the front.[36]Although Inness was unable to relate first-hand to horrifying war experiences of soldiers, his veteran paintings reveal his continued testament to the Union cause.

The foreground objects in *The Old Veteran* refer to the practice of on the spot, plein air painting. Placed in the artist's lap, the inside cover of the paint box would serve as a support for the working sketch and the contents of the box would hold the brushes, oils and palette. As an illustration from John Chapman's *The Artist's Drawing-Book* demonstrates (1873; Fig. 3.19), the portable sketch box allowed the artist to paint oils outdoors with ease. In *The Old Veteran*, the open paint box reveals a sketch in process, suggesting that the artist, Inness, is at work. Yet the paint box in *The Old Veteran* presents a puzzle: Inness is not painting the veteran in front of him. Vibrant, almost scorched red-orange paint dominates the abstract sketch; wisps of white overlaid on this bright field suggest a sky or horizon, and create a bold color scheme that calls to mind later works such as *The Home of the Heron* (1893; Fig. 3.20). If Inness is not at work on the scene laid out in front of us, what is he painting? The paint box is open for inspection, as if to compare reality to its simulacrum, but the scene eludes interpretation as a formless juxtaposition of color and texture. Prominently placed in the foreground of *The Old Veteran*, this ambiguous picture invites us to understand the broader scene around it as another enigmatic production, a socially conscious but open-ended picture that resists form and explanation. And in so doing this passage may quietly attest to the difficulties that the disabled veteran presented to Inness.

Furthermore, the illegibility of the painting in process foreshadows *The Old Veteran*'s failure to register with the public—a troubled afterlife that ultimately inspired Inness to cover up the picture with a more conventional landscape.

Critics noted that Inness often tested the representational limits of paintings in his quest to make the intangible visible.[37] One critic, Edgar Fawcett, wrote in 1881, "sometimes Mr. Inness aspires to the plainly impossible, he shows himself tormented with visions that are not realizable of expression through any naturalistic medium."[38] Inness's mission to provide a "way to paradise" in his pictures haunted him, driving his creativity forward but also sabotaging his art.[39]

Inness's veteran paintings work within his aesthetic project, but they also pursue a socially-conscious agenda. While Inness may be a metaphysician, urging his viewers to see through the veil of reality, he also wanted the same viewers to see what had been ignored in everyday life: the plight of disabled veterans. In his worldview, the veteran had an uncertain place and future. To invoke this ambiguous place, Inness appealed to sentiment and feeling, depicting his veteran subject in an impoverished state, weak, and crippled. In his efforts to highlight the humanity of a social group forgotten and neglected, Inness drew upon visual strategies to fabricate squalor in a fashion that was alternately artistic and superficially politicized, techniques employed by nineteenth-century social reformers such as Charles Loring Brace and Jacob Riis.[40] *The Old Veteran* offers an example, then, of the artist fusing a cause with his artistic practice, and can be viewed as part of a larger cultural impetus towards societal improvement.

Despite Inness's attempts at conveying the social conscious message of *The Old Veteran*, viewers were hesitant to remember the wartime trauma embodied in the veteran, preferring

instead to avoid contention aroused in this figure. The emotionally-gripping experience of the veteran—a weakened and abject war hero—unsettled viewers. The failure of *The Old Veteran* did not lie in Inness's choice of subject matter or style, but in the affective limits of its genre.

Labor and Land

In drawing awareness to the "evil of poverty" that threatened the disabled veteran's livelihood, Inness engaged with the writings of reformist-economist Henry George and his Single Tax movement.[41] George's 1879 book *Progress and Poverty* sought to explain how urban environments maintained the majority of the wealth while agrarian laborers remained in destitution. As a remedy to the ill-effects of modernization and industrialization, George proposed that a single-tax be levied on land values, that other forms of taxation be eliminated, and that privately-owned land be gradually transferred into the public domain. This, he claimed, would alleviate tensions and discrepancies between labor and capital by encouraging landowners to work the land, which would in turn stimulate the workforce. Inness, we know, was an ardent single-taxer and his socially conscious veteran series aligns with his political and economic beliefs. Yet a central tenet of Georgism was the autonomy of the individual: supporters believed that it was the individual's responsibility to become self-sufficient through productive labor. Thus it seems notable that none of the figures in Inness's veteran series are actually engaged in work. The Single Tax might grant disabled veterans land, but their corporeal limitations would prevent them from making a living or providing for a family. *The Old Veteran* and *In the Gloaming (The Old Veteran)* offer insight into Inness's struggle to reconcile his socially-conscious outlook towards the former soldiers with his belief in a communal rural land and the self-supporting individual (Fig. 3.2).

In the Gloaming appears to be a reworking of *The Old Veteran* that situates the elderly, crippled veteran as its focal point. In this painting Inness has foregone the additional characters, focusing on the central figure in a way that recalls the works of French Realists, Jean-Francois Millet, and Jules Bastien-Lepage (Figs. 3.21 and 3.22).[42] In what art historian Michael Fried calls the "antitheatrical tradition," Millet and Bastien-Lepage's paintings strive for an aura of realism over staged poses, which typically involved rendering large foreground figures with a high horizon line.[43] This compositional device heightens the psychological nature of the individual, who would be represented in a state of absorption and unaware of viewer's presence. In similar fashion, the veteran in *In the Gloaming* appears to be fixated on the path in front of him: wearing a tan bucket hat that casts his eyes in shadow, the figure appears utterly unaware of the encroaching viewer. His body materializes out of an unfocused and ambiguous environment, delineated with heavy outlines around his legs and strong brushwork following the shape of his sloping shoulders. The foreground consists of earth-tones of red-brown and muted greens that seamlessly blend and overlap. To the veteran's left are the indications of a structure, a black, shapeless void contained by thick horizontal grey band of a fence or possibly a bench. Around the rectangular building are pentimenti, evidence of trees and a shadow of a larger architectural mass, now covered with vigorous brushwork that implies indistinguishable vegetation. To the veteran's right is a slanted roof of a building that aligns with Inness's earlier attempt on the other side of the figure; it similarly appears as a penumbrous mass of architecture and natural elements partially covered with a thin layer of green and grey-blue pigment. The shape of the building mirrors those found in Inness's later work, *Goochland, West Virginia*, which the artist painted and repainted several times (Fig. 3.4). Directly below the structure's roof in *In the Gloaming* are large swatches of cream-colored paint (which could possibly be sheep) and a vague tenebrous

figure behind them. The defined physicality of the veteran contrasts with the transient and reworked appearance of the landscape that surrounds him, creating a pictorial tension that suggests an uneasy relationship between material and the spiritual realm, the individual and land.

Notably, Inness situates the veteran in the countryside in both *In the Gloaming* and *The Old Veteran*, a decision that recalls larger nineteenth-century cultural debates over rural land use and management. Given his Georgist leanings, Inness advocated for a democratization of land use, which supported laborers in the production and cultivation of land and penalized idled landowners. His position aligned with the prewar understanding of economic independence as a state attained through agrarian labor, a mentality cultural historian John A. Casey, Jr., calls "artisanal manhood."[44] In working the land as independent farmers, veterans could obtain a level of postwar autonomy equivalent to the prewar ideals of masculinity. The divergence of political visions of land in the territories between Republicans and slaveholders—small, multi-generational farms devoted to "agricultural improvement" and expansive plantations focused on single crops—became a fundamental concept in Republican antislavery ideology as the Southern plantation represented wasteful and monopolizing land use.[45] Slave owners held too much land like English aristocrats that was at odds with a democratic government. As a result, proper land use came to represent an ideal society in America, and one that Republicans sought to obtain with westward expansion in the form of the Homestead Acts.

Proper land use was the fixation of environmentalist George Perkins Marsh, who completed his work of nature conservation, *Man and Nature* (1864), during the Civil War.[46] Marsh argued that ancient Mediterranean civilizations such as Greece and Rome collapsed due to environmental degradation and exhaustion of natural resources. In particular, he was a proponent of long-term, crop cultivation and soil recovery, a type of farming not practiced in the slave-

dependent, single crop South. Slavery, then, would lead the nation into an environmental crisis that could bring American civilization to ruin.[47] Published under the shadow of the sectional conflict, Marsh's book foreshadowed the destructive nature of war, one that strips bare the land for battlefields and encampments, and which could in turn lead to societal collapse.[48]

Despite Northern propaganda that cast the section as predominantly industrial in character (and much more so than the South), nearly half of the Union army was made up of farmers.[49] While a significant portion of veterans returned to their prewar trade rather than embarking on new endeavors, farming as a profession boomed within the first five years after the war.[50] The first of the Homestead Acts passed in 1862, and its subsequent variations aided the Republican vision of a strong nation by granting 160 acres of land to any US citizen or intended citizen at least 21 years of age and head of household who did not raise arms against the Union. The Homestead Act was intended to ensure the proper management of land use and check the expansion of slave labor westward. Initially, Union soldiers were granted minimal incentives to head west, and many were more concerned with survival than postwar professions.[51] One newspaper even reported, "Soldiers who served in the late war have no privileges connected with the homestead law which are not engaged by all persons."[52] However, the first person to file under the Homestead Act of 1862, Daniel Freeman, was a Union soldier. Addendums to the Act in 1870 and 1872 catered to the veteran farmer by allowing him to deduct his years of service against the required five years of working the land and prime real estate along the railroad lines—land that was not granted to civilians.[53] One Nebraskan broadside read, "Soldiers of the war of 1861, come forward and take your Homesteads near some Railroad in Nebraska."[54] Veterans, then, after the revisions to the Homestead Act in 1870 and 1872 were encouraged to work the land out west, fulfilling the Republican vision of free soil, free labor, and free men as

the keys to a healthy nation. Of course, sending veterans out West had other advantages as it took veterans away from cities, and, subsequently, out of sight from public view. For those who were disabled, however, their inability to work the land clashed with the agricultural expectation of former soldiers.

One example of a veteran embarking on the agrarian ideal of harnessing and taming the land is Winslow Homer's *The Veteran in a New Field* (Fig. 3.18). Painted in the summer of 1865, immediately following the war, *The Veteran in a New Field* offers a vision of a successful reintegration of former soldiers into civilian society. Homer's veteran has discarded his uniform to take up the scythe and bring in a fruitful harvest while recalling the memories of the war. While this painting has been discussed in art historical literature as being steeped in the iconography of death and as a therapeutic painting for the artist, it can also be read as emblematic of a postwar veteran ideal—the yeoman farmer.[55] For the disabled veteran, however, achieving this perspective remained unattainable without the assistance of newfound technologies. Prosthetic manufacturers developed a range of products designed to reconstitute the broken veteran's body.

Eager to rebuild the nation, the prosthetic industry sought to stimulate the workforce and inspire veterans by providing radical transformations with their inventive artificial limbs.[56] When a debilitating injury could spell social or economic failure for the common laborer, prosthetic companies offered somatic normalcy—"a mechanism of perfection"—by repairing the body with mechanical limbs.[57] One artificial limb manufacturer, Douglas Bly, included an engraved vignette of a farmer donning his new Bly prosthetic, which bears a striking resemblance to Homer's veteran (1870; Fig. 3.23). The farmer's turns his back away from the viewer while he cradles oats with his modernized scythe. Unlike *The Veteran in a New Field*, this farmer's lower

legs are subject to scrutiny with his left pant leg cuffed to reveal the artificial limb. Bly's image undermined the notion that a fragmented, wounded body prevented an injured worker or former soldier from achieving a successful reintegration into civilian life as a productive agrarian laborer.

It was in this particular climate that Inness composed his own vision of the rural veteran. Even as patriotic observers used the theme of the vigorous yeoman to invoke the reintegration of the veteran into the postwar nation, and a variety of technological products appeared to make the attainment of this ideal feasible to the wounded veteran, Inness painted a decidedly static, inactive old soldier in the countryside. *In the Gloaming*, however, forgoes the stoic stature of Homer's veteran and depicts the veteran-farmer as a decrepit old man unable to continue to perform manual labor on the land. When Inness spoke of the Single Tax as tool to "trace the poverty to the individual as the author of his own difficulty," he voiced an idea that complicates his agrarian veteran paintings.[58] For, according to Inness's argument, if a veteran's bodily limitations prevented him from finding and maintaining employment; his economic woes were a result of his own incompetence. *In the Gloaming* seems to advance a very different assessment, one designed to spark the viewer's social conscience. Like the socially minded works of contemporary French realism, such as Édouard Manet's *Le Chiffonnier (The Ragpicker)*, *In the Gloaming* honors the individual through a full-length portrait and a solitary setting that heightens the viewer's emotional connection to the subject (Fig. 3.24). Inness's focused perspective on a marginalized figure in the gloaming, or shadowy twilight, reveals the artist's uncertainty about the position of the veteran and society more broadly. The contradictory impulses within *In the Gloaming* suggest indecision about whether the veteran should be pitied or blamed for his pauper

state—indecision rooted in fundamental questions regarding land ownership that Inness struggled to reconcile in his paintings.

Henry George proposed the single tax to democratize land ownership, a notion Inness reiterated during a speech to a local Georgian society stating, "That which he [the individual] does not create belongs to the community, and that is land." As art historian Leo G. Mazow has shown, Inness applied this concept of communal property to his art practice when the artist threatened to alter or change his paintings at any given time, even if the work had been sold (despite the fact that Inness never acted upon such claims).[59] But we might consider that if Inness viewed land, and therefore landscape, as an equalizer, the landscapes in the backgrounds of his veteran paintings also engage in a politically motivated agenda. Returning to *In the Gloaming*, the tension between the veteran and the landscape reflect Inness's conflicted relationship with his Georgist ideology and socially conscious pictures. Inness would continue his endeavors seeking out "a remarkable piece of landscape and figure combination" a few years later during a trip to the American South.[60]

A Southern Gothic: Haunted Ruins and Spectral Bodies

After four consecutive years of trekking to Milton-on-the-Hudson, in 1884 Inness made the surprising decision to head south for a sketching excursion to Goochland County, Virginia, a short distance from the former Confederate capital of Richmond. In so doing, he followed in the footsteps of Winslow Homer, who also ventured to the South years after the conclusion of the Civil War. Unlike Homer, whose paintings from that period represent some of his finest portrayals of African Americans during Reconstruction, Inness's paintings reflect upon the destruction of Southern landscape and culture. Despite claims that the "identity of the place" of Inness's paintings was unimportant, the tortured form of the Virginia paintings—they display a

significant amount of reworking and transitions from figure to landscape—suggest that the sights he witnessed in Virginia shocked the artist.[61] His Southern pictures *Goochland, West Virginia* and *Gray Day, Goochland, Virginia* continue his explorations of the war-torn veteran subject (Figs. 3.4 and 3.25). As we will see, the Southern veteran posed even greater representational difficulties for Inness than the Northern soldier; unlike the Union's retired soldiers, the Confederate veteran's visual presence stirred unresolved resentments over the war. In taking up this challenging subject, Inness seems once again to have been motivated by his social and political commitments. As he had with the Northern veteran, I will argue, Inness took up the scorched, mutilated Southern landscape as a means of imagining and confronting the war's lingering remnants. In taking up the subjects of the Southern veteran and landscape, however, Inness encountered another situation in which his artistic aspirations failed to materialize. The Southern veteran, largely invisible on a national scale, was incompatible with the North's desire for reconciliation and political harmony.

From March to May 1884, Inness settled near the Goochland County courthouse and jail building, which served as a federal prison during the war.[62] He explained his aims in letters to his wife, stating, "I have some idea of making a study of the jail and surroundings…and introduce a prisoner being escorted by the Constable and posse to the court for trial."[63] A Confederate stronghold, Goochland's jail held Union prisoners of war, and was burned in 1865 by Union Cavalry freeing the inmates. In a later letter, Inness declared that his prospective painting of this fraught structure would be a combination of landscape and figure painting.[64] Despite his initial intentions for a hybrid landscape and figural scene, his frequent reworking of the scene transformed *Goochland, West Virginia* into a pure landscape painting.

Goochland, West Virginia, is comprised of a gauzy green foreground and a vague background with two dilapidated buildings and a pair of slender birch trees (Fig. 3.4). Graduations in the sky from a rich marine blue to light gray add to the ethereal mood of the picture, imbuing the scene with spectral light. A closer inspection of the painting, however, reveals that all is not as it appears. In the immediate center of the canvas large dark masses appear to seep through the green over layer of paint—pentimenti of figural groups. In particular, the outlines of two men in bowler hats are visible in raking light and out of proportion with the layered landscape on top (Fig. 3.26). A second cluster of figures appears to the right below the horizon line, and their smaller stature suggests an additional painting (Fig. 3.27). These ghostly apparitions disturb the legibility of the Goochland landscape and haunt its pictorial present. Inness leaves behind the ineradicable presence of the past, the underlying histories of the site that while gone are not forgotten.

The multiple figures that Inness reworked, painted over, and erased within *Goochland, West Virginia*, indicate recognition of his inadequacy to convey his radical vision of Civil War soldiers in the South. This act of awareness on the part of the artist recalls Derrida's concept of *sous rature*, or a conscious knowledge of the faulty but necessary use of language. Through the act of erasure, the pentimenti in *Goochland, West Virginia* might be understood as a trace—"a mark of an absence of a presence"—that can be recalled and energized into consciousness. The spectral presence of these figures becomes an unintentional palimpsest of memories of a war-torn South with accumulating layers competing in a single space.[65] This accidental relationship between the layers juxtaposed in the canvas enacts the artist's struggle between visually recognizing the historical existence of Union soldiers and Confederate prisoners and the period's broader impulse to seek harmonious accord by ignoring or burying the past. *Goochland, West*

Virginia, epitomizes the unresolved psychological dimensions of the war, and, in particular, the dilemma of how to represent the former Confederate States. For Inness, the work may have meant something more personal—a reminder of his failure to attain a successful "landscape and figure combination," and a declaration of his return to landscape painting. Interwoven with personal and national meaning, Inness's painting casts the veteran as a fading presence moving toward an eventual absorption by the landscape.

In another of his Southern paintings, *Gray Day, Goochland, Virginia*, Inness envisions a ghost of a landscape on the canvas (1884; Fig. 3.25). Thinly painted with vigorous brushstrokes, the picture's elements seem to blur and dissipate into other forms. Two barren, scraggly trees mark the center of the painting and direct the eye towards a small whitewashed building in the background, possibly the outbuildings of a Southern plantation. A lone chimney looms over the gray and desolate landscape--the sole remnant of a former homestead—while a woman shrouded in black mourning clothes appears to comfort a child in white. Beside the chimney runs the faint outline of a fence and a low structure, likely the granary, resides on the right. In the foreground are two large black turkey vultures, whose compositional placement draws the eye towards the prevailing vertical elements of mother, child, and the chimney. Between the subject matter, the ethereal perspective, and veiled gloomy tones, *Gray Day, Goochland, Virginia*, conveys a distressing scene of the South in ruins—complete with a pair of vultures waiting to finish off any fruitful remains.

Following the Civil War, the South's ruined state became an object of fascination for North, who sent sketch artists and journalists to publish works relaying the South's present state. One such work by J.T. Townbridge, *The South: A Tour of its Battlefields and Ruined Cities*, published in 1866, sought to offer a truthful account of the reconstruction occurring in the

region. The author called on the North to be merciful and allow the "exhausted country" to heal and rebuild.[66] Photographer George Barnard took several shots of the South's suffering during his travels with General William Sherman in 1864 and an independent postwar trip in 1866 to South Carolina and Georgia. One such photograph, *Hampton, VA*, reveals a rubble-strewn and fragmented South, picturing an unidentified landscape scattered with chimneys and piles of bricks (Fig. 3.28). A figure rests against a ruined brick hearth, offering both scale and a human component. Far from the shrouded, huddled figure in Inness's *Gray Day, Goochland*, the solitary man seems to survey his surroundings, a suggestively defiant and powerful position. As the hearth represented the domestic sphere, the image of a lone chimney—Sherman's sentinels, or burnt out chimneys—came to symbolize the crumbling infrastructure of the former Confederacy and the unstable environment of Reconstruction.[67]

Even though the South sought to rebuild, then, recovery and restoration remained slow. *Gray Day, Goochland* dramatizes the region's seemingly static state, imagining the Virginia landscape as a static realm of ruins and lingering death. As harbingers of expiration and decay, the scene's twin vultures suggest the enduring presence of mortal remains. In so doing, the painting echoes the macabre vision offered by John Reekie's well-known photograph of decomposed bodies and skeletal remnants a year after the Battle of Cold Harbor (1865; Fig. 3.29). Scavenging animals, including turkey vultures, feasted on the corpses left unburied by both armies around Cold Harbor; Reekie's photograph offers a glimpse at the deathly terrain that resulted from this unnerving but natural phenomenon. If Inness's vultures invoke nature's regenerative cyclical history and the restoration of natural control over the landscape, however, they also speak to the South's dependency and exploitation after the war. A poem entitled "The Vulture's Call" appeared in *Punchinello* in 1870 with the concluding stanza:

> Here on these blasted pines; and mark beneath
> How war's red whirlwind shakes earth's crazy breast
> And cumbers it with agony and death.
> Toil, soldiers, toil,
> Through war's turmoil,
> We Vultures gain the prize—we Vultures share the spoil.[68]

According to the poem, an outcome of war is the spoils, the profitable plunder by those who wait on the sidelines. A later issue of *Punchinello* illustrated such an image of a wartime profiteer entitled, "Distinction with a Difference," where a bifurcated panel juxtaposes disabled veterans with a large, able-bodied dandy who stands in front of a sign for wholesale cheap cloth (Fig. 2.29). In comparison with the possible scene of Confederate prisoners on Southern soil in *Goochland, West Virginia*, the vultures in *Gray Day, Goochland* could be read as an evocation of scavenging inhabitants of the North descending on the postwar South.

In repainting of *Goochland, West Virginia*, Inness reverted to his artistic roots in landscape; in partly covering over his figural wartime scene, the artist also suggests the eventual erasure of history. Ultimately, the ruins of the Civil War—the disabled bodies and built environments—were part of a cyclical view of the rise and fall of empires. Nature, through overgrowth or human intervention, would eliminate the visible scorched marks of history. Inness embraced this cyclical perspective of alternating periods of growth and collapse in an earlier painting created at the end of the Civil War, *Peace and Plenty* (1865; Fig. 3.31). Commissioned by the utopian, Eagleswood Military Academy in Perth Amboy, *Peace and Plenty* offered viewers an "aesthetics of accommodation," or multiple possible historical outcomes encompassed into a single painting.[69] Created soon after the Civil War for a social reformist organization, *Peace and Plenty* appeared to contemporary critics as an optimistic vision of the nation's future. *Goochland, West Virginia* works in a similar manner, but compresses the stages of rise and decline into a single, multi-layered image. The hopefulness embedded in *Peace and*

Plenty reveals the failure of Reconstruction with the cyclical decline represented in *Goochland, West Virginia*. The tension between landscape and figures present within *In the Gloaming* comes to a dramatic conclusion in *Goochland, West Virginia:* enacting the displacement of historical narrative by timeless nature, the painting echoed and affirmed a larger Northern postwar effort to bury the painful memories of the Civil War. Uncomfortable with ruins, either corporeal or environmental, as sites of collective trauma, Northerners sought to forget and move beyond the painful material reality of conflict as part of the desperate desire for a healing process of national reunion. Inness, perhaps worn down by his attempts to represent the potentially incendiary Southern veteran, erased his prisoner of war scene for a Southern landscape, leaving behind a haunting trace of spectral bodies.

Irritable Hearts, Nostalgia, and the Spiritual Divide

Landscape would erase another of Inness's paintings related to the American Civil War, *The Veteran's Return*, and the last of his former soldier series (ca. 1881-1883; Fig. 3.3). Now known as *Landscape at Sundown: Close of Day*, the painting's current state bears little resemblance to its original incarnation. The work captures a quiet scene at dusk, a patch of land beside a grove and a pond. Flecks of paint shimmer across the canvas, fragmented specks of yellow, white, and red that catch the eye and make it difficult for a viewer to approach the painting with a focused vision. Yet visible through the veil of paint to the left of the tree truck is a large lumbering figure, the pictorial remains of a veteran that served as the anchor of the original figural scene underneath.

The painting remained in the family's collection until the estate sale of Inness's widow in 1904, ten years after the artist's death. There it was listed as *The Veteran's Return* and described as "the only echo from the civil war in the collection." According to the reviewer, Inness

depicted a disabled Union veteran, "A graybeard in an army cap and old blue overcoat trudging forward, stick in hand. His left arm is in a sling. His is an intensely lonely figure in the gathering twilight."[70] Based on the description, Inness represented an elderly veteran, not a young soldier returning home from the war, and in so doing, offered a different perspective from the emotional reunions typically pictured during the immediate postwar years (Fig. 3.32). As a result, *The Veteran's Return* puzzled some viewers, prompting the same reviewer to encourage the beholder to gaze upon the picture for some time and let it "insinuate itself." Inness's depicted return is not meant to inspire recollections of patriotism but rather to allow the viewer to contemplate the physical and psychological costs of warfare.

Scholars have advanced several theories about how and why Inness's original scene was replaced by a landscape composition. One particularly tempting option suggests that Inness himself painted over the figure of the veteran.[71] Certainly, it is not beyond the realm of imagination to imply that the artist reworked the painting. If true, it would mean that Inness erased most of his figural Civil War scenes, a notable conclusion to his failed agenda. However, the painting was still known as *The Veteran's Return* in 1904, according to a review in the *New York Times* regarding the estate sale. Art historian LeRoy Ireland proposed that the alterations were the result of a dealer (incidentally, Ireland was a gallery owner), who sought to turn the painting into a more valuable Inness landscape.[72] Given the dates, it is unlikely that Inness made the changes to *The Veteran's Return* himself, but the effacing of the painting in the early twentieth century does indicate a continued cultural negation of Civil War and its veterans. While the painting's transformation into landscape likely did not occur during Inness's lifetime, its remaking was in line with the artist's general interest in pursuing invisible phenomenon. *The Veteran's Return* can be read as an artifact of the moment in which the veteran became a ghostly,

haunting presence in the cultural imagination—a construct crystalized in part by spiritualist-themed stories focused on the spirits of deceased soldiers.

The desire to connect to the other side became a cultural phenomenon following the Civil War. Spiritualism had emerged during of the Second Great Awakening, but Americans flocked to the movement during the war as a means of comprehending the immense death toll. Art historian Charles Colbert has called Inness's interest in spiritualism the "shadowy doppelganger of his Swedenborgianism;" that is, the movements were ideologically intertwined for the artist.[73] Several art critics noted Inness's participation in spiritualist circles, including visiting mediums to witness "supernatural visitations."[74] Inness's attendance at séances recalls the harrowing short story "The Case of George Dedlow" by the neurologist Silas Weir Mitchell. The narrative recounts the life of a quadriplegic Civil War veteran who decides to participate in a spiritualist circle on the recommendation of another veteran as a means of coping with "earthly things and converse daily with the great and good who have just left this earth." A skeptic, the narrator cannot contain his surprise when the medium begins to speak a series of numbers and write down the letters: "UNITED STATES ARMY MEDICAL MUSEUM, Nos. 3486, 3487."[75] The summoned spirits were the veteran's legs, and for a brief moment, he was able to walk across the room, albeit staggering as the limbs had been encased in alcohol, before collapsing to the ground. At the end of the story, the veteran declares that he cannot wait to move beyond the corporeal world and be reunited with his ghostly limbs.

According to spiritualist and Swedenborgian thought, physical wholeness indicated a correct alignment of mind and spirit, a concept that complicated Inness's efforts at painting disability. Swedenborg wrote, "The pain which is in the body is called anxiety in the animus; changes or perverse states in the mind; guilt in the soul."[76] Ill health and bodily disease were the

result of sin or ignorance; spiritual harmony and the attainment of knowledge could cure the restful mind until the physical body passed on to the spiritual body. Furthermore, Swedenborg argues that each organ of the body functions as a unified whole.[77] Symmetry equated a healthy body, which by extension mirrored the soul and the universe. A partial, asymmetrical body such as that of a disabled veteran would indicate a mind and soul in turmoil, at least according to Swedenborg's theory of correspondences. Inness tried to reconcile his socially conscious paintings of wounded veterans within his Swedenborgian understanding of the cosmos. Yet he could not find a coherent and satisfactorily visual response to a war hero condemned to spiritual anarchy and discord.

Curiously, in the immediate post-war years spiritualist culture could occasionally envision alternate fates for the disabled veteran. In Mitchell's short story, the veteran is made temporarily whole again through a fusion of the terrestrial and spiritual worlds. The tale concludes with the veteran awaiting his turn to enter the celestial realm to obtain a whole, spiritual body. An article in the spiritualist publication *Banner of Light* described a similar case in which a Civil War soldier suffered the amputation of his leg, died due to blood loss, and was reunited his lost body part in heaven. The story, while fictional, served to reassure Americans that in leading a morally righteous life one could achieve bodily perfection in the afterlife. It also described the phenomenon of phantom limb syndrome: "the sudden severing of the mortal from the spirit leg caused pain, which lasted some minutes after the material leg had been amputated."[78] The chronic sensation of feeling an amputated limb prompted William James to pen a curious pamphlet, "The Consciousness of Lost Limbs," which surveyed several possibilities for the phantasmal body parts, including "clairvoyant or telepathic relations," but failed to determine a root cause of the condition.[79] And spectacular accounts of the regeneration

of a leg and foot from an amputated stump confounded Americans understanding of phantom limb syndrome.[80]

Phantom limbs and lingering nervous conditions of Civil War veterans directed Mitchell's continued study of neurology and nervousness into the early twentieth century. In an era unfamiliar with post-traumatic stress, physicians separately diagnosed the physiological and psychological conditions as irritable heart syndrome and nostalgia, unaware that the patient's mental state was related to the somatic response. Perhaps it is no surprise that in the decades following the Civil War Americans were prone to neurasthenia, a nineteenth-century disorder causing lethargy and anxiousness. Along with several other American physicians, Mitchell advocated for a "rest cure" to quell the anxieties of modern life and reduce mental or physical stimulation.[81] "Soft" paintings devoid of narrative content provided a therapeutic outlet for the exhausted to soothe the eyes and the nerves. Inness's pictures with their painterly vapors and dimly lit scenes, as in his *Home of the Heron*, provided a respite from the demands of modernity (Fig. 3.20).[82] In this way, Inness's return to landscape, even posthumously in *The Veteran's Return*, responded to a cultural need to eradicate the harrowing feelings the war had left behind.

Conclusion

Despite Inness's intentions to address the suffering plight of disabled Civil War veterans, his series of veteran pictures ultimately failed: the paintings remained unsold in their states as figural works and only succeeded in their altered states as landscapes. Facing the constraints of his social and spiritual convictions, Inness realized the inadequacy of his figural paintings and subsequently modified his works. His calculated response in erasing the veterans suggests a profound difficulty in developing a visual language that reconciled his personal beliefs with those of the nation. Created during a historical period focused on reconciliation and

reconstruction, Inness's veteran paintings provoked unwanted wartime memories over a fractured country. Even in their amended condition as landscapes, Inness produced a series laden with war-inflicted meaning. The visual tension between landscape and figure imply the lingering remains of both physical and psychological trauma. Despite their failure, the paintings act as mnemonic objects, works that reveal the haunting presence of the Civil War and foreshadow the veteran's hypervisibility of the next decade.

[1] E. "Mr. Inness on Art-Matters," *Art Journal* 5 (1879): 377.

[2] For an overview of this phenomenon, see Bernard S. Cohn and Teri Silvio, "Race, Gender, and Historical Narrative in the Reconstruction of a Nation: Remembering and Forgetting the American Civil War," in *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and Its Futures*, edited by Brian Keith Axel (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 211-230; David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); and Gary Gallagher, *Causes Won, Lost, and Forgotten: How Hollywood and Popular Art Shape What We Know about the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

[3] One notable instance when an artist did not adhere to such unspoken rules was at the 1876 Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. Peter Rothermal's Gettysburg was universally panned as being painted and exhibited in bad taste and accused of revisiting the conflict. It is also difficult to construct a Southern perspective at this moment. See Susanna Gold, "'Fighting It Over Again': The Battle of Gettysburg at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition," *Civil War History* 54:3 (September 2008): 277-310.

[4] George Inness, Jr., *Life, Art, and Letters of George Inness* (New York: The Century Co, 1917), 157.

[5] Ibid., Elliott Daingerfield, xxviii.

[6] Ibid., 161-162.

[7] Leo G. Mazow, "George Inness, Henry George, the Single Tax, and the Future Poet," *American Art* 18:1 (Spring 2004): 58-77; Leo G. Mazow and Kevin M. Murphy, *Taxing Visions: Financial Episodes in Late Nineteenth-Century American Art* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2010); 19-20; Charles Colbert, *Haunted Visions: Spiritualism and American Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

[8] This is the only known instance of Inness covering a canvas with another canvas.

[9] George Inness, Jr., *Life, Art, and Letters of George Inness*, 155.

[10] Fifth Avenue Art Galleries, *Catalogue of Paintings by the Late George Inness* (New York, 1895), #71 and #109 and Fifth Avenue Art Galleries, *Executor's Sale: Catalogue of Paintings by the Late George Inness, NA* (New York: 1904), #94.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Historian Gerald Linderman put forth the notion of a fifteen-year period of "hibernation" on the part of Civil War veterans and the trauma of the war, which has been continued with the work of David Blight, who noted the decline in Grand Army of the Republic membership during the 1870s. More recently, Brian Matthew Jordan has argued against this idea, suggesting that Union veterans needed to work through their traumatic memories while reintegrating into civilian life. Jordan reveals the complexity of the relationship between collective and individual memories of the war, and how trauma continues to reside in veterans even when the cultural impetus is to look to the future rather than the recent past. See Linderman, *Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1987); Blight, *Race and Reunion*; and Jordan, *Marching Home: Union Veterans and Their Unending Civil War* (New York: Liverpool Publishing Company, 2014).

[13] "An Extinct Race," *Burlington Daily Hawk Eye*, June 2, 1878, 4.

[14] Cited in *NY Evening Post*. Referenced in "War 'Memories,'" *Independent Statesman*, March 4, 1880, 178.

[15] George Inness, Sr., to George Inness, Jr., March 25, 1884, unpublished letter, Montclair Art Museum. Cited in CeCe Bullard, "Why Not Goochland? George Inness and Goochland County," *Goochland County Historical Society Magazine* 20 (1988): 24. See also, Michael Quick, *George Inness: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 151.

[16] Rachael Ziady DeLue, *George Inness and the Science of Landscape* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

[17] Elliott Daingerfield, "A Reminiscence of George Inness," *The Monthly Illustrator* 3:2 (March 1895): 262.

[18] For scholarship on Inness's interest in social concerns, see Leo G. Mazow, "George Inness: Problems in Antimodernism" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1996); and "George Inness, Henry George, the Single Tax, and the Future Poet," *American Art* 18:1 (Spring 2004): 58-77. For scholarship on Inness's spiritualist approach, see Rachael Ziady DeLue, *George Inness and the Science of Landscape* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); and Sally Promey, "The Ribband of Faith: George Inness, Color Theory, and the Swedenborgian Church," *The American Art Journal* 26:1, 2 (1994): 44-65.

[19] George Inness Jr., *Life, Art, and Letters of George Inness*, 148.

[20] Leo G. Mazow, "George Inness, Softness, and the Vapor Barrier," in *Like Breath on Glass: Whistler, Inness, and the Art of Painting Softly*, by Marc Simpson (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute in association with Yale University Press, 2008), 58-62.

[21] Beam married his wife Lizzie on June 25, 1882 in Poughkeepsie, a close distance from Milton, so he very well may have been the inspiration for *The Old Veteran* and subsequent veteran paintings. However, in a narrative written by Beam in 1929 he states that he and his wife only lived in Milton for about nine months before moving to Oxford, New Jersey, where they stayed for 12 years. Furthermore, according to the 1860 census, Beam would have been underage when he enlisted in the Union army and far from the old man Inness portrayed. And according to Beam's 1898 pension application, he suffered from "chronic affliction of the bowels with itching piles of hemorrhoids." The pension was rejected. All of this is to say that is seems unlikely that the veteran depicted in Inness's paintings is, in fact, Lyman Beam, or else Inness took extreme liberties with his painting. Lyman C. Beam, Invalid Pension, June 16, 1898, National Archives and Records Administration; Lyman C. Beam, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Pensions, March 9, 1898, National Archives and Records Administration; Deposition of Lyman C. Beam, September 17, 1929, National Archives and Records Administration.

[22] DeLue, *George Inness and the Science of Landscape,* 69-70.

[23] "A Painter on Painting," *Harper's Monthly* 58:333 (February 1878): 461.

[24] See Eleanor Jones Harvey, "The Art of Wartime Photography," for an expanded discussion of Brady's landscape photographs, *The Civil War and American Art* (New Haven, CT: Smithsonian American Art Museum in association with Yale University Press, 2012), 73-111. Maura Lyons considers wounded trees in her article, "An Embodied Landscape: Wounded Trees at Gettysburg," *American Art* 26:3 (Fall 2012): 44-65 for an extended analysis of this photograph.

[25] James Dabney McCabe (Edward Winslow Martin), *Secrets of the Great City* (Philadelphia: Jones Brothers and Co., 1868) 475.

[26] Lacey Baradel, "Geographic Mobility and Domesticity in Eastman Johnson's *The Tramp*," *American Art* 28:2 (Summer 2014): 26-9.

[27] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 94-95.

[28] Claire Perry, *Young America: Childhood in 19th-Century Art and Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 12.

[29] Elliott Daingerfield, *Exhibition of Paintings by the Late George Inness* (New York: Henry Reinhardt and Sons, 1917), 6.

[30] Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*, 228.

[31] Letter to Arthur Benson Homer, 7 June 1862 in Gordon Hendricks, *The Life and Work of Winslow Homer* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1979), 50.

[32] Montgomery Schuyler, "George Inness: The Man and His Work," *Forum* (November 1894): 306.

[33] George Inness, Jr., *Life, Art, and Letters of George Inness,* 48.

[34] Cikovsky has argued that the "undisclosed illness" that Inness mentions in his correspondence might be epilepsy. See Nicolai Cikovsky, *George Inness*, (New York: Harry Abrams, 1993), 9; and "Life and Work of George Inness" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1965), 149-150.

[35] Middlesex and Suffolk Counties of Massachusetts Soldiers' Register, June 20, 1863, National Archives and Records Administration. Note: Inness's name was misspelled as "Innis."

[36] George Inness, Jr., *Life, Art and Letters of George Inness*, 48.

[37] Art historian Rachel DeLue argues that Inness's impetus towards painting the impossible was part of a larger metaphysical project she calls his "science of landscape." DeLue, *George Inness and the Science of Landscape*, 1-6.

[38] Edgar Fawcett, "An American Painter: George Inness, *Californian* 4 (December 1881), 453.

[39] George Inness reply to Ripley Hitchcock, 23 March 1884, in *George Inness of Montclair* (Montclair, NJ: Montclair Art Museum, 1964), n.p.

[40] I thank Leo G. Mazow for drawing my attention to the similarities between Inness and other social reformers.

[41] George Inness, Speech on Henry George, published in "The George Dinner. The Great Banquet at the Metropolitan Hotel," *Standard* 7:4 (January 22, 1890): 10.

[42] Michael Quick made this observation. Quick, *George Inness: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 70.

[43] Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 93.

[44] John A. Casey, Jr., *New Men: Reconstructing the Image of the Veteran in Late-Nineteenth-Century American Literature and Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), 49-54.

[45] Adam Dean, *An Agrarian Republic: Farming, Antislavery Politics, and Nature Parks in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 1-4.

[46] George Perkins Marsh, *Man and Nature: Or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1864).

[47] Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art*, 198.

[48] Megan Kate Nelson wrote an interesting chapter on the environmental ruination during the Civil War as part of a larger study on wartime ruins and Civil War memory. See Nelson, "Battle Logs," *Ruin Nation*, 103-160.

[49] This statistic comes from calculations by Bell Irvin Wiley, who looked at 123 company rolls of 14,330 Union men and found that half of their prewar occupations were farming. Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merill Company, 1952; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2008), 304.

[50] Dixon Wector notes, however, that it is difficult to say how many of these new farms were started by veterans as the records at the Land Office did not make that distinction. Dixon Wector, "The Veteran Wins Through," in *The Civil War Veteran: A Historical Reader*, eds. Larry Logue and Michael Barton (New York: NYU Press, 2007), 87.

[51] The Nebraskan veteran, Uriah Oblinger, is an example. He was a homesteader later in life, but his Civil War letters to his sweetheart, Mattie Thomas expressed thoughts of dying on the battlefield. Uriah Oblinger to Mattie Thomas, 18 August 1864, Nebraska Historical Society, RG 1346-S01-L010.

[52] Quoted in Wector, 93.

[53] "The Soldiers' Homestead Law," *Vermont Watchman and State Journal*, February 15, 1871, 2.

[54] Advertisement for homesteads in Nebraska, ca. 1870, Broadsides and Ephemera, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

[55] Christopher Kent Wilson, "Winslow Homer's *The Veteran in a New Field*: A Study of the Harvest Metaphor and Popular Culture," *American Art Journal* 17 (1985): 3-27; and John A. Casey, Jr., *New Men*, 51-54.

[56] For a non-Civil War related case study of prosthetics and labor, see Edward Slavishak, *Bodies of Work: Civic Display and Labor in Industrial Pittsburgh* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

[57] Douglas Bly, *Remarkable Inventions: An Anatomical Leg, with Lateral or Side Motion at the Ankle, like the Natural One, Arms with New Shoulder Motion* (Rochester, NY: Evening Express Printing House, 1870), 26.

[58] George Inness, Speech on Henry George, published in "The George Dinner. The Great Banquet at the Metropolitan Hotel," *Standard* 7:4 (January 22, 1890): 10.

[59] Mazow, "George Inness, Single Tax and the Future Poet," *American Art*, 63.

[60] George Inness, Jr., *Life, Art, and Letters of George Inness,* 167.

[61] Bullard, 26.

[62] James I. Robertson Jr., *Civil War Sites in Virginia: A Tour Guide* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1982), 31-32.

[63] Ibid., 25.

[64] George Inness, Jr., *Life, Art, and Letters of George Inness,* 167.

[65] Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 1-11.

[66] J.T. Townbridge, *The South: A Tour of its Battlefields and Ruined Cities* (Hartford, CT: L. Stebbins, 1866), 583.

[67] Megan Kate Nelson argues that Sherman's Sentinels became central icons of the Lost Cause, *Ruin Nation*, 61-102.

[68] "The Vulture's Call" *Punchinello* 1:19 (August 6, 1870): 294.

[69] Leo G. Mazow, "George Inness: Problems in Antimodernism" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 1996), 45-96.

[70] "Inness Estate Pictures: Paintings by George Inness Left by His Widow," *New York Times*, February 12, 1904, 8.

[71] Michael Quick, email message to the author, April 16, 2014.

[72] Leroy Ireland, *The Works of George Inness: An Illustrated Catalog Raisonné* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), no. 1015, 250 and Michael Quick, *George Inness*, 71-72. Provenance of *The Veteran's Return* shows that it never passed through Ireland's hands, but his account of another dealer in the early twentieth century quite likely solves the mystery. Until the painting undergoes a conversation analysis, however, it is difficult to determine the particulars revolving the painting's appearance.

[73] Charles Colbert, *Haunted Visions: Spiritualism and American Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 153.

[74] Schuyler, "George Inness: The Man and His Work," 311.

[75] Silas Weir Mitchell, "The Case of George Deadlow," *The Atlantic*, (July 1866): 11.

[76] Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Economy of the Animal Kingdom III*, ed. Alfred Acton (Philadelphia: Swedenborg Scientific Association, 1918), 260.

[77] Swedenborg, *Heaven and its Wonders and Hell* (New York: The New-Church Board of Publication, 1892), 56-59.

[78] "Caleb Wilkins," *Banner of Light,* August 29, 1863, 6.

[79] William James, "Consciousness of Lost Limbs," *Proceedings of the American Society for Psychical Research*, 258.

[80] "Singular Freak of Nature," *Rome Weekly Courier* August 27, 1869, n.p.

[81] Sarah Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 139-141.

[82] Leo G. Mazow, "George Inness, Softness, and Vapor Barrier," in *Like Breath on Glass: Whistler, Inness, and the Art of Painting Softly*, 62-68.

CHAPTER 3: EMPTY SLEEVES AND BLOODY SHIRTS: DISABLED CIVIL WAR VETERANS AND PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS, 1864-1880

The September 3, 1864 issue of *Harper's Weekly* printed a startling full-page illustration imagining the tragic loss for the nation if Americans voted for the "peace candidate," Democrat and former commander of the Army of the Potomac, George B. McClellan, over the incumbent Abraham Lincoln (Fig. 4.1). Three years of divisive conflict with no immediate resolution on the horizon left the Union in a state of discontent, and the outcome of the upcoming presidential election remained uncertain. "Compromise with the South" envisions a fiery apocalypse as the fractured Union, represented by a veteran amputee, surrenders to a haughty Jefferson Davis in Confederate uniform. In this account, reconciliation and peace with the South would render the national and individual bodily sacrifices of the Union invalid and futile. The soldier's fragmented and wounded body becomes a politically-charged vehicle, one that challenges the place of disabled veterans in society and their role in forging a biracial, unified, democratic government.

Drawn by the young cartoonist Thomas Nast (1840-1902), "Compromise with the South" establishes an emblematic visual language of war-inflicted disability that cartoonists would explore over the next decade and a half. Realistically rendered, Nast's veteran conveys his disabled status through his missing limb; the amputation serves as a visual shorthand to communicate his partial and wounded state. This conscious decision to avoid any additional corporeal distortion or exaggeration—a common strategy in graphic satire—suggests that Nast and other illustrators saw the body of the disabled veteran as a sacrosanct entity that required a distinct style of representation. If the straightforwardly rendered bodies of Nast and other

cartoonists' veteran figures suggest a kind of reverence for the wounded soldier, however, the complicated and pointedly satirical scenarios that unfold around these figures worked to recode the traumatized veteran in a variety of ways. Wartime and postwar cartoons in the white North regularly employed the wounded veteran as a kind of vehicle for partisan argument: returning to the traumatized figure in the midst of three contentious presidential campaigns (1864, 1872, and 1880), Nast and several other cartoonists used the veteran to reflect on the state of the Union and affirm the appeal of party-based solutions to its internal conflicts and crises.

Demobilization after the war left nearly 60,000 men on both sides with some form of amputation, leaving these once whole-bodied men as fragments of their former selves.[1] The societal reintegration of these men spurred anxiety amongst civilians, as disability was synonymous with social failure, emasculation, and marginalization. Former soldiers found themselves occupying a liminal and irresoluble position between war hero and social other, a perspective encapsulated in a drawing by Alfred Waud (1828-1891) entitled *A Street Contrast* (Fig. 4.2). Here Waud juxtaposes an able-bodied war hero with a pair of amputee soldiers occupying a street corner with a street organ. It is precisely this ambiguity that made the disabled veteran such a compelling and problematic figure for pictorial interpretation.

The political cartoons that appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, and other white Northern illustrated weekly newspapers served as ideal venues in which to explore the complexities of the wounded veteran. Relegated to the back matter of the periodicals, political cartoons were exploratory visual spaces where humor, sentiment, and propaganda collided. Unencumbered by the conventions of propriety and subtlety that faced painters or the demands for authenticity that confronted the magazines' sketch-artists, cartoonists such as Nast were able to freely mold and shape their humorous illustrations in order to

maximize their visual appeal, satirical punch, and political effect. If the resulting scenes often expressed a kind of reverence for the veteran—by refusing to caricature or demonize the body of the wounded soldier—they also worked on other registers to objectify that figure and exploit him to serve various political ends. As a visual medium, cartoons rely on objectification: they involve the transition of real-world people and events into legible shorthand as symbols or tropes. By reworking specific wounded bodies into standard forms with conventional attributes—such as the veterans' lost limb, crutch, or prosthetic—wartime and postbellum American cartoonists often highlighted the veteran's alien otherness even if their ostensible intent was to celebrate the soldier.

At the same time, these artists capitalized on the wound's lack of inherent meaning—a quality that literary critic Elaine Scarry first theorized—to remold the disabled veteran into a vehicle for an array of ideologies.[2] Examining political cartoons produced during three major presidential elections during and after the war, this chapter explores how artists such as Nast used the maimed and mutilated body to discuss nationalist ideologies and the effectiveness of Reconstruction practices and policies, to advance partisan arguments on behalf of their chosen candidate, and critique prevailing ideas about national reconciliation and social wholeness. Additionally, the symbol of the war-related disabled body also worked on more specific registers, speaking for the rights and status of military veterans or as a representation of a devastated postwar South. During and after the war, then, the veteran cartoon became a significant cultural venue for political expression and a contested site in which competing ideologies, discourses of power, and accounts of war memories found a voice.

Furthermore, as the politics of the Civil War and its aftermath are also the politics of race relations in America, this chapter will address how political cartoonists such as Nast and artists

such as Thomas Waterman Wood (1823-1903) and Joseph E. Baker (1837-1914) employed the formulaic figure of the disabled veteran to assess and scrutinize the themes of nationality and citizenship for African Americans. Already laden with meaning, the wounded bodies of African American soldiers became fraught with tensions over enfranchisement and equal rights. African American artists, such as Robert S. Duncanson and Edward Banister, shied away from picturing wounded black soldiers. Even African American sculptor Edmonia Lewis, who depicted an enslaved man obtaining his own freedom in *Forever Free* (1867), avoided referencing disabled black veterans. Similarly, African American literature (*The Christian Recorder* or *The National Era*, for example) produced during and immediately after the American Civil War typically avoided disabled black veterans.[3] Rather than illustrate a wounded black veteran's body that recalled enslavement, the African American community preferred narrative and pictorial representations of the able-bodied, fully masculine black figure. Thus the role of discussing the new found position of African American veterans in a democratic society largely fell to Northern white artists.[4] While still operating within the frame of the disabled veteran type, cartoon representations of amputee African American veterans reexamined the place of black soldiers in society in a variety of ways (from celebratory to dehumanizing).

Stumping and Dismemberment: Disability and Antebellum Political Cartoons

While political cartoons flourished during the Jacksonian Era, during the Civil War the medium developed as a critical space in popular culture that would shape the meaning of the sectional conflict and its lingering effects.[5] The modernization of printing mass media, especially in the illustrated weeklies, allowed cartoons to become regular features and provide rapid commentary upon current events. Both Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant credited Thomas Nast's illustrations with helping to bring about their successful elections.[6] Yet postbellum

political cartoons were undoubtedly dependent on their antebellum precursors in devising a legible system of visual codes and symbols, especially regarding the body politic, the nation-state, and disability. Prior to the 1864 presidential election, disabled veterans had rarely served as a vehicle for political argument; there were simply too few wounded survivors of antebellum wars around to allow the figure of the disabled veteran to function as an effective symbolic tool of political persuasion. When disability appeared in antebellum cartoons, it typically did so through the double entendre of stumping or as a vehicle for the personification of the nation-state.

In nineteenth-century parlance—"to stump" or "take to the stump"—meant to make a political speech or stand up for a cause. The Currier and Ives lithograph *"Taking the Stump" or Stephen in Search of His Mother*, for example, played on the term for the 1860 presidential election (Fig 4.3). At the center of a group of men consisting of the incumbent president, opposing candidates, and individuals of political power stands the democratic nominee for president, Stephen Douglas, who appears with a prosthetic strapped to his right thigh. He says to the Constitutional Union candidate, John Bell, that his disability was the result of "a big lump of Breckenridge [sic]," a reference to his victory over his political opponent, John Breckinridge. Stephen's lameness is only a ploy, however, as he bends his able-bodied leg at the knee in order to fit into the crude peg leg. Behind him, President James Buchanan hands Breckinridge a similar prosthetic, saying, "Here Breck, as Dug has taken the stump you must stump it too." Breckinridge, nursing his wounds due to his recent defeat by Douglas, considers the offer while Lincoln reclines against a split-rail fence, stating, "Go it ye cripples! Wooden legs are cheap, but stumping won't save you."

While the cartoon comically summarizes the 1860 election debate and casts Lincoln in a positive light, it also comments upon the place of disability in the political realm. The wooden prosthetics of Douglas and Buchanan take a particularly crude form—the peg leg—that was cheap and easy to produce, and which made no attempt to disguise the wooden limb as one of flesh and bone.[7] Historically, the peg leg symbolized charity and social failure in the western world (Figs. 4.4 and 4.5).[8] The inability to work on account of an injury prompted fears for both the individuals and the civilians that would need to support their welfare. Participation in the workforce equated to fulfilling pre-war societal conceptions about manhood and normalcy. By picturing Douglas with this charged emblem of disability and impotence, then, Currier and Ives's lithograph rendered the politician as dependent and weak, unable to serve as the figurehead of the body politic, especially when juxtaposed to the able-bodied Lincoln.[9] Yet Douglas engages here in a time-honored tradition of malingering, a disability con, masquerading as an invalid in order to sway voters by appealing to sentiment.[10] His stumping acts as a narrative prosthesis, a literal support for his campaign, yet it contradictorily also indicates his foolish and deceitful nature. The cartoon's reference to a mock disability draws on a deep-rooted visual tradition. Graphic artists took up this trope as early as the mid seventeenth century; thus the Dutch engraving *Beggar with a False Peg Leg*, for example, illustrates the absurdity of the con through the beggar's exaggerated features and fluid, crooked lines (Fig. 4.6). While Douglas lacks the hooked nose and other comical accoutrements of the Dutch print, the conventions of a fraudulent disability retains its deviant connotations. Subsequent cartoonists would take up the theme of the false peg leg to explore new forms of aberrant behavior. Recasting the fake peg leg as an accessory of the draft dodger or fraudulent pensioner, Civil War cartoons (Fig. 4.7) associated the false wound with deceit and the dishonorable pursuit of personal gain at the expense of the

Union.[11] Such chicanery would initiate the need for home visits from pension claims agents in order to verify a veteran's disability, a subject Eastman Johnson represented in *The Pension Claim Agent* (1867; Fig. 2.34). Antebellum images such as *Taking the Stump* thus established a symbol of fictive disability that would inform later, wartime imaginings of injury and the wounded veteran.

While visual depictions of disabled soldiers in political cartoons may be rare until the Civil War, the connection between amputated bodies and politics has a long tradition within the medium. Benjamin Franklin's well-known *Magna Britannia: Her Colonies Reduc'd* from 1767 depicts the personification of Great Britain as a dismembered female, her severed limbs labeled as the American colonies (Fig. 4.8). Meant to invoke the potential consequences of the Stamp Act, the cartoon renders the nation-state of Great Britain as fragmented and debilitated, her unifying wholeness ripped from her body and her power and efficiency now stumped. A cartoon from the era of the Mexican-American War, entitled *A New Rule in Algebra*, again takes up the themes of dismemberment and national embodiment to assess the health of the body politic (Fig. 4.9). This caricature of three Mexican prisoners rendered abject with one complete leg between them represents the loss of national territory, the country amputated and reduced during war. In each image, the human body resembles a map of the nation with the power of the cartoonist's pen able to dismember or repair the boundaries of the nation.

It should come as no surprise, then, that the metaphors of embodiment, dismemberment, and prosthetics endured during the Civil War. Cartoonist Michael Angelo Woolf (1837-1899), for example, recast America through the body of the national bird, the bald eagle, in *Our National Bird* (1861; Fig. 4.10). This diptych juxtaposes a pre-war eagle—majestic, fit, and able-bodied—to its sickly, submissive wartime counterpart. Chained and stripped of its plumage, the

1861 eagle has also suffered bodily ruination. In the cartoon, amputation signifies the secession of the Southern states, and the Union now requires a wooden substitute for the lost limb. The incomplete body of the eagle stands for the ruptured nation, a metaphor eventually transferred to the body of the soldiers who fought to preserve the Union or the Confederacy. As we will see, the Civil War veteran's body reads as narrative, telling the story of the conflict through flesh and blood; as such, the theme was quickly and frequently incorporated in the visual shorthand of political cartoons. Nast's "Compromise with the South" envisions the mutilated Union soldier as the ruined nation (with the absent right leg representing the seceded South). And this metaphor in turn circulated in realms beyond the illustrated press; thus for example the artificial limb manufacturer Frank B. Palmer described the soldiers' lost limbs as sacrifices for the cause of the Union that worked "to save the Nation from dismemberment."[12] In this telling, the veterans used their own partial bodies, or stumped identities, as a prosthetic to support the nation.

"A House Divided": The 1864 Presidential Campaign

The 1864 presidential election provided American voters—wearied by three years of war with increasingly high causalities--with an opportunity to determine whether to continue the conflict or engage in peace negotiation. With the nation tired of war, Lincoln feared defeat against his Democratic opponent George McClellan. Currier and Ives captured the current dark mood of the moment in *Abraham's Dream*, which depicts a nightmare vision of Columbia expelling Lincoln on the White House steps while McClellan enters (1864; Fig. 4.11). Such an image serves as an emotional barometer for Northern Union supporters.[13] High stakes and anxieties over the future of the nation electrified the 1864 presidential campaign and provided ample fodder for visual propaganda.

Amid a succession of defeats on the battlefield, Lincoln's opponents honed a platform defined by the promotion of peace and the vilification of ongoing war efforts. The Peace Democrats, or Copperheads (a colloquial moniker referring to both the venomous snake and the likeness of Liberty on the head of penny), were not strictly Southern sympathizers, but believed that it was unconstitutional to prevent the South from seceding from the Union. Furthermore, the Copperheads blamed the abolitionists for igniting a war, as they felt emancipation was not worth the sectional conflict.[14] A Democratic broadside highlighted the party's platform, arguing that if one voted for Lincoln and the Republican Party, "you will bring on negro equality, more debt, harder times, and another draft! Universal anarchy and ultimate ruin."[15] The Democrats pledged to block such trends, promising to reestablish the Union "in an honorable, permanent, and happy peace." By August 1864 the Democrats had selected the former commander of the Army of the Potomac, George B. McClellan, as the party's presidential nominee, a move they thought would appeal to soldiers and earn their votes.[16]

For the soldiers who fought, suffered wounds, and saw comrades die, however, negotiating terms of peace with the Confederacy was an unsettling proposition, because it would effectively render their services and sacrifices worthless. One soldier at the Armory Square Hospital declared, "I have lost one leg, but I would lose the other too, before I would ask for any peace except by conquering the rebellion."[17] Like-minded Union soldiers needed a voice and Thomas Nast provided it with his sensational "Compromise with the South." (1864; Fig. 4.1) When the print appeared in *Harper's Weekly* on September 3, 1864 it aroused such public fervor that the magazine sold out and the publisher needed to issue another run.[18] Nast's timing could not have been more impeccable. The cartoonist struck a critical blow to the Democrats during the last few months before the election, and the force of this satirical punch was quickly magnified

by contemporary events: one day after "Compromise with the South" appeared, General William T. Sherman sent a telegram to Washington reading, "Atlanta is ours, and fairly won."[19] The fall of Atlanta presented the Republicans with a chance to re-elect Lincoln. The triumphal success of "Compromise with the South" speaks to Nast's ability to convey emotion; at the same time, the cartoon marks the introduction of pivotal figures, namely the amputee veteran, which would soon become a mainstay in his visual repertoire.

In "Compromise with the South," Nast opted for an arched, single page view so as to highlight the central figures of Jefferson Davis, the faceless Union veteran, and Columbia, the personification of America. Davis steps on a grave marked "In Memory of our Union Heroes who fell in a Useless War" and breaks the sword of "Northern Power." His pistol and sword hang suggestively from his CSA belt and he clasps a cat-o'-nine-tails that runs parallel to his outstretched arm, dangling over the grave. Nast suggests that to engage in peace negotiations with the Confederacy would be to embrace a type of manhood associated with chattel slavery and violence, and to turn the North into the broken-bodied slaves to Southern masters. In contrast, the body of the Union soldier bears the effects of the South's weapons. His left arm is bandaged and he has suffered an amputation at his right thigh--a dangerous and often fatal procedure. With his slumped shoulders and refusal to meet the Confederate's gaze, this entire body posture can be interpreted as despondent and humiliated. Curiously, Nast appears to have given the soldier an improbably long peg leg, but upon closer inspection this form is actually the shaft of his second crutch resting on a higher ground line and therefore on the outside of his left leg. Such an optical illusion is a deliberate act by the artist to accentuate the soldier's bodily loss. The antiquated prosthetic recalls the nascent artificial limb program for wounded veterans and the lack of acceptable anatomical alternatives or resources for recent amputees.[20] As noted

above, peg legs customarily embodied fears about emasculation; Nast heightens this alarming connation by juxtaposing the awkwardly prosthetic Union soldier with the physical prowess and phallic implements of the Confederate soldier. Nast's refusal to mask the Union soldier's disability, I would suggest, forced period viewers to contend with their socioeconomic anxieties over war-induced injuries and ponder the post-war fate of the Union veterans. While using the broken body as an emotional conduit to encourage conventional responses to disability such as unease and sympathy, Nast in turn channels such feelings into fostering patriotic pro-Union sentiments. In this way, he molded the image of disability to serve a new end.

The background approaches apocalyptic conditions with burning buildings, rubble, and piles of faceless corpses. Beside the veteran lies a fallen beam and partially collapsed wall indicating a loss of Northern support and the ineffective systems for the disabled veterans of the war. In the middle ground, a member of the US Colored Troops and his family have been forced into bondage, and the soldier's supplicant posture recalls the well-known powerful abolitionist symbol *Am I not a Man and a Brother?* (Fig. 4.12) Beyond the African American family grouping, barely visible among the chaos, hangs a lynched figure. Not only would emancipation fail with a Democratic victory, but Nast implies that such a triumph would fuel increased violence towards African Americans; the hanging figure makes reference to the horrific violence of the Draft Riots and offers an ominous foreshadowing of what would occur during Reconstruction. He also included tattered Union flags in the pendentives framing the arched scene. The South's stainless banner reads as a list of war crimes from "bayonetting the wounded" to "starving Yankee prisoners," while the Union's flag flies upside down as a symbol of distress despite listing a series of victories that lead to emancipation. Nast presents a scathing rebuttal of

the Democrats' peace policy in single, powerful image that summarizes how the "compromise" would entail Northern submission in defeat.

The popularity of "Compromise with the South" gained the work a second life when the Republican Party asked to use it in the 1864 campaign, reputedly printing a million copies.[21] Two Republican broadsides from Indiana and Ohio, regions particularly strong in Copperhead support, indicate how the campaign material incorporated Nast's print (Figs. 4.13 and 4.14). Underneath the image on the broadside is a list of the conditions of peace from the *Richmond Enquirer*, including "As surely as we completely ruin their armies—and without that is no peace no truce at all—so surely shall we make them pay our war debt, though we wring it out of their hearts."[22] This rendering of what peace would truly entail, coupled with Nast's emotionally persuasive illustration, made for a highly effective campaign tool that helped Lincoln to win re-election.

While the success of "Compromise with the South" relied on its ability to cross geographic and class lines through inexpensive mass printing and distribution to diverse audiences, other artists attempted alternative approaches to quell the increasing tide of defeatism. A team of Philadelphia-based Republicans produced a small limerick book entitled, *Ye Book of Copperheads* in 1863 (Fig. 4.15). Each page featured an illustration, a short verse, and a quotation from Shakespeare. Especially important for our purposes is the second page, which depicted an amputee soldier with a peg leg facing a trio of Copperhead snakes (Fig. 4.16). The verse reads: "A soldier came back from the war, with many an honorable scar; But the Copperheads cried, 'Served you right if you'd died in this curst Abolitionist war!'" Unlike Nast's intricate detail and realistic design, the artist for *Ye Book of Copperheads* opted for a simplified style defined by minimal but heavy outlines and crosshatch shading—indicative of quickly

produced woodcut engravings. Such a schematic cartoon produced a focused message well suited to an illustrated book where the reader encountered several images in secession. As the soldier stares, undeterred, at the twisting, circuitous bodies of the Copperhead snakes, his "honorable scar" reminds readers of his heroic courage and sacrifice. Yet the Peace Democrats, according to the text below, are apathetic towards the veteran's bodily loss and even his life. The artist drew upon the othered resonances of the veteran to make a political point that in fighting for the "wrong cause" life and limb would be lost in vain.

Initially, *Ye Book of Copperheads* was a grassroots publication, a localized attack on anti-Lincoln sentiments that were gaining strength in Philadelphia. Taking measure of this situation, a contemporaneous broadside from the city declared "Pennsylvania a border state" and promised invasion, anarchy, and despotism if McClellan took the presidency.[23] In an effort to extend these arguments and capitalize on the popularity of *Ye Book of Copperheads*, the publisher issued a new edition in 1864 to coincide with the Lincoln-McClellan presidential campaign.[24] While *Ye Book of Copperheads* may not have had the same level of publicity as Nast's "Compromise with the South," it did have one important reader—the President. One of the authors recounted the story in his memoirs, stating, "When Lincoln died two books were found in his desk. One was Letters of Petroleum V. Nasby by Dr. R. Locke and my Book of Copperheads, which was later sent to me to see and return. It was much thumbed, showing it had thoroughly been read by Father Abraham."[25] Whether or not this self-serving anecdote was true, it speaks to the pervasiveness and impact of political cartoons during the Civil War, especially those that contained representations of disabled soldiers.

These cartoons circulated among Lincoln's opponents as well. Joseph E. Baker's *How Free Ballot is Protected!* is one of the few existing pro-Democrat cartoons and, notably, one that

showcases an amputee veteran (Fig. 4.17). At a voting booth, a disabled soldier missing an eye, a leg, and part of an arm holds out his ticket for McClellan. A racially caricatured African American soldier points his bayonet at the veteran, declaring in derogatory slang that he refuses to allow him to vote. The soldier replies, "I am an American citizen and did not think I had fought and bled for this. Alas my country!" His rhetoric mirrors the same claims made by the Republican Party in attempting to find and attribute meaning to bodily loss incurred during the war. Two men behind him tally the votes and their speech bubbles indicate a reluctance to intrude on the altercation in the foreground. *How Free Ballot is Protected!* references reports of Republicans engaging in electoral fraud and obstruction of votes, but Baker also indicates his party's concerns that emancipation would bring about a loss of white male supremacy and the equality of previously subordinate African Americans.[26] In the space of the cartoon, Baker illustrates this anxiety by rendering the disabled soldier powerless against the able-bodied but feeble-minded and dissolute stereotype of an African American contraband. Indeed, for Baker to render the African American as disabled would only mitigate or minimize the very threat he is seeking to exploit. Here Baker suggests the diminished agency of white male privilege through the legible sign of the veteran's bodily injuries. Contrary to the Republican examples of one-legged veterans, Baker depicts his former soldier with an excess of wounds—a one-eyed double amputee. His melodramatic state incites sympathy for the veteran, an appeal to voters to maintain his status as a war hero and the existing racial hierarchy. Yet his extreme corporeal loss also signified to the Democrats the dismemberment of the body politic upon Lincoln's re-election through the severing of inalienable rights and ethical blindness.

Unfortunately for McClellan, he failed to see how his association with the Democrats peace platform would alienate his former soldiers. Currier and Ives explored McClellan's

divided position in *The Political "Siamese" Twins*, which depicts the General anatomically tied to the Peace Democrats (Fig. 4.18). As McClellan listens to his political advisors, one wounded soldier declares, "Good Bye Little Mac if that's your company! Uncle Abe gets my vote." Similar sentiments were voiced in the *Army Square Hospital Gazette,* where one former democratic soldier noted that the rebels cheered for two hours after learning of McClellan's nomination, prompting him to consider casting a vote for "Old Abe."[27] Ultimately, Lincoln's victory resulted from a successfully run campaign that spurred large numbers of Union soldiers to vote and used various means—including political cartoons--to cast the Democrats as traitors unworthy of military support. Not only was the Lincoln-McClellan presidential campaign representative of how ephemeral popular culture would henceforth become a permanent fixture in modern American politics, it also introduced the disabled Civil War veteran as a new social type in the body politic.

During the 1864 election, soldiers' war offered a visible reminder of the government's failure to prevent conflict. Within the space of the cartoon, the disabled veteran's position as war hero became contingent on the public casting the "right" vote for president. To elect a leader that would negate their sacrifices and injuries would forfeit the veterans' rights to become military heroes and cast them instead as disabled paupers or, even worse, traitors. Such fluid transitions between dueling ways of constructing social identity speak to the instability of the veteran's social position and the symbolic dynamism of the wounded body.

"Enough to Vote": Political Struggles of Disabled African American Veterans

In the background of *Abraham's Dream*, Columbia holds a severed head of an African American (Fig. 4.11).[28] Rendered as a caricature with distorted lips and shaggy hair, the decapitation of the black body signifies the complicated relationship between race and government. While the head is a secondary detail in a larger complicated work regarding the 1864 election, it does maintain a strategic placement at the pinnacle of the composition. The artist, it seems, suggests that while the focus of *Abraham's Dream* is the president's anxieties and nightmarish torment over the state of the nation, an election loss for Lincoln and the Republicans would subject African Americans to a future of violent subjugation. Represented without a body on the steps of the White House, African Americans were stripped of any potential agency and defenseless against white hegemony.[29] If *Abraham's Dream* uses the theme of horrific dismemberment to articulate a particularly bleak vision of black disempowerment, other period images used the wounded black body to explore other facets of African American wartime experience. As we will see, cartoons of the African American amputee veteran harnessed the disruptive and critical dimensions of physical disability and social liminality to explore the racial quandaries of manhood and citizenship.

As the looming severed head in the background of *Abraham's Dream* indicates, race became a rhetorical centerpiece for the 1864 presidential election and the elections to come. Political cartoonists responded to the race question by utilizing stereotyped physical features and racist dialect as visual strategies, a portrayal evident in Baker's rendition of a contraband soldier (Fig. 4.17). Most white readers of the illustrated press were accustomed to such imagery, as many shared the belief that African Americans were indolent, unintelligent, and uncivilized. Captain William Augustus Walker of the twenty-seventh Massachusetts Infantry declared that African American soldiers were "lazy, filthy, ragged and confounded stupid," echoing

stereotypes present in the mass media and the wide-spread notion that the Civil War was a "white man's war."[30] Even as Northern illustrators began to depict African American men in new ways during and after the war, these older racist stereotypes persisted. For all the divergent opinions regarding black citizenship and manhood, the increased presence of disabled African American veterans in the illustrated weeklies was a peculiar phenomenon.

Following a precedent set by a variety of antebellum abolitionist artists, Nast composed dignified and sensitive portrayals of African Americans in his cartoons.[31] He harnessed his power of the public to persuade readers of *Harper's Weekly* of the potential of African Americans as productive members of society. Yet in the immediate postwar years Nast would prefer to represent the black veteran as disabled rather than able-bodied; in so doing, the artist carefully keyed his images to the anxious perspectives of white viewers who saw black agency as an alarming threat to the fragile project of reunion. One of his well-known cartoons in support of black citizenship is the 1865 double-page cartoon "Pardon Franchise," which juxtaposes a scene of the re-entitlement of rights to former Confederate leaders with a representation of a disenfranchised amputee African-American veteran (Fig. 4.19). The first page on the left is "Pardon," with Columbia seated on a throne emblazoned with symbols of America (eagle and flags) and her emblematic shield and sword tucked beside her. With downcast eyes and head supported by her right hand, she contemplates the groveling figure of Robert E. Lee before her. Other Confederate leaders crowd the space, waiting to hear Columbia's decision whether to give the former rebels amnesty.

The right-side panel, "Franchise," continues the story as Columbia gestures towards an African American veteran who is also an amputee. The marbled room is empty, yet Columbia beckons those from outside the frame to consider this man who has lost a leg fighting for

freedom and for the glory of the nation. A starred carpet leads the viewer from the lower right-hand corner of the frame up towards the veteran, standing erect—a pose of dignity—and taller than Columbia herself. His right hand holds his cap strategically placed near the stump of his right leg, which at once conceals and draws attention to the wound. Through his pictorial devices of iconography, symbolism, and composition, Nast unmistakably emphasized the African American veteran in this image. He wanted viewers to ask themselves the same question posed by Columbia and spread across the two pages, "Shall I trust these men? And not this man?" In the background of "Franchise" Nast has added a ballot box, a reminder of who actually had the right to vote—the reinstated former Confederates on the opposite page rather than the maimed black Union veteran.

Nast's decision to render the African American man as disabled rather than able-bodied was a specific strategy calculated to incite sympathy from his white Northern viewers. Nast would attempt a different route in his later *Harper's* illustration "He Wants a Change Too" (1876; Fig. 4.20). As a response to South Carolina's 1876 turbulent election campaign, Nast's illustration show blacks as both victims of racial violence and agents of self-defense. The cartoonist depicts the central African American figure as crazed: armed, shirtless, and wearing an intense glare, the figure harkens back to antebellum depictions of black men as brute savages. In "Franchise" Nast used disability to separate the African American veteran from this sort of threatening stereotype and to cast the soldier as a sympathetic sufferer worthy of the white reader's compassion.

In taking up black suffrage "Pardon Franchise" addresses one of the more immediate, widely debated, and unresolved quagmires of Reconstruction.[32] In Lincoln's last public speech, he singled out African American veterans as worthy for the right to vote, yet his successor,

Andrew Johnson, sought to undermine his predecessor's efforts.[33] Johnson, a Tennessee Democrat, took a lenient position on the South, essentially reinstating white rule through amnesty and pardons for former Confederates. He certainly did not agree with Lincoln regarding African American voting rights, preferring deportation of the former slaves as an alternative to granting equal rights.[34] Nast opposed Johnson's tolerant Reconstruction policies and denial of African American political rights, and hoped that his caricatures would encourage votes for more radical Republican congressmen who might override any presidential vetoes.

The presence of the disabled black veteran in "Pardon Franchise" dramatizes the hypocrisy of Johnson's position on black suffrage. Nast employs a melodramatic image of a suffering African American to appeal to white readers to support enfranchisement. This vision of black suffering extended a sentimental visual tradition rooted in the antebellum period: abolitionist images frequently relied upon the theme of the suffering slave to inspired anti-slavery convictions. The well-known and widely distributed abolitionist photograph, *The Scourged Back* (Fig. 4.21), for example, used a careful description of the raised scars on the back of the escaped slave Gordon, to inspire white abolitionists to action. In so doing, of course, these images of suffering substituted a vision of the dependent and debilitated black body for more transgressive accounts of African American legacy. The disabled veteran in "Pardon Franchise" works in a similar manner, requiring a white benefactor to intercede on behalf of African Americans. In "Pardon Franchise" Nast expressed his respect for the heroism shown by black troops and support for enfranchisement in a way that would be palatable to most viewers.

Despite his willingness to use the trope of corporeal disability to temper the black body in "Pardon Franchise," Nast supported African American soldiers as potential American citizens. Samuel Ferguson Jayne, a volunteer for the Sanitary Commission at the U.S. Colored Hospital at

City Point, Virginia, echoed the cartoonist's sentiments,. He wrote in a letter to his wife: "After all their fighting will the free blacks be allowed the privilege of voting? They give their life, a limb, risk all that is worth living for, and do they get a single privilege that a white man is bound to respect?"[35] For Jayne, military service and war-related disability was "enough" to determine black suffrage.

Nast revisited the subject of black political rights with his 1868 cartoon, "This is a White Man's Government" (Fig. 4.22). Irish hooligans, unreformed former Confederates, and the Democratic party, the latter represented by Nathan Bedford Forrest (the Confederate officer who oversaw the massacre of black Union troops at Fort Pillow and became a leading member of the KKK after the war) and August Belmont (the financier and prominent Democrat) all restrain the black veteran.[36] Scattered in the foreground are the veteran's Union kepi, the American flag, and a ballot box nearly tumbling outside the boundaries of the print; incorporating two lynched figures and burning African American buildings, the background reiterates the apocalyptic scene in Nast's earlier "Compromise with the South." In such an image, not only does Nast once again ask whether black men deserve the right to vote, but he questions whether all white men are truly fit to have it.[37] While Nast would occasionally draw upon racial stereotypes, after "Pardon Franchise" he produced some of the more sympathetic visions of African Americans during the post-Civil War years.[38]

Nast was not the only artist to visualize the political struggles of Reconstruction by utilizing the figure of the black disabled veteran. Thomas Waterman Wood, a white Northerner living in Louisville, Kentucky, after the war, painted an imagined narrative of an African American soldier in his triptych, *A Bit of War History: The Contraband, The Recruit,* and *The Veteran* (Fig. 4.23).[39] Reputedly inspired by Wood's encounter with a struggling one-legged

black veteran on the streets, the trio of paintings document the transformation of a former slave into a recruit in the Union Army, and, finally, into a disabled veteran. The painting caught the attention of several critics while on view at the New York National Academy of Design and was eventually reproduced as an engraving in the May 4, 1867 issue of *Harper's Weekly* (Fig. 4.24).[40]

Possibly due to space constraints of the printed page, the engraving of *A Bit of War History* lacks the neat linear format of the painted triptych. *The Contraband* is separated and above *The Recruit* and *The Veteran,* with largely unrelated text interspersed between the images. In the painting, the forward momentum of *The Contraband* and *The Recruit* halts at the last panel as the veteran poses in the opposite direction, facing his previous iterations.[41] But the division of the panels in the engraving alters this narrative effect, focusing more on the pairing between *The Recruit* and *The Veteran;* as a result, the composition seems to emphasize the African American soldier's corporeal transformation from able-bodied to disabled over his transition from slave to freeman. On one hand, Wood employs similar sentimental tactics as Nast in describing the black veteran's extreme sacrifice for his freedom through the disabled veteran. But on the other, he questions whether the black veteran is truly capable of handling the responsibilities that come with civil and political rights. His body, thus his identity, remains "stumped" in the eyes of the nation and thwarts attempts for active agency.

Wood continued the story of the African American citizen in *His First Vote* (1868; Fig. 4.25), which features a solitary black man, possibly a former soldier, advancing to the polls with ballot in hand. The model for *His First Vote* appears to be an aged version of the veteran represented in *A Bit of War History,* even including the torn rag both men wear under their hats. Nearly identical in size to the works in *A Bit of War History*, *His First Vote* may be read as a

kind of addendum to the tripartite series that addresses the issue of voting rights.[42] *His First Vote* originated from a multi-figure composition, entitled *American Citizens (To the Polls)* (Fig. 4.26), that Wood painted the preceding year. *American Citizens* addresses the diversity of America by depicting four ethnic and racial types who appear to enjoy some form of equality. Despite Wood's attempt to represent the black figure in this group with dignity, however, reviewers still found the notion of black enfranchisement a comedic and troubling notion; thus one reviewer described the scene's African American figure as a pejorative type defined by "swelling eyelids and laughing countenance" and "exhibiting emotions of a child with his first toy."[43]

Whereas Nast focused on one aspect of black citizenship (suffrage), Wood investigated political struggles over pensions, health, and voting rights. The prevailing racism in the Union Army meant that fewer black troops experienced combat; most instead served in non-combat roles, providing labor (such as cooking or construction work) that made the movement, encampment, and nourishment of the Union Army possible. As a result, African American causalities were more likely caused by disease from poor living conditions and lack of accessible health care than war wounds. Nevertheless, Wood's veteran suffered a loss of limb, suggesting that he had seen combat and was something of a statistical anomaly. But his disheveled appearance and threadbare uniform—aspects that are even more apparent in Wood's vibrant painting—suggest that his disability has not inspired the celebratory treatment (and accompanying remunerative possibilities) accorded a war hero.[44] Forced to visit the Provost Marshall's Office for his "back pay" (a pay that would have been significantly less than his white counterparts), the veteran would seem to be dependent on the government for his livelihood.[45] Like Nast's figure in "Franchise," Wood's veteran relies upon a larger system of white institutions to obtain agency and autonomy.

In the five year window after the war that saw the ratification of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments (December 1865, July 1868, and February 1870), black civil and political rights remained unresolved and intangible. Artists such as Nast and Wood adopted the symbol of the disabled veteran to inform their viewing public and to influence white voters to favor such constitutional changes. Yet this awareness could only be filtered through an unthreatening disabled body that required white intervention, and as such did little to challenge racial hierarchy. As historian Jim Downs has argued, black participation in political campaigns for suffrage and civil rights required good health and well-being--in essence, being "able-bodied."[46] Disabled in a fight for freedom and the nation, wounded black veterans found themselves caught in another form of enslavement after the war. Far from signifying a unified set of meanings, the disabled African American veteran embodied divergent political connotations in the graphic arts during and after the Civil War: if some cartoonists used this figure to argue for black citizenship, others harnessed the black veteran to oppose this objective.

"Vote as You Shot": Reconstruction and the 1872 Election

After the war, Nast revisited the topic of the wounded veteran while ridiculing Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson.[47] Nast's 1866 cartoon, "Andy's Trip" consists of twenty vignettes and extracts from Johnson's speeches that demonstrate his ineffective leadership and his critical perspective towards the South (Fig. 4.27). To the left of the central tondo caricaturing Johnson as a pious saint, Nast interspersed the declaration, "Andy forgot our soldiers and sailors" between related vignettes. As with most of Nast's illustrations, it is in the marginalia, rather than the central scene, that we find some of his more violent or provocative imagery. "Andy's Trip" thus includes three scenes of wounded bodies arrayed around the central tondo portrait. The first of these scenes, at the upper left corner of the rectangular panel that includes the tondo, shows the

dying and prostrate wounded reaching out for an unobtainable flag, while below in the second panel crouch emaciated Union prisoners of war. The next scene (lower left of the central panel) depicts the interior of a hospital with soldiers displaying various degrees of disability, from a head wound to a double amputee. The final panel (which appears directly below the hospital vignette) pictures a one-legged amputee who seeks to cast his vote for the "soldier's friend," or the Republican incumbent governor of New York Rueben Fenton. In "Andy's Trip," Nast makde reference to the soldiers' lost lives and limbs to criticize Johnson's failed Reconstruction policies, a strategy that foreshadowed the Republican political maneuver of flaunting the blood of heroes and martyrs to criticize opponents—a maneuver that period commentators called "waving the bloody shirt."

Reconstruction found the North and South at odds over distorted memories of the war with each side developing false or exaggerated stories to make political hay out of claims of violent atrocities. In 1868, Massachusetts Congressman Benjamin Butler reputedly waved a bloody shirt of an Ohio carpetbagger who the Ku Klux Klan reputedly whipped during a speech protesting the unrestrained terror in the South.[48] The Southern press soon adapted the phrase to refer to the impassioned speeches about bloody sacrifice by radical Northern Republicans during campaigns. Yet the origin story of the expression is a false one. Butler never carried a bloodstained nightshirt to the congressional floor, nor did he even allude to the phrase during his oration. The bloody shirt came to represent the distorted memories of the war for Southern Democrats who accused Republicans of unnecessarily flaunting violence for political gain.

While Butler's display of a bloody shirt on the congressional floor is fiction, the myth does conjure a kind of visuality relevant to the violence indexed by the veteran's disabled body. The *Galveston Tri-Weekly* declared in 1870: "Whenever an election is to take place accounts of

riots and bloodshed appear. A bloody shirt, hung up on a pole, has been an excellent ensign in the past."[49] As a tangible connection to a violent past, the bloody shirt acts as a symbolic relic that stimulated action in voters; as such it functioned much in the same way as the wounded veteran bodies that Nast and other cartoonists depicted. Notably, the same paper would later state that the "bloody shirt business" got Grant elected.[50] While the bloody shirt suggests an absent body, it gained a surrogate body in the veterans, whose empty sleeves recalled their own corporeal sacrifices. As politicians waved the bloody shirt, political cartoonists drew the empty sleeve. In each instance, it was the visual over the verbal or rhetorical that garnered voter support. While political cartoonists would later start representing the bloody shirt in their satirical imagery in the 1890s, the veteran's maimed body still remained the more powerful symbol during the presidential campaigns of 1868, 1872, and 1876.[51]

Indeed, the 1868 and 1872 presidential elections found cartoonists and demagogic politicians alike invoking the wounded body in an effort to elect General Ulysses S. Grant against his opponents. During the 1872 campaign, a fraction of the Republican Party became disillusioned with Grant's first term as President and spilt to form the Liberal Republican Party.[52] This faction advocated ending Reconstruction by removing the continued military presence in the South, a policy that led the Democratic Party to endorse the Liberal Republicans' nominee, Horace Greeley. Previously, as editor of the *New York Tribune*, Greeley had been a staunch abolitionist but now he was in league with the same political party that had sought to preserve the South's peculiar institution. This was an ironic twist not lost on Republican political cartoonists such as Nast. The artist refused to see the opposition as anything but a regression into immoral social values of racism and violence; this perspective is evident in his unflattering portrayal of Greeley's association with the Southern Democrats in "Let Us Clasp Hands over the

Bloody Chasm" (Fig. 4.28).[53] This sensational and savage image depicts Greeley engaging in an alliance with the Southern Democrats, while ignoring the dead bodies of African Americans at his feet. Around them chaos reigns, as a horde of pistol brandishing Southerners chase after retreating African Americans attempting to cast their vote in the Georgia election.[54]

Grant's re-election campaign in 1872 against Greeley found cartoonists like Nast utilizing the established visual rhetoric from previous elections and embodied war memories in the form of disabled veterans. One such illustration, "Bringing the Thing Home" from *Harper's Weekly* encapsulates Nast's incendiary approach towards Greeley and his proposals for Reconstruction (Fig. 4.29). Nast places the setting in the South among a ruined and rubble-strewn landscape. Greeley stands slightly to the left with his hands clasped around his rotund belly as he looks over his shoulder at a dilapidated house and its destitute inhabitants. The papers in his overcoat refer to his position as a newspaper editor; one page reads as a title to a faux memoir, "What I know about War Fare, by H.G." The latter—a reference to Greeley's 1871 experimental scientific publication *What I know of Farming*--was part of an ongoing joke by Nast in which he ridiculed Greeley for assuming authority and expertise in a variety of different arenas. At the right, a mother and her children huddle around the remains of their house, while an adolescent looks outside at two amputee Confederate veterans. One veteran averts his eyes from the scene and the other looks at the child with eyes ablaze as he takes off his hat in a gesture of sorrow. To emphasize the South's misery, Nast includes a sketchily drawn scene over Greeley's right shoulder. Beside a lone standing chimney, evocative of the photographs taken by George Barnard during Sherman's march through the South, (Fig. 3.28) a small kneeling figure raises his arms in anguish in a contemporary rendition of the Pietà. Underneath Nast's illustration are Greeley's scathing words anticipating the devastation and agony Southerners would experience

post-Civil War. One of Nast's most effective satirical cartoons, "Bringing the Thing Home" strove to influence both Northern and Southern voters through depicting war's ruination of body, hearth, and environment.

The 1872 election was the first instance in readmitting all the former Confederate states back into the Union, a development that dramatically changed the political landscape. Because fraud and corruption had besmirched Grant's first presidential term, his campaign for re-election required assistance by cartoonists like Nast to encourage voters and ridicule the opposition. In this light we should see "Bringing the Thing Home" as a revision of "Compromise with the South," a reworking of his popular cartoon for a new audience and campaign approach (Figs. 4.29 and 4.1). Nast's style has changed here from detailed sentimental satire to caustic humor. Nast's catastrophic landscape in 1864, moreover, distinctly references the destruction of Northern industry and burning Southern cities, whereas "Bringing the Thing Home" is decidedly Southern, reveling in the aftermath of Sherman's destructive march. Instead of an African American family disenfranchised and enslaved at the right, we have a white Southern mother and her children subjected to abject poverty and homelessness. The white South, debilitated and reduced to fragments, suffers on the part of the failure of Reconstruction and continues to exist in a state of war. Even though Greeley advocated the removal of military forces in the South, Nast underscores Greeley's hypocrisy as a liberal candidate by emphasizing his past radical and violent belligerence toward the former Confederate States. But in comparing "Compromise with the South" to "Bringing the Thing Home," we find the amputee veterans in identical poses, with only their uniforms switched from Union to CSA. Whereas one dishearteningly enters into an unequal compromise, the other is forlornly facing the eradication of his home. This is the first known instance of a white Northern cartoonist utilizing a Confederate to support national

reunion and it speaks to the emergence of a new political arena. The broken body of the veteran becomes part of a sympathetic maneuver to recognize the white South's distress as part of a shared experience. The corporeal and environmental ruins embody the dual-nature of war—destruction and creation. Nast indicates that the post-Confederate South's fragmentation should be felt nationally and can be rebuilt into a modern, democratic nation, a policy Greeley and his Liberal Republican Party sought to prevent. It is Grant, Nast says, that has the power to finish reconstructing not only the former Confederate white South but the Union as a whole.

A photograph of a pro-Grant window display from Wisconsin indicates the cartoon's wide-reaching geographic influence (Fig. 4.30). Tucked behind an array of "small potatoes" and a large one labeled "Grant" is a fragment of "Bringing the Thing Home," cut to showcase Greeley and the amputee veterans. More powerful than the reduced circumstances of a Southern home, the maimed veteran's body represented the broken South. And the South in turn responded positively to Nast's cartoon, reprinting it on the cover of a North Carolinian newspaper (Fig. 4.31). The popularity of the "Bringing the Thing Home" prompted the Republican Party to once again use a Nast cartoon in its campaign posters. The front of an 1872 broadside lists "Greeley's Amnesty Record" which provides extracts from Greeley's speeches and editorials recounting his inability to grant the South clemency (Fig. 4.32). On the back was Nast's engraving with slight changes in the text instructing the viewer to "look on this picture;" the image bears an expanded tag line that reads, "Bringing the Thing Home; or, Reasons Why the South Should Vote for Greeley." The multiple iterations of "Bringing the Thing Home" in Northern and Southern contexts indicate the cartoon's wide-reaching appeal in a variety of settings and illuminate how the Republican Party harnessed the mass consumption of the press. As with "Compromise with the South," Nast appealed to public sentiment over inequality and

political neglect by waving the bloody shirt, or in this case, the empty pant leg, which resonated with the traumatic memories of war.

Nast pursued a different tactic in his "Who Are the Haters?" in an attempt to win Grant the veterans' vote (Fig. 4.33). In the lower right-hand corner, Nast provides a clue as to the historical context of his cartoon—the words "Pittsburgh, Penn." During the months leading up to the election, the Republicans managed to schedule a parade and convention for the pro-Grant "Boys in Blue," an organization of Union veterans, two days before Greeley visited the city. Nast's cartoon offers an imaginative account of this parade, picturing a line of pro-Grant veterans who carry signs with slogans—"As we fought so we will vote for the Union" and "Equality before the law for all men"—that affirm the Republican tenets of liberalism and progress. Towards the front of the parade are two disabled veterans. One, with an amputated leg, is unable to hold up a sign (he uses his hands to grasp his crutches) but nevertheless participates in the event. Another veteran with an empty sleeve pinned to his chest, marked as a badge of honor, carries in his only hand a large illustrated banner evoking the spirit of reconciliation. Part of the text reads, "the veterans weep but do not hate." The empty-sleeved veteran, despite his injury, bears no ill will against his white Southern brethren, and he exhibits the epitome of compassion and heroism upheld by the Republican Party. Considered alongside these virtuous and forgiving veterans, the illustration's titular question ("Who are the haters?") implicates Greeley and his supporters.

While there were certainly Northern anti-Grant cartoons that mocked his drunkenness and corrupt administration, none of his opponents during the 1868 or 1872 campaigns utilized the disabled veteran as Nast did for the Republicans. During the war both political parties vied for control over the veteran's injuries, but after the conflict his diminished appearance in anti-

Republican cartoons is something of a puzzle. Why did the Democrats and Liberal Republicans not exploit the body of the veteran to proclaim the injustices under the current administration or to validate the Republicans' harsh treatment of the white South? The parties' policy position encouraged escapism from the war and Reconstruction by accepting the new amendments and advocating self-government in the South. A lingering reminder of the war in the shape of an empty pant leg or sleeve had little propagandistic value to a party that sought to forget the trauma of war and their political commitments. Rather than contend with the unresolved nature of the veteran, anti-Grant cartoonists avoided the pictorial type, as any reference to the conflict would have reminded voters that it was Grant who won the war.

During the first two presidential elections after the Civil War, the political connotations embodied in the figure of the disabled veteran underwent a prominent shift. Rather than signifying the Union's corporeal sacrifices, the amputee veteran increasingly came to represent the war's casualties as a whole, Union and Confederate. In the decades after the war, the Union needed to readmit the South into the Union, and Northern cartoonists modified their previous usage of the disabled veteran to include both sides as heroic figures. In "Bringing the Thing Home," Nast could draw upon the suffering of a Confederate amputee veteran to convey the South's heroic bodily loss to Northern audiences and to convince those viewers of the need to vote for a presidential candidate who evoked compassion and humanity to the losing side. His "Who Are the Haters?" offers a point of view from the Northern veterans, those who had not forgotten the rebellion but were willing to forgive for the sake of the Union. Lingering underneath the stoic façade of these cartoon veterans, however, are persistent evocations of fragmentation and alien otherness. As indicated in the 1864 election the amputated body represented a severed nation, but its persistent partial state spoke to the continuing failures to

reconstruct the post-Confederate South and rebuild the nation's body. The veteran's fractured state also alluded to the permanent effects of war, a body marked for life as a disabled outsider and a sign of the country's obligation to the former soldiers.

The Hero of Gettysburg and the 1880 Election

Even as their visual presence dwindled during the campaign seasons of the late 1870s, Civil War veterans were mobilizing into a political machine focused on pension reform and remembrance of their efforts during wartime. Under President Rutherford Hayes's administration, disabled Union veterans received lump sums under the 1879 Arrears Act, but the government denied almost half of all requests, a statistic that led critics to claim policy fraud. As a result, renewed concerns for the plight of Civil War veterans marked the 1880 presidential election. Both presidential candidates, the Republican nominee James A. Garfield and Democrat nominee General Winfield Scott Hancock had Civil War military records and attempted to sway veteran voters by appealing to their own service and their attentiveness of pension reform. Hancock, "the hero of Gettysburg," benefited from his military service and reputation by recruiting a National Association of Hancock Veterans, which canvassed soldiers' organizations and the democratic South. The Association published a periodical, the *Hancock Veteran*, which featured a full-page engraving of Hancock based on an 1863 photograph while he was in recovery from a war wound (Fig. 4.34). While the publication circulated mainly among Union veterans, one former Confederate soldier reputedly wrote to the *Hancock Veteran*, "We are willing now to fight for the union."[55] Since the 1868 election, the Republicans assured party loyalty by waving the bloody shirt, using the war as a strategy to criticize their opponents for undermining the meaning of the conflict and to remind voters of who quelled the rebellion. Garfield encouraged former soldiers to "vote as you shot" and cultivated the G.A.R., whose

power and influence grew during the campaign. With such renewed interest in veterans and the war's lasting impact, Northern cartoonists looked once again to the disabled veteran type.

One cartoon created by an unknown artist explored the Democrats attempt to win the veterans' vote (Fig. 4.35). "How Hancock Will (Not) Get the Soldier Vote" positions Hancock in the center of the scene engaging with a one-legged G.A.R. member and pointing to the Democratic headquarters and a couple of men behind him. The former soldier glances behind Hancock to see two unsavory figures: a former Confederate soldier and a Northern Democrat. The soldier replies, "No, thank you General; I prefer to pick my acquaintances, and advise you to do the same."[56] The cartoon's message cites *The Political Siamese Twins* from the 1864 campaign: regardless of how the party might strategize to win over the veterans by nominating a well-liked Civil War general, the Democrats were still firmly associated with violence and the Confederacy (Fig. 4.18). The artist's decision to depict a Union veteran with one leg reveals that the veteran's broken body continued to carry the memory of war, a shadowy ghost that the Democrats could not shake from their platform. The juxtaposition of able-bodied and disabled men also subverts preconceived ideals regarding bodily symmetry and moral character. For in this instance the figure who displays true patriotism and a principled nature is the amputee veteran rather than his wholly embodied counterparts. Here, bodily difference that would normally connote weakness of dependency is remade as a signifier of heroic stoicism. This cartoon indicates a significant change in social attitudes towards disabled veterans, a shift that would continue to grow in momentum throughout the next few presidential elections, culminating in the reformed Disability and Dependent Pension Act in 1890.

Political cartoonists' refusal to neglect veterans and insistence on reminding the public of their plight and sacrifices brought about an increasing awareness of their social status. This

lingering symbolic presence forced the viewing public to contend with the difficult and troubling memories of war and to recognize the need for a continued commitment to the nation's veterans long after the signing at Appomattox. Notably, few of the images of disabled veterans depicted these figures with a prosthetic, beyond a crutch or a cane, despite Federal programming in place. The reoccurring refusal on behalf of the artists to remake the veteran's body "whole" with artificial limbs reveals a desire to keep the veteran disabled. A fragmented, maimed veteran body was much more useful to the political cartoonist than the uninjured figure: artificial limbs erased evidence of the war, eliminating the traumatic reminders that political parties drew upon for demagogue rhetoric. Political cartoonists found the broken body of the veteran useful as a vehicle of partisan argument; thus, they continuously reinvigorated the figure and, in so doing, kept alive a cultural discourse of fragmentation and division that undercut the idea of reunification. In the space of the political cartoon, the veteran's body was called out of retirement to once again to serve its country and face battle against opposing ideologies.

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[1] Joseph K. Barnes, George Otis, and Daniel Huntington, *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*, Part III, Vol. II, chapters 10-12, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883). See also, Guy Hasegawa, *Mending Broken Soldiers: The Union and Confederate Programs to Supply Artificial Limbs*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2012) for additional statistical information regarding the number of Union and Confederate amputations and how many obtained artificial limbs postwar.

[2] Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 110-121.

[3] Jalynn Olsen Padilla, "An Army of 'Cripples': Northern Civil War Amputees, Disability, and Manhood in Victorian America (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2007) 180-181. While Padilla is addressing how African American authors avoided discussion about disabled black bodies, I have found this to be largely true in the visual arts as well.

[4] See Albert Boime, *The Art of Exclusion: Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990) for an extended discussion about race and art in nineteenth-century America.

[5] For an excellent history of the pictorial press from antebellum to post-Reconstruction, see, Joshua Brown, *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002).

[6] Albert Bigelow Paine, *Thomas Nast: His Period and His Pictures* (Princeton, NJ: Pyne Press, 1904), 69, 263.

[7] For an excellent discussion about the "problem of peg legs" in early twentieth-century America, see Beth Linker, *War's Waste: Rehabilitation in World War I America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), pgs. 110-119.

[8] For a comparison between the antiquated peg leg and more modern prosthetics, see David D. Yuan, "Disfigurement and Reconstruction in Oliver Wendell Holmes's "The Human Wheel, Its Spokes and Felloes," in *The Body and Physical Difference: Discourses of Disability*, eds. by David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Synder (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 71-88.

[9] For an extended analysis of Lincoln's image in the pictorial press, see Gary L. Bunker, *From Rail-Splitter to Icon: Lincoln's Image in Illustrated Periodicals, 1860-1865* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2001).

[10] Ellen Samuels, *Fantasies of Identification: Disability, Gender, Race* (New York: NYU Press, 2014), 53-62.

[11] Megan Kate Nelson in *Ruin Nation: Destruction and the American Civil War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012) describes a few instances of malingering and fraudulent behavior on pages 221-223.

[12] Benjamin Franklin Palmer, *The Palmer Arm and Leg: Correspondence with the Surgeon-General*, USA (Philadelphia: Sherman, 1862), 4.

[13] Bryan F. Le Beau, "The Mind of the North in Pictures," 9:2 *Common Place* (January 2009) (http://www.common-place.org/vol-09/no-02/lebeau/).

[14] Weber, *Copperheads*, 169-174.

[15] *Lincoln/Ruin / M'Clellan/Peace*, Democratic Party broadside, 1864. Lincoln Collection, Special Collections at the University of Chicago.

[16] One campaign song even declared: "By George! The soldiers swear, my boys, Old Abe must clear the track, the people's choice is coming, boys, Hurrah! For 'Little Mac,'" from *Little Mac*, Printed by J.F. Feeks, 1864, Civil War Song Collection, Rare Books and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

[17] *Armory Square Hospital Gazette*, 1:7 (February 10, 1864): 4.

[18] Fiona Deans Halloran, *Thomas Nast: The Father of Modern Political Cartoons* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 59; and Paine, *Thomas Nast*, 98.

[19] Russell Alger, et al., *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate* Armies (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898), 623.

[20] Author E.W. Locke recounted the comical and caustic banter that occurred in the hospital wards: "The rebs have taken the best of me legs, Bad luck to the chap that hit it, if Uncle Sam gives me a cork for me stump, I hope 'twill be one that will fit it." E.W. Locke, *Three Years in Camp and Hospital* (Boston: Geo. D. Russell & Co., 1871), 80.

[21] Paine, *Thomas Nast*, 98.

[22] *The Degrading Compromis*e (Indiana), 1864, Broadsides and Ephemera Collection, Duke University.

[23] *The Beginning. Election of M'Clellan*, 1864, Library Company of Philadelphia.

[24] For details regarding the book's publication and its related editions, see, John Hruschka, *How Books Came to America: The Rise of the American Book Trade* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2011), 117-123.

[25] Charles Godfrey Leland, *Memoirs* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1893), 250-251.

[26] Weber, *Copperheads*, 315-317.

[27] "A Soldier's Opinion," *Armory Square Hospital Gazette* 1:35 (September 1864): 1.

[28] The title for this section comes from Frederick Douglass's April 1865 speech, "What the Black Man Wants," before the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. He asks his audience: "But if we know enough to be hung, we know enough to vote. If the negro knows enough to pay taxes to support the government, he knows enough to vote; taxation and representation should go together. If he knows enough to shoulder a musket and fight for the flag, fight for the government, he knows enough to vote. If he knows as much when he is sober as an Irishman knows when drunk, he knows enough to vote, on good American principles."

[29] I thank Theodore Mason, Eugene Dwyer, Austin Porter, and Melissa Dabakis for drawing my attention to this detail of *Abraham's Dream* during my Marilyn Yarbrough Dissertation Fellowship talk at Kenyon College in 2015.

[30] William A. Walker to Sister, July 11, 1861, Historic Northampton, Letters of William A. Walker, William A. Walker Papers, *Yankee Correspondence: Civil War Letters between New England Soldiers and the Home Front*, Nina Silber and Mary Beth Sievens, eds. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia), 61.

[31] It is not without note that Thomas Nast also produced an array of stereotyped caricatures of African Americans following the war, an act highlighting the complexity of race and its contradictions in nineteenth-century America.

[32] As Patricia Hills points out, visualization of black suffrage was in the realm of illustrators and graphic artists, not painters. Patricia Hills, "Cultural Racism: Resistance and Accommodation in the Civil War Art of Eastman Johnson and Thomas Nast," in *Seeing High and Low: Representing Social Conflict in American Visual Culture*, ed. Patricia Johnston (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 113.

[33] Abraham Lincoln, "Last Public Address," April 11, 1865 from Roy P. Basler, et al., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,* Vol. 8 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 399-405.

[34] Johnson, Andrew. Paul H. Bergeron, ed*. The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Vol. 10: February-July 1866*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1993).

[35] Letter to Charlie from Samuel, August 19, 1864, Jayne Papers, Box 73, Folder 8, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

[36] Forrest, in particular, was a scathing addition to Nast's image as Forrest oversaw the massacre of black troops at Fort Pillow.

[37] Both Hills and Fiona Deans Halloran touch upon this image and Nast's satirical commentary on black suffrage. See Hills, 114-115 and Halloran, *Thomas Nast: The Father of Modern Political Cartoons* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 108-109.

[38] Halloran, 108-115, and Hills, 118.

[39] Wood lived in Nashville, Tennessee for part of the war, leaving in 1862 for Louisville, Kentucky where he remained until 1866.

[40] Henry Tuckerman, *Book of the Artist* (New York: G. Putnam and Sons, 1867), 488; "American Painters—Thomas W. Wood, N.A." *The Art Journal* (April 1876): 114.

[41] Franny Nudelman argues that the veteran's turn to face the opposite direction implies a regression in the advancement of African Americans. *John Brown's Body: Slavery, Violence, and the Culture of War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 156.

[42] *His First Vote* is 29 x 21 and the three panels from *A Bit of War History* are 28 ¼ x 20 ¼.

[43] "American Painters—Thomas W. Wood, N.A.," *The Art Journal* 2 (April 1876): 114-115.

[44] Megan Kate Nelson reads this image as a more positive transformation through the veteran's posture and "clean clothes." While I think the paintings and the engraved works can lend to multiple interpretations, the overall message is one of African Americans once again in a service position. Furthermore, his clothes are "dirty" compared to his uniform in *The Recruit*. Nelson, *Ruin Nation*, 183.

[45] Tuckerman, 489 and Nudelman, 156.

[46] See Jim Downs, *Sick from Freedom: African-American Illness and Suffering during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[47] Official campaign slogan for Grant's 1868 election.

[48] Stephen Budianksy, *The Bloody Shirt: Terror after Appomattox* (Viking: New York, 2008); and Charles Calhoun, *From Bloody Shirt to Full Dinner Pail: The Transformation of Politics and Governance in the Gilded Age* (Hill and Wang: New York, 2010).

[49] "Hang out the Bloody Shirt," *Galveston Tri-Weekly*, November 11, 1870, 1.

[50] "Raleigh, NC, July 17," *Galveston Tri-Weekly*, July 24, 1872, 1.

[51] Later, cartoonists began visualizing an actual bloodstained shirt (it was especially prevalent in *Judge* and *Puck* magazines), but the symbol was curiously devoid in earlier graphic satire despite the repeated use of the phrase in pictorial press.

[52] Nast was well known for his ardent support of Grant, despite charges of corruption against the president, see Wendy Wick, "Thomas Nast and the President," *American Art Journal* 19:1 (Winter 1987): 60-71.

[53] "Let us clasp hands over the bloody chasm" was an expression used by Greeley in his May 20, 1870, letter accepting the Liberal Republican Party nomination. He urged the North and the South to put aside the differences from the Civil War. Supporters of Grant used Greeley's words against him, positing him a traitor to the Union and as a hypocrite towards racial equality. Nast, in particular, used the phrase repeatedly to title his cartoons attacking Greeley, producing a total of four cartoons in Harper's (Two in August 3, September 21, and October 19).

[54] Nast references an actual event in Macon, Georgia, when white Southerners drove off African Americans who were trying to exercise their right to vote, see "Georgia Election," *New York Tribune*, October 3, 1872, 1.

[55] "Succession Dead," *The Hancock Veteran*, (September 9, 1880): 4.

[56] "How Hancock will (not) get the Soldier Vote," *Harper's Weekly*, (August 28, 1880): 560.

CHAPTER 4: PAPER MEMORIES: MASS MEDIA AND COMMERCIALIZED CIVIL WAR HISTORY

In the spring of 1865 Americans witnessed the conclusion of a debilitating war, the demobilization of troops, and the assassination of the country's leader. Struggling to come to terms with the war's unprecedented death toll (which now included the president), Americans came to see themselves as members of a "republic of suffering;" a period photograph of Lincoln's funeral procession in New York (Fig. 5.1) evokes the new, collective experience of grief that took shape in the moment.[1] Taken by Thomas Faris near 751 Broadway Street, the photograph captures the solemn procession in stasis and the vast crowds that gathered to witness it. In so doing, the picture also unintentionally foreshadows the ubiquitous presence of war-related disability in the public sphere.[2] Above the street traffic, partially obscured trade signs identify the commercial building to the left as the New York offices of Dr. B. Frank Palmer's artificial arm and leg company. The advent of war spurred the rise of a broad field of prosthetic businesses; arising in this context, Palmer's Arms and Legs eventually obtained endorsement from the United States Army Surgeon General as a chief provider of manufactured body parts for disabled veterans.[3] The inadvertent juxtaposition of the presidential hearse and a prosthetics showroom in Faris' photograph alludes to the potent link between the body, trauma, and commemoration in the years after the war. Yet the body of the common soldier and his corporeal sacrifices would not be celebrated in city streets until the Union veterans' organization, the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), advocated for a national holiday in remembrance of the war, Decoration Day.[4] Ten years after Faris's photography was made Broadway Street hosted a

Decoration Day parade that prominently included disabled veterans (Fig. 5.2). This shift in the presence of disability on the city street indicates a radical sociospatial reevaluation of the maimed veteran, one which hypervisualized the veteran in the public's eye.

This re-insertion of disabled veterans into the public eye was partially the result of the insistence of both Confederate and Union veterans to remember their service. Almost immediately after the war, Union veterans began forming local fraternal organizations of the GAR, which played a significant role in presidential elections during Reconstruction. Despite early efforts to boost the public presence of the veteran, membership in the GAR dwindled in the early 1870s, leading to the closure of several local chapters; increasingly, the American public preferred to look ahead and ignore the lingering repercussions of veteran reintegration.[5] During the 1890s, however, the GAR witnessed a resurgence in membership, largely prompted by concerns about veterans' mortality and younger generation's lack of interest in the war. One Northern military magazine, *The Bivouac*, lambasted young men who treated the Decoration Day holiday with frivolity, declaring: "They ought to remember that some of the thousands who gave their lives to the country were their fathers or older brothers."[6] In an effort to combat the public's "self-imposed amnesia," the GAR and other veteran organizations hosted parades, lectures, exhibitions, and many other events.[7] The South, too, witnessed veteran participation in public events largely organized through the efforts of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and the United Confederate Veterans (UCV). Although this lies beyond the scope of my study, there is no question that the white Southern public and its veterans kept the war alive through its invocation of the ideology of the Lost Cause. From the mid-1890s to the early twentieth century, then, Union and Confederate veterans maintained a similar physical, public presence that reified the war's effects for American audiences.

Even as veterans moved physically through the social and spatial worlds of the street and cemetery, pictorial representations of former soldiers circulated with growing frequency through the homes and hands of Americans. Indeed, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw an influx of mass-produced imagery featuring disabled Civil War veterans, a wave of pictures and objects spurred by industrial and technological advances in commercial printing.[8] The disabled soon appeared on product labels, trade cards, and sheet music, transforming the once alarming figure into an enduring icon of patriotic sacrifice and national reconciliation. After decades of limited visibility, the sudden prevalence of the wounded veteran type in the mass media, especially those in the commercial market, is a curious phenomenon, and one that parallels the increased corporeal presence of former soldiers in holidays and local events.

This chapter will examine how public spectacles and popular imagery exploited the disabled veteran's body to commemorate the Civil War. Considering rituals (such as Decoration Day) that unfolded in the streets and cemeteries alongside representations advanced by product advertisements, and illustrated weeklies, I consider how the socio-cultural politics of race, gender, and national identity shaped visual imaginings of the disabled veteran's body. As I will show, a network of relationships between creator, producers, and consumers was integral in constructing a discourse of Civil War remembrance and establishing certain influential responses to war-related disability that would continue to hold sway well into the modern era. As the last living veterans of the Civil War began to die, early twentieth-century Americans became newly passionate about preserving these "living relics" through public events and printed materials. Capitalizing on this rekindling of interest in the war, commercial advertisers and artists used the aging disabled veteran to recast the war's traumatic memories into commodity objects. In essence, manufacturers were selling and promoting a narrative of North-South reunification and

patriotic sacrifice while simultaneously maintaining a distance from the real bodies of veterans. The paper substitutes that manufacturers produced provided a safe environment in which to stare at bodily difference and a means of celebrating the aberrant body of a war hero without disrupting the status quo of corporeal norms.

In celebrating physical disability, then, these fabricated memories acted to prevent the stoppage of forgetfulness, but also served to keep the veteran in his place in the margins of society.[9] By focusing on the bodies of disabled veterans, moreover, image makers and war chroniclers could highlight both the North and South's soldierly valor and heroism. As a symbol, the disabled veteran acted as a point of reference for both sides and worked to allay concerns about the meanings and legacy of the war. Purchasing visual accounts of the war that were keyed to influential understandings of sectional strife, consumers helped to affirm and disseminate an official construct of the veteran that aligned the figure with reconciliation and reunion. In so doing, these representations intervened in ongoing struggles between "official" and vernacular memories of the war, struggles that unfolded as white Northern, white Southern and African-American memory makers worked out a range of disparate interpretations of the disabled veteran.

The Northern Madonna: Reproducing the Empty Sleeve

In 1908, postcard manufacturer Raphael Tuck published an image of an elderly amputee veteran and a young girl as part of a Decoration Day series (Fig. 5.3). Entitled *Wreaths for the Living Conqueror, and Glory's Meed for the Perished*, the postcard features a bilateral composition with a wreath and medal on the left side and a vignette of a girl pinning the same five-pointed star onto a disabled family member's coat on the right. The postcard was just one of a great many affordable, mass-produced images that appeared in the moment and featured scenes

of empty-sleeved veterans paired with youthful companions.[10] These popular compositions—which I term the Northern Madonna—circulated widely in in Northern markets at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. The empty-sleeved figures in these images present a knot of juxtapositions: the veteran appears feminine yet masculine, patriotic but a social burden, an honorable, living scar and a constant reminder of a bloody conflict. By glorifying the disabled veteran as a sacred emblem, commercial artists who made Northern Madonna images could contain the social deviant while producing a figure that sold the notion of sectional reconciliation and soldierly valor to consumers. *Wreaths for the Living Conqueror* represents the culmination of the Northern Madonna's enduring legacy, one that immortalized the empty-sleeved veteran in the mass media.

Perhaps the earliest incarnation of an empty-sleeved veteran and a child appeared soon after the war in 1866 with Adelaide R. Sawyer's *The Empty Sleeve* (Fig. 5.4), an interior scene that depicts a uniformed veteran grasping a curly-haired toddler with his remaining arm. As the child inspects the languid empty sleeve, the veteran father gazes off the page, presenting a startling juxtaposition of emotions ranging from curiosity to apathy. Over the veteran's left shoulder is a picturesque vista with lush, thriving hills, a winding river, and a church steeple. Such a landscape appears unmarked by the destructive forces of war, unlike the inhabitant inside the building. While little is known about the artist, the composition in *The Empty Sleeve* suggests that Sawyer was likely referencing classical works in art history.[11] In fact, the print recalls a fifteenth-century portrait by Domenico Ghirlandaio, *An Old Man and His Grandson*, in terms of design and emotional poignancy (Fig. 5.5). Both artworks feature a pair of figures in an interior with a window opening onto a detailed landscape. With uncompromising realism, Ghirlandaio visualizes the grandfather's physical defects from his deformed nose to his weatherworn face.

Yet these defects do not deter from the admiration of his grandson, who reaches out to touch his grandfather as the two share an affectionate gaze. Sawyer, in contrast, offers a despondent alternative in which the veteran is unable to overcome his physical disability to acknowledge the child placed in his lap. *The Empty Sleeve* is a provocative and forlorn retelling of Ghirlandaio's painting that emphasizes physical difference over emotional bonds.

It was precisely this melancholic message about disabled veterans' homecomings, however, that made *The Empty Sleeve* a marketable image. Advertisements for the print appeared in a Northern veterans' paper, *The Soldier's Friend*, in October 1866; a few months later, an ad appeared in the same periodical, stating that the print "would be a good picture for one-armed soldiers to canvas for."[12] As the advertisement suggests, the print's publisher, J.C. Butte, used disabled veterans to "canvas" or sell his wares, which provided employment for those former soldiers unable to return to the workforce. At the same time, Butte undoubtedly knew that the visual impact of an amputee veteran selling *The Empty Sleeve* would be impossible for American consumers to ignore.[13] A popular poem by David Barker, "The Empty Sleeve," amplified the sentimental power of the print.[14] The editor claimed that the poem "has given a beautiful tribute" to Sawyer's print and it was "worthy of its place at the side of the portrait."[15] In fact, most extant editions of the print incorporate the poem's chorus in the caption, further unifying text and image. If Sawyer's print draws awareness to the returning soldier's deformity, the poem neutralizes this effect through patriotic rhetoric. By purchasing the print and poem from a needy disabled veteran, the consumer would in turn alleviate any feelings of shame, pity, or moral indignation that she or he felt when confronted by the misfortunes of the soldier.

The Empty Sleeve also seems to have derived something of its power from religious associations. Even as it invokes and reworks well-known painterly renderings of grandfatherly

affection, Sawyer's cartoon also seems to reference traditional representations of the Virgin. Indeed, the motif of an interior portrait with a window overlooking a fantastic landscape invites comparison to depictions of the Virgin Mary, such as Giovanni Bellini's *Madonna and Child* (Fig. 5.6). Sawyer positions the disabled veteran in a similar domestic setting and in a similarly nurturing relationship with a youthful figure. Whereas images of the Virgin and child provided an exemplar of motherhood and Christian love, *The Empty Sleeve* inverts traditional gender roles. By means of this subtle cultural reference, Sawyer suggests that the disabled veteran acquires feminine traits that supersede his military masculinity and corporeal sacrifice. The limp sleeve implies the veteran's emasculation by wounding. Unable to work and provide for his family, the veteran is relegated to the private space of the home as caregiver; in this way, his disability is domesticated and removed from the public eye.

Sawyer's biblical reference of Renaissance artistic traditions recalls earlier visual strategies by American history painters Benjamin West and George Caleb Bingham (Figs. 2.37 and 5.7).[16] Steeped in academic training from his time in Europe, West used religious subject matter to make connections between his subject and the suffering of the Lamentation. Bingham invoked the same subject and the expulsion of Adam and Eve in *Order No. 11*, a Civil War painting that protested the Union Army's use of martial law to crush pro-southern guerilla fighting in Missouri during the sectional conflict. In referencing the Madonna and Child, then, Sawyer drew upon long-standing art historical techniques to equate the martyrdom of the wounded soldier with that of the suffering of Christ. By 1865, history painting and its deliberate quoting from earlier artistic periods had fallen out of favor (even Bingham's painting failed to reach critical acclaim).[17] Instead of constructing new ways of visualizing the disabled veteran,

Sawyer reverted to an earlier mode of representation, and in so doing, harnessed the enduring the iconographic power of the Madonna and Child.

To reimagine the male veteran as the Madonna was a daring, even transgressive, move for Sawyer and other period illustrators. Despite the possibility of alienating viewers, these artists were willing to contend with popular apathy towards Christian iconography in order to discover alternative ways of capturing the psychological trauma that developed as a result of the war. The intense wartime suffering and the accompanying anxiety over disabled bodies generated an environment in which artists could experiment with non-traditional or potentially contentious tropes. As artists contended with the challenges posed by the newly diminished status of the wounded veteran, they found a surprising solution in European religious images.

Yet the allusion to the Virgin Mary and child is more than a statement about a loss of manhood or an effort to manage cultural anxieties about publicly visible disabled bodies. Sawyer has sanctified the veteran, consecrated his empty sleeve, and purified the viewer from any thoughts of guilt, pity or shame resulting from the war-inflected body. His wounds become stigmata, equating the suffering of Civil War veterans to the passion of Christ. Presented as a Madonna figure, blessed and consecrated, the disabled veteran offered solace to grieving Americans, but from the safety of the confines of the page.

The popularity of *The Empty Sleeve* prompted publishers to produce smaller, carte-de-visite versions that transformed the print into a devotional object (Fig. 5.8). Manufactured by several printers, *The Empty Sleeve* seems to have become an enduring icon in American households. Americans could collect, trade, and encase in albums cartes-de-visite of disabled veterans alongside other cartes of celebrities or family members. The possibilities for unusual arrangements in a carte-de-visite album prompted a verse in a comedic song:

> Of novelty this is the age
> It matters not what it is;
> But Albums are now all the rage,
> Filled up with Cartes-de-Visite.
> I looked in one…'twas neatly bound,
> And filled with art's creations—
> And men and women there I found
> In curious situations.[18]

The song goes on to describe various inadvertently humorous juxtapositions--such as Robert E. Lee above Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis next to William T. Sherman--that the collector of cartes des visites might create in her album,. The song concludes with the Union defeating the rebels, "and Traitors then shall have no place in Uncle Sam's big album!" The carte-de-visite album became a metaphor for the nation and a political space, one where images held immense power in the hands of the public.

Tiny and handheld, these images encouraged a private, intimate viewing experience. In constructing these personal encounters with the object, the cartes recall the critic Susan Stewart's notion of the miniature. Purely a cultural product, the diminished scale of the miniature signifies interiority and the domestic. Furthermore, Stewart argues that the miniature exists in a "transcendent time which negates change and the flux of lived reality."[19] In this light, the miniature can remain perfect as long as the boundaries of its other world are contained. This notion was well suited to depicting famous Generals, political leaders, and the common soldier (Fig. 5.9). The small scale of cartes des visites, moreover, allowed for a democratizing approach to the composition of an album, an approach that suspended class and hierarchy (albeit within the controlled environment of the album page). The miniature, then, was an ideal platform for the Northern Madonna; in this format the empty-sleeved veteran could serve as a sacred object and a vision of disability that did little to threaten the diminutive, controllable world of the album.

In the years that followed, *The Empty Sleeve* inspired still other reinterpretations. A carte-de-visite from the 1870s, photographed near Sawyer's hometown in Massachusetts, depicts an amputee and a young girl in a pose similar to the original print (Fig. 5.10). Another iteration appeared in 1907 as the frontispiece to a small book of poems of the same title (Fig 5.11).[20] Whereas the first carte captures *The Empty Sleeve*'s disengaged relationship between the two figures, the later carte shows a more curious child and involved veteran. The most notable difference between the cartes is the appearance of the wounded soldier—he ages. With Sawyer's *Empty Sleeve* the disabled veteran was clearly a parent, but by the early twentieth century he has matured into a grandfatherly figure. As the veteran aged in reality, so too did his visual counterpart. The maturation of the disabled veteran in turn introduced added another layer of connotation to the Northern Madonna: nostalgia. As an elderly figure, the veteran would recount stories of a glorious past on the battlefield as an oracle of memories. Rendered vulnerable and harmless, the aged veteran became propagandistic mouthpiece for the reconciliationist narrative, which emphasized the valor of soldiers on both sides and suppressed the war's causes, especially the issue of slavery.

A version of the Northern Madonna appeared in an 1886 *Harper's Weekly* illustration "Decoration Day—The Veteran's Right Arm" (Fig. 5.12), which depicts an empty-sleeved veteran and a young girl who assists him in pinning medals onto his GAR uniform.[21] In an evocation of love, she attaches the hard-won medal over the heart of the veteran. No longer does the child sit passively in the veteran's lap. She has become his caregiver. In fact, Henry Alexander Ogden (1856-1936) enforces this reading by situating the illustration's focal point between the girl's nimble fingers and the veteran's absent right arm. The setting remains the same as *The Empty Sleeve* with an interior space and a window, but there is an added element of

time. Ogden depicts the moment before a Decoration Day parade, as the veteran undertakes private preparations of dressing and presentation before venturing out into the public.

Unlike his seated version, this empty-sleeved veteran may not be orally telling his valiant story, but his body will do so when it is publically on display. Veterans' difficulty vocalizing the trauma of war was the subject of other period artworks; these include Larkin Mead's sculpture *The Returned Soldier* (Fig. 5.13).[22] Installed in front of a Veterans Home and Hospital in Rocky Hill, Connecticut, Mead's sculpture provided a touching tribute for a building devoted to the care of former soldiers. Mead depicted a young girl seated on a returned Union soldier's lap attentively listening to his tale. But the soldier's stooped shoulders and downward gaze suggest a pensive moment during his story, his body questioning whether to recount his wartime horrors to the future generation. His outstretched hand seems to gesture towards something out of reach as he attempts to verbalize his battle stories. This hesitation is in contrast to girl, who places her right hand over her chest in a heartfelt expression of love and utter devotion. Mead's sculpture questions how the story of the war will be told, who will be doing the telling, and who will carry the story forward. As in Ogden's illustration, the young girl acts as a visual foil to the dependent veteran; the juxtaposition of these generational figures also alludes to her role as custodian of wartime memories—when the veteran passes on it will be up to the younger generations to maintain nostalgic reverence over the past.

This relationship between the veteran and his companion is in contrast to earlier iterations of the empty sleeve in illustrated periodicals, exemplified by Winslow Homer's "Our Watering Places--The Empty Sleeve at Newport" (Fig. 1.1). In this well-known print, Homer depicts an empty-sleeved Union veteran with his sweetheart on a drive at a seaside resort. Despite sitting together on the chaise, the couple seems disengaged from one another—a reflection of the

irascible tension of the nation. Even the paired text seems at odds with the image as the short story attempts to subdue Homer's radical presentation of new gender roles. Within the confines of the page, Homer's image reveals moments of incongruity that indicate the divisive mood of the nation.

Homer's former soldier is dependent upon his female counterpart, as he lacks the physical ability to drive a carriage. She grasps the reigns with rigid outstretched arms and the whip firmly in her hands, coming to terms with her new position. Her public display of independence is indicative of the changing gender roles in postwar America. Women accustomed to wartime autonomy resisted the return to submissive domesticity, opting instead to enter the public realm, adopt a more masculine demeanor in dress and habits, and support the women's suffrage movement. Such behavior was met with criticism, summarized in the satirical print, "The 'Girl of the Period'—Club Life," which comically pitted effeminate men against the brazen new woman (Fig. 5.14).[23] While the woman in Homer's print assists her veteran companion—perhaps only as his "left hand" according to the accompanying text—she is far from the touching caregiver found in Ogden's variation of the Northern Madonna. Furthermore, Homer's pair is of equal age. As the veteran would age over the years, his female companion would grow younger, presenting a less threatening alternative to that visualized in "The Empty Sleeve at Newport." In removing any possibility of a romantic entanglement, the generational bond offered a semblance of antebellum gender roles.

By the late 1870s Northern print manufacturers developed propaganda of North-South reconciliation to rebuild the nation's commerce. The North needed the agriculture and raw materials of the South, and the South required the manufactured goods of the North.[24] The Northern Madonna was adapted and utilized in advertisements, especially for tobacco products.[25]

The lithographic firm of F. Heppenheimer's Sons drew upon stock figures clearly inspired by Ogden's *Harper's Weekly* illustration (Fig. 5.15). Commercial printers relied upon stock-cut figures or stereotypes as visual shorthand to convey loaded national or ethnic associations.[26] For the Northern Madonna to obtain iconographic status as a stock image speaks to its popularity and effectiveness. In addition to enclosing the empty-sleeved veteran and his granddaughter in a gilded frame, the lithographic firm added a landscape to the background. The right side shows a military fortification with a sentry standing watch beside a cannon and the American flag. In contrast, the left side envisions the same landscape but in the future with the fort overgrown with vegetation and a broken cannon wheel. The commercial artist has juxtaposed the veteran's broken body with the ruins of the past with the present to reiterate further the Northern Madonna's role in the reminiscence industry, or the postbellum mass media interest in soldiers' memories.[27] Yet the purpose of the F. Heppenheimer's Sons label was to sell tobacco, an industry that, of course, evokes the Southern plantation and slavery. In using a disabled Northern veteran as a marketing strategy, the firm permitted Northerners to purchase Southern tobacco and support the Southern economy.[28] In this way, advertisers superimpose the Union disabled veteran on the South as a marketing angle to stimulate trade in a post-war nation.

By far the most numerous iterations of the Northern Madonna occur in Decoration Day postcards. The reminiscence industry, fueled by commercial artists and printers, contributed to the "craze" over picture postcards during the first decade of the twentieth century.[29] Readily available and affordable, the ubiquitous postcard became a collecting phenomenon supplanting the cartes-de-visite albums of the earlier century. Publishers offered a wide range of subjects, "from grave to gay, from lively to severe."[30] In fact, consumers had the option of selecting from six different variations of Decoration Day postcard series, including one devoted to Confederate

Memorial Day, all from a single manufacturer—Raphael Tuck and Sons. One of their artists, Frances Brundage (1854-1937) designed several alternative visions of the granddaughter and elderly veteran in Decoration Day series 173 (Figs. 5.16 and 5.17). Rendering the veteran as everything from a storyteller to an enthusiastic patriot, Brundage focused on the tender generational bond over physical disability. Even *Honor the Living for Life's Consecration*, the most visibly similar to Ogden's "Decoration Day" forgoes the empty sleeve (Fig. 5.18). However, the veteran's right arm fades into loose brushstrokes providing the appearance of a lost limb. On the other hand, the Decoration Day series 158, which included *Wreaths for the Living Conqueror* and *They Fought like Heroes*, affirmed the veteran's disabled status with an empty sleeve or a peg leg (Figs. 5.3 and 5.19). Raphael Tuck and Sons offered a variation for any sensibility, suggesting the malleability of the Northern Madonna. On a postcard, the disabled veteran could spread his message of the glorious past to Americans across the country.

One exception to the conventional elderly veteran and child imagery is a postcard from the Decoration Day series 173 that inverts the Northern Madonna. *And Every Patriot's Dust Shall Claim Affection's Tenderest Tears* shows a grieving widow and her son (Fig. 5.20). Around the couple are reminders of her husband's service: from a portrait on the wall to a box with an American flag and other Civil War memorabilia. The mother instructs her son, notably dressed in a sailor suit, on the virtues of heroic sacrifice and valor, inculcating the ideals of military masculinity. Unlike a disabled living veteran, his absent body poses no threat to social order. The empty-sleeved veteran proved the more enduring icon of wartime nostalgia with its persistent image in the mass media.

Consumers identified with the empty-sleeved veteran on the postcards, even classifying the figures as specific individuals. Publisher E. Nash's Decoration Day Series No. 3 from 1910

included a Northern Madonna postcard with an empty-sleeved veteran and young girl pinning a rose to his lapel (Fig. 5.21). He tips his hat and gazes affectionately at his rosy-cheeked granddaughter while she focuses on the task at hand. Written on the back of one postcard reads, "From Effie to Father this is him and sissie" (Fig. 5.22). The author, Effie, associated the pair in the image with her father and sister. This conflation of reality and representation becomes more absolute with the inscription on the back of another card. Dated May 22, 1911, six-year old Florence writes to her Grandfather, inquiring about his health and wellbeing (Fig. 5.23). But on the front of the postcard, the young author labeled the veteran and child as "Grandpa" and "Florence." The image triggered a mimetic response in the author, who closed the gap through the referent and the work of art. The paper representation embodied wartime memories, soldierly valor, and familial bonds, all without the need of a corporeal body. Substituting a paper memory for reality, the Nash postcard would seem to achieve the primary objective pursued by the cultural objects of the reminiscence industry.

Imprinting Disability: William Ludwell Sheppard and Confederate Memory

During and after the war, the North dominated the mass media market. Without the industry and manufacturers of large Northern cities, the Confederate South was unable to transform its raw goods into commodities generally; it likewise lacked the specific resources necessary to produce imagery on a grand scale.[31] Some Northern manufacturers, such as Raphael Tuck and Sons, saw a market for the Southern consumer, printing illustrated ephemera with Confederate subjects. In fact, Northern commercial print makers developed the majority of Lost Cause prints. Created in response to the crippling defeat of the Confederacy, Lost Cause ideology provided conquered Southerners with a revised narrative of the war that highlighted the South's sacrifices and honor.[32] Or as one paper explained during a Southern Memorial Day

ceremony: "[W]e are not perpetuating strife or giving embers to sectional fires. We are simply honoring valor and giving tributes of gratitude to the record of nobility and suffering."[33] By giving voice to the white South's nostalgia for the Confederacy, Northern printmakers expanded their market twofold and made a significant contribution to the post-war economy. Southern artists working in the mass media for white Southern consumers, however, were fairly rare. One exception was the Richmond-born artist and Confederate veteran, William Ludwell Sheppard (1833-1912), who while submitting drawings to the Northern illustrated press also printed his work locally in limited productions.

A former mercantile clerk, Sheppard aspired to become an artist, teaching himself to draw and paint. Though he seemed to have struggled with oils, his work caught the eye of a fellow Richmond artist who eventually hired him to design tobacco labels.[34] This boost of recognition encouraged Sheppard to move to New York to study art and to travel abroad to paint the old masters. The outbreak of the Civil War halted his artistic aspirations, and he enlisted as a volunteer member of the Richmond Howitzers. After a year of combat, Sheppard landed an appointment as a topographical illustrator for the Confederate Army. In this role, he produced on-site sketches, such as *Prison Camp, Bell Isle, Virginia* (1863; Fig. 5.24), that would inspire his later illustrations and supply them with an aura of authenticity. Called by one historian "the principal visual architect" of the Lost Cause, Sheppard modified popular Northern artwork, especially by Winslow Homer, in order to make a case for the similarities between the white North and South.[35] By drawing on the pictorial type of the disabled veteran, Sheppard could make comparisons between Northern and Southern mourning rituals, emphasize the commonality of grief and suffering, and question the liminal status of the maimed former soldier.

Following the war, Sheppard created a series of twenty lithographic cartes-de-visite, entitled *Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier*, that documented camp scenes and post-war Southern life.[36] Each small carte represents a vignette and a caption in Sheppard's distinctive shaky capitalized script. Subjects range from the comical, such as in *A Flank Movement*, in which soldiers stalk a pig for their dinner, to *Heroes Still*, where former Confederate soldiers have returned home to tend to their fields (Fig. 5.25). The small stature of *Life Scenes* suggests that Sheppard intended them to be mounted in albums, a practice that occurred on at least two occasions.[37] And in at least one instance, Sheppard would later translate a scene into a formal watercolor: *In the Hospitals*, where nurses tend to the Confederate wounded, would become one of Sheppard's more well-known paintings, *In the Hospital, 1861* (Figs. 5.26 and 5.27).

One carte, *Hollywood*, depicts a moment in Richmond's Hollywood Cemetery where women, children, and veterans pay their respects to the dead (Fig. 5.28). In the foreground, a woman and child lay wreaths of flowers over the freshly covered graves of the newly dead. Mere outlines that suggest people and headstones appear in the background. Immediately behind them with their backs to the viewer are two men with shovels, either digging a new grave or covering one up. At the right, behind the graves and headstones, is a trio of figures with one woman in profile and another holding a basket of flowers. The last figure, a Confederate amputee veteran, meets the viewer's gaze. He wears a rumpled hat and suit with the left sleeve pinned to his breast. Sheppard aligned the veteran's gaze, his empty sleeve, and the graves below in a harrowing and sober hierarchy of the war's corporeal impact. The faint inscriptions on the headstones read "In Memory 25 VA Vol" and "Cav," indicating that the deceased were Confederate soldiers. The veteran survivor stands above the dead, a living reminder of the conflict. The marginalized veteran is the only figure who makes eye contact with the viewer and

seems to exist in a liminal space between the dead and the living. Rather than attend to the graves of his fallen comrades, he challenges the viewer to view his physical sacrifice as equal in virtue to those who lost their lives.

Curiously, Sheppard revised *Hollywood* for the Northern pictorial press in *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*. Such Northern illustrated papers popularized images of a nostalgic and mythic South in an effort to bring "reconciliation motives" to a wider audience.[38] Sheppard's interpretation of *Hollywood* for *Harper's*, entitled "Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia—Decorating the Graves of Rebel Soldiers, May 31, 1867," depicts the lush, verdant grounds of the cemetery teeming with visitors (Fig. 5.29). Women wear their finest dresses and hold floral wreaths or basket of flowers to be laid on the graves of the deceased. While men are present, women dominate the scene, a reminder of the number of men who died during the war and of the importance of women's organizations to Southern commemorative activities. In fact, 1866 saw the formation of Hollywood Cemetery's Ladies Memorial Association, an organization that not only tended to the graves of Confederate soldiers, but also campaigned for the reinternment of several thousand bodies from Gettysburg.[39] In highlighting the prevalence of women at the cemetery, Sheppard stressed their rehabilitative role in tending to the public memory of the South.

Above the central scene in one of two framing vignettes, labeled "Gen. J.B. Stuarts Grave," is a Confederate amputee. He holds a crutch under his right arm as he pays his respects to the Confederate cavalry general outside the fenced grave. Inside the enclosure, women attend and decorate Stuart's grave with flowers. This literal separation between the men and women reveals distinct gendered spaces of grieving. In fact, the vignette recalls the famous photograph of Southern women (and one man) in mourning decorating Stonewall Jackson's grave (Fig.

5.30). Women, it is clear, have a critical role to play in formulating the memory of Confederate history instead of the male veterans.[40] Their efforts to commemorate the deceased centered on honorable burials and developing and performing mourning rituals. These efforts arose in part as a reaction to the federal government's exclusion of Confederate dead in the National Cemetery System. In most instances, the work of Southern women's memorial associations aligned with the veteran's goals of preserving a selective version of Confederate history, but they sometimes disagreed with veterans organizations' commemorative methods (and in particular those developed by the United Confederate Veterans—or UCV—organization in 1889).[41]

The fence in the "Gen. J.B. Stuarts Grave" vignette also serves to sequester the survivors from the dead. We can read this perhaps as a metaphorical boundary between the earthly and heavenly spheres, or as a visualization of the priority of the deceased over the maimed former soldiers. In fact, the amputee is doubly marginalized, both in the vignette and in the regards to the overall composition. Sheppard even neglects to include a disabled figure in his later version of Hollywood Cemetery in 1869 (Fig. 5.31). Other illustrators followed suit. James Henry Moser's *Frank Leslie's* illustration "Georgia—Memorial Day in the South—Observances at Atlanta," thus depicts a mass line of graves and an obelisk erected for the Confederate dead, but in the front, among a crowd, stands an amputee veteran on crutches (Fig. 5.32). Despite his foregrounding, the disabled veteran merges with the crowd, requiring the viewer to look beyond him to the details. Sheppard and Moser's illustrations of Southern memorial ceremonies for the Northern pictorial press appeared to minimize the impact of war-related disfigurement in favor of the glorious dead. In highlighting the absence of male bodies over the maimed survivors as an appeal to sentiment on both sides, Sheppard and Moser avoided the anxieties and ambiguities that the disabled veteran conjured up for many period viewers.

Whereas Sheppard was producing work for the Northern pictorial press, his Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier held new representational opportunities for a local Southern audience. The only known sets of *Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier* exist in three Richmond institutions (the Library of Virginia, the Historical Society of Virginia, and the Museum of the Confederacy), which suggests that Shepard intended the lithographic cards for local white Virginians. Certainly, a local audience would have been more receptive to Sheppard's focus on veterans with war-related injuries than viewers outside of his hometown and former Confederate capital. In addition to *Hollywood*, *Life Scenes* also consists of *In the Hospital* and *The Ambulance Committee*, which both feature wounded soldiers, and *Heroes Still* and *Talking over Old Times*, which depict returning soldiers attempting to reintegrate into civilian society (Figs. 5.26, 5.33, 5.25, and 5.34). Certain scenes take a more humorous tack to the war. The title of *First Winter: Not What it is Cracked Up to Be*, for example, points us to the humorous intent of its figural scene; Sheppard's use of distortion and caricature, especially in the hunched-over figure in the background, confirms the jocular character of the image (Fig. 5.35). Such exaggeration is also present in *The Camp Darkey*, which depicts a stereotyped wide-eyed African American carrying tools and gear (Fig. 5.36). Taken together, the somber and humorous cartes in *Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier* present a more expressive and heightened sense of Confederate patriotism than Sheppard's work for the illustrated magazines.

When compared to Homer's *Life in Camp* series, it becomes apparent that Sheppard was aware of the Northern painter's comedic ephemera and strove to reinvent the series with a distinctly Southern and pro-Confederate perspective. As a sketch artist for *Harper's Weekly*, Homer used his access to military bivouacs behind the lines to provide a humorous yet realistic account of a soldier's daily life. Printed in two sets of twelve by Louis Prang, *Life in Camp*

introduces viewers to Union soldiers as they ford rivers, go home on furlough, and visit the doctor (Figs. 5.37 and 5.38). Prang sold these informal prints for the 1864 holiday season, a moment during which Northern patriotism merged with commerce.[42] In contrast, Sheppard printed his series a few years after the war; as a result, the set's subjects include both wartime and postwar events. Sheppard thus includes battlefield scenes such as *General Lee to the Rear! The Wilderness May 1864*, which portrays Lee as a saintly figure while soldiers kneel or reach out to touch the general (Fig. 5.39). In another, Sheppard altered Homer's *In the Trenches* by replacing the black contraband buttressing the trench walls with a smoky scene of white Southerners huddled in a trench beside a canon (Figs. 5.40 and 5.41). The print's elision of African American participation in the conflict reaffirms its Confederate associations and reflects the broader refusal in the Confederate South to accept black agency.

Sheppard also turned to Homer's paintings for inspiration. Homer's 1865 canvas *The Veteran in a New Field* serves as the basis for Sheppard's *Heroes Still* (Figs. 3.18 and 5.25). The latter depicts two former soldiers who have discarded their uniforms on the ground while they hoe their crops. Whereas Homer's veteran turns his back on the viewer, holding his old-fashioned scythe as an agrarian grim reaper, the faces of Sheppard's veterans are visible. Furthermore, by juxtaposing youth against middle age, Sheppard indicates the lingering effects of the war upon future generations of white Southerners. Of course, Homer is also commenting upon the entrapment of traumatic wartime memories for veterans returning home.[43] Partially hidden, the veteran's uniform and canteen lay in the fallen wheat stalks as a constant reminder of the war, an aspect Sheppard replicates in *Heroes Still* in the lower left-hand corner. Yet in titling his print *Heroes Still*, Sheppard counters the prevailing impulse to privilege the deceased over the living. By drawing on a well-known Northern painting, Sheppard not only suggests that

battlefield trauma affected both sides—a universal gesture of reunion—but that the living survivors are as heroic as those who perished during the war.

As Sheppard's *Life Scenes* were intended for parlor photo albums, they could also express individual, personal narratives. A selection of Sheppard's *Life Scenes* is contained within a carte-de-visite album at the Virginia Historical Society. Nestled alongside relatives of the Van Doren family (a Southern Virginian family), the anonymous author complied and arranged a set of ten Sheppard cartes. Starting with *The Vidette* (a mounted sentry lookout) and concluding with *First Winter* (an exhausted soldier chopping wood) the narrative structure of the photographic series appears haphazard and incoherent, but this flexibility in construction allowed consumers to control the story. Aside from the first and last cartes, the remainder of *Life Scenes* are paired together on the pages of the Van Doren family album. The *Vidette* shares a page with the carte *Evening*, which depicts a young woman in profile (Fig. 5.42). When viewed consecutively, the two cartes form an aesthetically pleasing composition as both figures look out at opposing angles and with their backs to one another. The comparison reveals the similarities between white Southern women on the home front and military guards, both waiting and seeking information. Such strategies of arrangement indicate how the family photo album can bridge seemingly unrelated objects and generate meaning. *Heroes Still* is next to *In a Bad Place*, juxtaposing the present day with the past, as if the veterans in the field were recalling their traumatic events on the battlefield (Fig. 5.43). Likewise, *Following Stonewall* is next to *Good Times 1861*, which sets reality against fantasy (Fig. 5.44). Typically designated as the record keepers of family memories, Southern women fashioned the structure and maintained the photo albums, much in the same way they shaped the early commemorative practices of honoring the Confederate dead.[44]

Sheppard's *Life Scenes* required such efforts at "domestic production."[45] The cartes, that is, needed agents in order to activate their cultural knowledge and disseminate their message of a pro-Confederate South through circulation and selective viewing. By resisting a linear historical narrative, the consumer could challenge pre-existing notions of societal failure and develop a new perspective that privileged the Confederate South. Even in the limited availability in the South, the cheap and mass-reproduced *Life Scenes* obtained a level of public recognition that other media, such as painting, could not. Sheppard's clear reference and revision of Winslow Homer offered artistically aware consumers with a pro-Confederate alternative that oscillates between parody and pastiche.

Although Sheppard continued to submit images to the Northern illustrated press until his death in 1912, his *Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier* reveal an unhampered vision of Southern post-war commemoration. In so doing, Sheppard rendered the disabled veteran as a liminal figure, complicating the legacy of the war for white Southerners. Whether Sheppard was producing illustrations for Northern periodicals or local printers, he highlighted the marginalized position of the disabled veteran in attempts to memorialize the war.

Decorating the Intersectional Body: Garfield Thomas Haywood and Disabled Black Veterans

As part of the narrative of reunion, the Republican North and Democratic South essentially "disremembered" the cause of the conflict: slavery. While the North could produce Lost Cause ephemera aimed at affirming reunion, the black mass media strove to reinsert the African-American fight for equal rights in history. With such high stakes, African American artists and writers (for instance Edmonia Lewis, Robert S. Duncanson, and *The Christian Recorder*) opted to avoid referencing the disabled black body immediately following the war.[46] Black newspapers, the pictorial press, and other printed media spoke to the collective pride in

their former soldiers for taking up arms against injustice and their ultimate sacrifice in death, but neglected living veterans. However, for those outside the African American community, the disabled black body continued to be rendered in comic form in racially pejorative sheet music (Fig. 4.42).[47] A makeshift band of ragged, tattered disabled black bodies populate the cover of "The Invalid Corps," in which the chorus chimes: "So, now I'm with the Invalids, And cannot go and fight, sir!" The veteran's body becomes intersectional, doubly oppressed by race and physicality, and an outlet where white audiences might project their own anxieties into a comic performance that downplays African American military participation and manhood.

Black military service had been a point of contention during the war. Concerns were raised as to the reactions of the Border States or white soldiers and the preparedness of African Americans to fight. Necessity ushered in the enlistment of African Americans, many of whom joined the military to prove not only their manhood, but their "right to citizenship."[48] African American soldiers faced numerous forms of discrimination during their military service: in the form of unequal pay, segregated troops, and inability to lead a regiment. Yet the legacy of slavery continued to linger, a notion that tempered and threatened to topple the position of the heroic black male soldier. As former slaves took up arms and enlisted to become soldiers, both literary and visual artists took up a "trope of transformation."[49] *Harper's Weekly* documented one such transformation in the case of Gordon, a runaway slave from Mississippi to Union soldier (Fig. 5.46). It is the middle image, of Gordon's back scarred from a leather flogger that will always be implicitly present in the images of African American Civil War soldiers.

The contention surrounding black soldiers only increased the difficulty of representing the black disabled body. An editorial in the *Freeman* summarized this struggle: "The soldier may wear an empty coat-sleeve or wooden leg—bare the back of many a poor ex-slave and you will

find marks won in battle and bloodshed, only in different form—that is all."[50] Either from enslavement or the battlefield, a maimed and mutilated body reflected the effects of war. Furthermore, like the black disabled veteran, African Americans struggled to describe the trauma afflicted upon the enslaved. Frederick Douglass wrote in his slave narrative about witnessing a brutal beating of a relative and his difficulty to "commit to paper the feelings with which I beheld it," ultimately resulting in a failure to find a visual language for trauma. Former slave or wounded veteran, the black body bore similar scars, which gave form to an otherwise unspeakable pain and suffering present in African American communities.

With this in mind, perhaps it is no surprise that African American artists of the nineteenth-century, such as Robert S. Duncanson (1821-1872), Edward Bannister (1828-1901), and Edmonia Lewis (1844-1907), avoided the subject of black soldiers and veterans of the Civil War. Until the advent of the Indianapolis *Freeman*, the first illustrated black newspaper, in 1888 few African American artists had the opportunity to participate in creating and disseminating mass media. Founded by Edward Elder Cooper, the *Freeman* intended to fill a journalistic need for images alongside the news in the black community, and, in so doing, encouraged some to call the paper "the *Harper's Weekly* of the colored race."[51] Several African American artists became regular cartoonists and illustrators for the paper, such as Henry J. Lewis (1837?-1891), Moses L. Tucker (1868-?), and Edward H. Lee, but their images dealt with pressing concerns such as race and politics over the struggles of disabled black veterans.[52]

But if white artists found comic relief in the black veteran's disabled body, African American fine artists needed to counter this perspective. Military service was to be praised and honored, but the ideal black body, whole and the epitome of manhood, was placed on a pedestal. The Memorial Day cover illustration for the *Freeman* in 1906 visualized such a soldier (Fig.

5.47). Rendered in profile inside a circle, the slightly grizzled black veteran recalls Greco-Roman coinage of a heroic victor. His kepi hat and U.S.A. logo on his collar signify his allegiance to the Union, willing to sacrifice his life among the booming cannon fire around him for the flag of Old Glory. Even the title "Idol" adds to the deification and admiration of this perfect black soldier. Yet the artist's choice of a circular vignette suggests that of a telescopic view into the past instead of the present. Below the illustration, the text urges readers to "Pay Homage to the 'Turf that Wraps the Clay,'" a euphemism for the graveyard, and one that aligns the ideal soldier with death instead of placing him within the disabled present.

The artist, Garfield Thomas Haywood (1880-1931), was quickly making a name for himself in the African American press as a "promising colored cartoonist."[53] After being "discovered" by the editor of another black paper, the Indianapolis *Recorder*, Haywood took an appointment as cartoonist for the *Freeman*, where he "drew much of his inspiration and knowledge of technique" from his predecessors of Lewis and Tucker.[54] His first cartoons, such as "The Stand of the American Sheriff," certainly invoke Lewis's crude, heavily delineated lines. (Figs. 5.48 and 5.49) But it was not long before Haywood "assumed a style of cartooning that is purely his own," which included a parrot or other animals that spouted witty phrases.[55] It was under Haywood's tenure as the *Freeman*'s cartoonist that he began to address the struggles of disabled black veterans. Born fifteen years after the Civil War, Haywood grew up as part of a generation physically separate from the South's "peculiar institution," and did not face the war firsthand. Yet, as part of the fold of collective memory and ongoing racial tensions during and after Reconstruction, Haywood would no doubt have been aware of the struggles facing African American veterans. As a result, he gave the marginalized veterans the visual prominence of illustrated covers on Memorial Day.

His May 25, 1907 cover depicts two elderly Civil War veterans with missing limbs (Fig. 5.50). Not only does Haywood's "Memorial Day" unveil the disabled black body to a national audience, it also represents a moment of fraternal embrace as the black veteran engages in an amicable handshake with a white Union veteran.[56] In fact, the gesture is crucial to determining the racial complexion of the two veterans, as it reveals gradations in skin tone that otherwise would be difficult to discern. Enclosed in a circular panel with a cityscape and silhouetted parade behind them, Haywood accentuates the two veterans. With his body turned toward the viewer, the African American veteran prominently displays his pinned empty sleeve, whose stump is holding his cane, suggesting another, unseen disability; whereas the viewer encounters the white veteran from behind, obscuring his face and chest. His amputated leg on his left side mirrors his comrade's right-sided disability, which balances the composition and implies a symbiotic relationship. In typical Haywood fashion, he includes an anthropomorphic character, a raccoon, dressed in Union garb, decreeing, "Comrades, comrades, ever since were boys." The raccoon is also a sarcastic jab or inversion of the abbreviated "coon" stereotype so prevalent in mid-nineteenth century and twenty-century imagery (Fig. 5.51).[57]

In illustrating the wartime alliance and the recognition of mutual wounding, Haywood references an earlier image published in *Harper's Weekly* (Fig. 5.52). Printed soon after the surrender of Confederate forces, "A Man Knows a Man" visualizes a meeting between two black and white Union amputees. The caption below reads: "Give me your hand, Comrade! We have each lost a Leg for the good cause; but, thank God, we never lost HEART." While the two men may differ in racial background, their mutual sacrifice of a left leg for the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery transforms them into equals. Nearly forty years later,

Haywood revisits the Harper's Weekly engraving, replacing the young veterans with their aged counterparts, grey-haired and unsteady, but resolute in their mutual admiration.

Additionally, the handshake would become symbolic of the Blue and Gray reconciliation most notably captured in photographs of the 1913 Gettysburg reunion (Fig. 5.53). These were instances "when the veterans of either side shake hands across the bloody chasm and conduct themselves as brethren once at variance but now happily reunited."[58] And while the Gettysburg reunion was before Haywood's time, the 1899 Blue and Gray reunion in Evansville, Indiana issued a celluloid souvenir button featuring the white opposing sides clasping hands (Fig. 5.54). The Evansville event was seen as "the first grand step along the line of adjusting sentimental conditions between the North and the South."[59] Photographer Fritz W. Guerin would later translate the iconic handshake into propaganda for the Spanish-American War in *Cuba Libre* (Fig. 5.55).[60] The photographic tableau shows a Confederate and Union veteran clasping hands against a backdrop of draped Cuba and U.S. flags and a young girl dressed as Cuba. Their powerful handshake broke the chains of Cuba's oppression and the image confirmed putting aside sectional differences for the good of the nation. The African American veteran, however, is nowhere to be found. For Haywood to alter a reunion emblem from white reconciliation to racial equality is to reinsert the emancipationist vision into the Civil War narrative. In so doing, Haywood venerates the disabled black soldier and reminds the nation of his place in history.

At the turn of the twentieth century, black leader Booker T. Washington edited *A New Negro for a New Century*, a widely influential text that advocated a new, positive image of African Americans to combat the stereotypes such as those found in "The Invalid Corps." This "New Negro" relied on artists and visual imagery to reconstruct the black identity, a mentality that led Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois to praise black artists, such as Henry Ossawa Tanner

(1859-1937), for dignified portrayals of African Americans.[61] Much as Tanner was heralded for his cultural work in the black community, so too was Haywood. An article in *The Colored American* introduced Haywood as a young artist inspired by Tanner and located the former's cartoons as a part of the larger cultural project of the New Negro.[62] His cartoons even pleased the notoriously difficult critic for the *Freeman*, Sylvester Russell, who praised the artist in a short poem, "Haywood's Cartoons," writing:

> Oh how I wish the world could see,
> The Freeman every week!
> To see how Haywood's pictures teach,
> The mighty to be meek.[63]

Russell's last line, "the mighty to be meek," poses a conundrum. Does Russell mean that the African American readers of the Freeman would learn how to behave in a dignified manner, much in the way Washington argued for skillful accommodation among white oppression? Or is Russell implying that if a white audience read the black illustrated weekly and encountered Haywood's cartoons, they would shed their racist attitudes? In either instance, Russell's poem about Haywood's cartoons suggests that his style of hybridized humor spoke to the needs of the African American viewing community at the time. His images were meant to inspire and incite change, an objective that he brought to a previously absent figure in regarding black identity: the disabled veteran.

Just as "Memorial Day" invokes disability as a great equalizer, both racially and physically, "Still Marching to the Grave" directly addresses the passing of time through comedic captions—intentionally or subconsciously (Fig. 5.56). Three African American veterans and GAR members march in a Memorial Day parade. At the front and almost off the page, a veteran in profile walks along with a cane and peg leg. Coordinated behind him are two black musicians: one playing the flute, and the other, the bass drum. The side of the drum reads, "M.R. Delays'

Post. G.A.R.," an unfortunate though poignant typological error, for the black GAR post in Indianapolis was named after Major Martin R. Delany, the only ranked African American officer of the Civil War.[64] The sub caption for the cartoon reads, "Almost to their Destination." The veterans are marching against time to their end, but slowly experiencing a "delay." Haywood's cartoon, while comical, alludes to the perseverance of the veterans in their duty and contemplates on the limited exposure of aging, disabled former soldiers in the African American community.

Even with Haywood's cartoon on the front cover, the May 30th issue of the *Freeman* is largely devoid of references to the Memorial Day holiday. No text appears on the front page with the cartoon to provide context or recall the feats that led the veteran to lose his right leg.[65] The image liberated from the text became a viable, an equally readable source of information. The waning interest in the individual stories of African American Civil War veterans are the result of the dwindling presence of veterans and apathy by younger generations. An editorial from a 1906 issue of the *Freeman* wrote:

> When the grizzled veteran with the empty sleeve tells us he fought there [Gettysburg] we look at him with a certain half comprehending wonder, as though he were an old Greek or Roman transplanted to the twentieth century. We live fast in these days, with our intellects submerged in the present and our imaginations enraptured of the future. The past with us is only the past, whether it be that of the last century or a thousand years ago.[66]

African Americans, who were generations removed from the war, opted to seek out a better future than dwell on the past. Historian Barbara A. Gannon has shown that in the early twentieth century African American Civil War veterans, while revered, were superseded by the struggle of contemporary black soldiers, especially with the advent of World War I.[67]

While Haywood's 1907 and 1908 cartoons represented the corporeal effects of a war-related disability, it is his cover illustration for May 29, 1909 that confronts the psychological reality of having lost a limb. Titled "Reminiscence" with the sub caption "Forty Some Odd Years

Ago," the sentimental cartoon portrays an aging black veteran with a prosthetic on his left stump (Fig. 5.57). Haywood casts the veteran's body in shadow, indicated by regular, diagonal engraved lines. With his downturned head and clasped hands, Haywood's veteran appears lost in thought. Indeed, to the veteran's left we bear witness to the man's memories. Encased inside a curving amorphous boundary, a young black soldier consoles a weeping woman, her face obscured by her handkerchief. Haywood also depicts the Union soldier with an unrealistically large rifle, a nod to the won rights on behalf of African Americans to bear arms and fight alongside their white Union counterparts. On Memorial Day, the present-day amputee veteran "reminisces" over his sacrifices to his country as we see his younger, able-bodied self before battle. Perhaps reassuring his mother or even his wife, the soldier's body language suggests his imminent departure. This light-filled dream of a whole body, however, is shattered when we realize that it foreshadows the soldier's eventual disability. In the present day, he is alone and in the gloomy darkness. This solitary, hunched figure is far from the robust soldier pictured in the dream. "Reminiscence," then, addresses the dark, melancholy of post-war life for veterans and draws awareness to their plight in terms of social and mental health.

Unlike Haywood's previous cover illustrations, "Reminiscence" encourages viewers to dwell upon the lost limb and to remember the black veteran's sacrifice. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the black press often highlighted these themes; thus an 1894 article in the *Pittsburgh Press* quoted an African-American soldier who declared that he had lost his leg not for glory, "but for the elevation of my race."[68] Such thoughts are unavoidable in "Reminiscence," as Haywood emphasizes the stump through a graphic void that acts as an optical guide and focal point, forcing the viewer to make present a previously absent political taboo. Sentimentality acts as an emotional sieve, filtering out any negative signifiers upon the

broken body and leaving the remnants of selflessness. By creating an empathetic relationship between veteran and viewer, Haywood renders the former war hero in dependent and tragic terms, enduring a loss of autonomy in some respects resembling the institution of slavery. Thus sentiment diverts the visual shock and political controversy of the absent-present limb into digestible and flexible terms.

Yet the serious commentary in "Reminiscence" is at odds with its lighter, comedic note--even though the cartoon is not exactly funny. While Haywood sympathetically illustrates the crippling results of war, he also includes visual elements that temper the somber perspective. For example, he renders the veteran's stump too short and the rifle in his daydream disproportionately large, a visual comparison that recalls the common pejorative moniker for disabled veterans missing a leg: "stumpy."[69] By employing subtle cues of a humor with a passive-aggressive edge, Haywood can critique the disabled black veteran's socio-cultural state without transgressing social mores.[70] In fact, an anecdote in the *Freeman* addressed the fluidity between disabled hero and lucky survivalist. A visitor asks a sergeant in a soldiers' home why he is not sorry to have lost his arm, to which he replies: "If I hadn't lost my arm right before that [skirmish] I might have lost my life, don't you see?" No longer ennobled, the amputee veteran can participate and be the butt of a joke, complicating his status in the African American community.

By the early twentieth century, the remaining African American veterans were dwindling, their small numbers accentuated by unequal treatment regarding economic status and disability.[71] Their broken and shattered bodies that in 1861 recalled the horrors of slavery were now ancient relics of the past, forsaken in the beginning of the Jim Crow era. Haywood's need to sentimentalize the past and the community's desire to move forward thwarted his visual attempts

to remedy a national amnesia. Caught between temporal stagnation and mobility, the disabled Civil War black veteran lost his symbolic potential even though its legacy would be reinvigorated with the coming of World War I.

Conclusion

The Spanish-American War and World War I altered Americans' perceptions of Civil War veterans. Artist of the mass media soon reproduced the nineteenth-century veteran alongside a younger, able-bodied counterpart, as in E. Nash's *To Day and Yesterday* postcard (Fig. 5.58) or Archie Gunn's postcard, *1861-1917 The American Spirit* (Fig. 5.59). The Civil War veteran was reimagined as a mentor to the new generation, a sage figure who might pass down his knowledge and expertise. In each of these instances, the artists have rendered the Civil War veteran as old and grizzly but not as an amputee. A disabled veteran beside a recently enlisted youth would conjure up unsettling emotions and reminders of the physical stakes of war, impulses contrary to the postcard publishers' intent to encourage enlistment and patriotism. Postcard publishers such as Tuck and Nash instead opted to depict the disabled Civil War veteran with a young girl to displace such negative connotations while still promoting patriotic sentiments.

One result of the mass media's patriotic propaganda was the idea of North-South unification, or leaving behind the divisions of the Civil War. For *Puck Magazine's* 1899 Memorial Day cover, Udo J. Keppler visualized a Spanish-American veteran shaking hands with Union and Confederate veterans behind a U.S. flag (Fig. 5.60). The Civil War veterans flank their younger counterpart as if presenting him to *Puck* readers. The subtitle of the cover, "Three Veterans under One Flag," underscores the idea of national unity. All able-bodied and white, the veterans form a corporeal shield for the American flag. Guertz also addressed the discarding of sectional differences in the afore-mentioned illustration *Cuba Libre*, which highlights the power

of the reunion handshake (Fig. 5.55). In these and other iterations, the idea of unification came with a cost: the suppression of African American military participation. Haywood would be the first to attempt to invert North-South reunion, but it would not be until after World War I that African American soldiers appeared more frequently in visual culture.

The mass media's hypervisualization of the disabled Civil War veteran during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries took advantage of the public's increased interest in the sectional conflict to promote or refute the idea North-South reunification. Artists grappled with the dual nature of the disabled veteran. His status as a war hero provided a pictorial type to promote patriotic sacrifice, but his aberrant body revisited concerns about manhood and nationhood. Sawyer and Sheppard found visual strategies to minimize such anxieties through referencing European religious iconography or as a marginalized, yet present figure. Whereas Haywood worked to feature disabled Civil War veterans as a recourse to rectify the erasure of African American participation in the conflict. For each of these artists, the mass media offered an outlet in which to fit the disabled veterans into an acceptable model, to pay reverence for service but otherwise rendered out of sight.

[1] "Republic of suffering" originates from Frederick Law Olmsted, *Hospital Transports: A Memoir of the Embarkation of Sick and Wounded from the Peninsula of Virginia in the Summer of 1862* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1863), 115. Drew Gilpin Faust also used it as the title of *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage, 2008). The photograph appears to have originated with a print from the Meserve Collection and later turned into a magic lantern slide for New York State Education Department's Division of Visual Instruction.

[2] Here I refer to Jürgen Habermas's definition of the public sphere as where "private people come together as a public." For the purposes of this dissertation, I see the street or a cemetery as such a public sphere, but it is also a space of tension as most of the veteran parades and events were regulated events. See Jürgen Habermas*, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962. Reprint. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991).

[3] Benjamin Franklin Palmer, *The Palmer Arm and Leg. Correspondence with the Surgeon-General U.S.A.* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman and Sons, 1862), frontispiece.

[4] Decoration Day has a long, complex history that David Blight has illustrated in his *Race and Reunion*. It is important to note that all Northern states recognized the holiday by 1890 and the name changed from Decoration Day to Memorial Day around 1882. The holiday gained greater exposure by the early twentieth century during the semicentennial with "Blue-Gray Reunions." See Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 64-98.

[5] Some of these early efforts were through the US Sanitary Commission, which was aware of the difficulties that would plague returning disabled veterans upon rejoining civilian society. See for example, Henry W. Bellows, "The Attention of the Sanitary Commission…," *U.S. Sanitary Commission*, no. 49, 1862, and John Ordronaux, *Proposed Scheme for the Relief of Disabled Soldiers* (New York: William C. Bryant and Co., 1863).

[6] "The Observance of Memorial Day," *The Bivouac: An Independent Military Magazine*, (1883): 152.

[7] Brian Mathew Jordan, *Marching Home: Union Veterans and Their Unending War* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2015), 7.

[8] Jo-Ann Morgan, "Mammy the Huckster: Selling the Old South for the New Century," *American Art* 9:1 (Spring 1995): 86-109.

[9] Memory is a power component in how we interpret events. See Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (Spring, 1989): 7-24.

[10] Most print manufacturers were located in the North, in either Boston, Philadelphia, or New York. Some postcards, like Raphael Tuck, were printed abroad and imported into the United States.

[11] Adelaide Sawyer was the niece of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, librarian at the American Antiquarian Society, where some of her artwork resides. She is also listed as a teacher and artist of drawing and painting in *History of Worchester County, Massachusetts,* ed. Duane Hamilton Hurd (Philadelphia: J.W. Lewis and Co, 1889), 306.

[12] Advertisement for *The Empty Sleeve*, *The Soldier's Friend, and the Grand Army of the Republic*, December 1866.

[13] With the advent of cheaply, printed books, pamphlets, and broadsides, nineteenth-century Americans would have been familiar with mendicant literature, or written accounts by the disabled or poverty stricken, who would peddle them to earn a living. See Susan K. Schweik, *The Ugly Laws: Disability in Public* (New York: NYU Press, 2010), 255-263.

[14] David Barker, "The Empty Sleeve," *The Soldier's Friend, and Grand Army of the Republic*, September 1867. The poem had been published previously in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (May 30, 1863): 149.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Bingham utilized Renaissance imagery in several of his works, see David Lubin, "Bingham's Boone," from *Picturing a Nation: Art and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 55-105.

[17] Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art* (Washington, D.C.: Yale University Press in association with the Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2012), 1-13.

[18] "The Carte-de-Visite Album," H. De Marsan, Publisher, New York. American Song Sheets Collection, Rare Books and Special Collections, Library of Congress.

[19] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke University, 1984), 96.

[20] Phila Butler Bowman, *The Empty Sleeve: Poems Dedicated to Major John S. Koster, Port Leyden, N.Y.* (Boonville: Boonville Herald, 1907).

[21] From 1890 to 1907 Ogden embarked on an ambitious project to illustrate all the uniforms of the United States Army published as *Uniforms of the United States Army*, (Washington, DC: Quartermaster General of the Army United States, 1890). He would later produce a volume on historic military uniforms, *Regulations for the Uniform of the Army of the United States* (Philadelphia: Quartermaster General of the Army of the United States, 1888).

[22] Lorado Taft, *The History of American Sculpture* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1925), 237-238. The work was so successful that Mead made copies, one of which is located at the Chrysler Museum of Art. Martha N. Hagood and Jefferson C. Harrison, *American Art at the Chrysler Museum: Selected Paintings, Sculpture, and Drawings* (Norfolk: Chrysler Museum of Art, 2005), 81.

[23] Sarah Burns, "Homer's Ambiguously New Women," *Off the Pedestal: New Women in the Art of Homer, Chase, and Sargent*, ed. Holly Pyne Connor (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 53-90.

[24] Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1937), 1-21. Cited in Morgan, 94.

[25] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 200-201.

[26] Morgan, 89.

[27] David Blight coined this phrase in *Race and Reunion*. See pages 172-178, 200-204.

[28] A recent art history dissertation, "Fruits of Empire: Contextualizing Food in Post-Civil War American Art and Culture," looks at the politics of foods and crops in Reconstruction era America. See Shana Klein, (PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 2015).

[29] For information on the postcard see, Daniel Gifford, *American Holiday Postcards, 1905-1915: Imagery and Context* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, 2013) and Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Consumer Rites: The Buying and Selling of American Holidays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[30] "Tuck's New Post Cards," *The American Stationer* 78:6 (August 7, 1915): 30.

[31] These difficulties are best summarized in an apology in an issue of *The Illustrated Mercury*: "Our publisher informs us that the ink which he ordered for the printing of the Mercury, and which has just been received, although it was purchased for and perhaps intended to be, a superior article, is of such a very inferior quality that it will be impossible for him to work with our finer illustrations…" "Our Illustrations," *The Illustrated Mercury* (April 30, 1864): 4. See also Mark E. Neely Jr., Harold Holzer, and Gabor S. Boritt, *The Confederate Image: Prints of the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1987); and Joshua Brown, *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 2006), 50-52.

[32] Texts about the Lost Cause are numerous. See Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000) for a comprehensive overview.

[33] "The Sentiment of our Memorial Day," *Confederate Veteran* 1:6 (June 1893): 163.

[34] William Ludwell Sheppard, Diary of William Ludwell Sheppard, July-October 1853, The Library of Virginia. Marena Rollins Grant, "William Ludwell Sheppard: Artist-Illustrator." (MA thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University, 1970) has also been useful for biographical information.

[35] Mark E. Neely, Jr. and Harold Holzer, *The Confederate Image,* 219. Sheppard illustrated the memoirs of Jefferson Davis in addition to contributing numerous images of African Americans in stereotypical portrayals of "the happy slave" on the antebellum plantation, all of which indicate his work on perpetuating the Lost Cause. The connection to Homer was not lost on Sheppard's contemporaries. The Virginian artist and student of Sheppard's, Adele Clark, referred to the artist as "the Winslow Homer of the Confederacy." Grant, 3.

[36] There is no evidence of Sheppard titling his series, although the Library of Virginia has embraced the use of *Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier*, as this was written on a title page after being bound by the original owner. For convenience, I will refer to the series as *Life Scenes*, but note that this is an institutional title. Determining the number and/or issues of the cartes has been difficult. The Museum of the Confederacy has at least twenty cartes (according to Grant, 9), the largest extant number. The Virginia Historical Society has ten hand-tinted cards pasted into an album. They also have a handful of loose cards, some whose scenes overlap with those included in the album. The Library of Virginia has a set of twelve hand-tinted cards that were once bound in an album. And finally, there are no dates on these cartes, though it can be assumed with some certainty that they would have been printed after the war due to some of the post-war subject matter.

[37] The Library of Virginia series was originally bound with the faint pencil inscription, "Hope Stewart," and the album in the Virginia Historical Society belonged to a member of the Maury family.

[38] Buck, *Road to Reunion*, 226.

[39] Ladies' Hollywood Memorial Association of Richmond, Virginia, *Our Confederate Dead*, (Richmond, VA: Hollywood Cemetery, 1916), 7-9.

[40] Cynthia Mills, ed., *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2003).

[41] W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "Woman's Hand and Heart and Deathless Love": White Women and the Commemorative Impulse in the New South," in *Monuments to the Lost Cause*, ed. Cynthia Mills, 64-82. See also Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012); and Drew Gilpin Faust, *Southern Stories: Slaveholders in Peace and War* (Columbia: The University of Missouri Press, 1994).

[42] Harold Holzer, *Prang's Civil War Pictures: The Complete Battle Chromos of Louis Prang* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2001) 8-15.

[43] Harvey, 226-229.

[44] For additional references on women and cartes-de-visite albums, see Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); and Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); and Nicole Berkin, "Cartomania and the Scriptive Album: Cartes-de-Visite as Objects of Social Practice," in *Performing Objects and Theatrical Things*, eds. Marlis Schweitzer and Joanne Zerdy (New York: Palgrave Mcmillian, 2014), 49-63.

[45] Siegel, 9-10.

[46] Jalynn Olsen Padilla, "Army of 'Cripples': Northern Civil War Amputees, Disability, and Manhood in Victorian America," (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2007), 180-181.

[47] See Stephanie Dunson, "Black Misrepresentation in Nineteenth-Century Sheet Music Illustration," in *Beyond Blackface: African Americans and the Creation of American Popular Culture, 1890-1930*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: The University of Chapel Hill Press, 2011), 45-65.

[48] Frederick Douglass, "Should the Negro Enlist in the Union Army?", National Hall, Philadelphia (July 6, 1863).

[49] Franny Nudelman, *John Brown's Body: Slavery, Violence, and the Culture of War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 151; Alice Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South*, 1861-1865, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 2001), 169-173; and Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[50] "Pensions for Ex-Slaves," *The Freeman* (June 6, 1896): 7.

[51] Cited in Irving Garland Penn, *The Afro-American Press and its Editors*, (Springfield: Willey and Co., 1891), 337.

[52] Aleen J. Ratzlaff, "Illustrated African American Journalism," in *Seeking a Voice: Images of Race and Gender in the 19th-Century Press*, eds. David B Sachsman, S. Kitterell Rushing, and Roy Morris Jr. (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009), 131-140; and David B. Sachsman and Marvin Jeter and Mark Cervenka, "H.J. Lewis, Free Man and Freeman Artist," 7:3 (April 2007) www.common-place.org. Also note that Edward Lee's life dates are currently unknown. See also Garland Martin Taylor, "Out of Jest: The Art of Henry Jackson Lewis," *Critical Inquiry* 40:3 (Spring 2014): 198-202.

[53] "A Hoosier Artist. A Promising Colored Cartoonist Who is Making His Way to the Front," *The Colored American* 9:43 (February 21, 1903): 3.

[54] Ibid.

[55] "A Leading Young Artist of the West," *The Freeman*, 18:45 (November 11, 1905): 2.

[56] Donald Shaffer, *After the Glory: The Struggles of Black Civil War Veterans* (Lawrence: The University of Kansas Press, 2004) mentions three of Haywood's Memorial Day cartoons; however, his presentation of them is mainly illustrative as he fails to address the author's name and his intent behind such images.

[57] Karen L. Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South was Created in American Popular Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 13-25

[58] *Winchester Times*, November 6, 1899; cited in Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 2.

[59] *Confederate Veteran*, 7:8 (August 1899): 373.

[60] Bonnie M. Miller*, From Liberation to Conquest: The Visual and Popular Cultures of the Spanish-American War 1898* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 118-119.

[61] One example is with the artist, Henry Ossawa Tanner. See Albert Boime, "Henry Ossawa Tanner's Subversion of Genre," *The Art Bulletin* 75:3 (September 1993): 415-445.

[62] "A Hoosier Artist: A Promising Colored Cartoonist Who is Making His Way to the Front," *The Colored American*, (February 3, 1903): 3.

[63] Sylvester Russell, "Haywood's Cartoons," *The Freeman* (May 20, 1905): 4.

[64] Martin R. Delany was a Major in the 52nd U.S. Colored Troops. For an in-depth study on African Americans in the Grand Army of the Republic, see Barbara A. Gannon, *The Won Cause: Black and White Comradeship in the Grand Army of the Republic* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

[65] It is not until page four that a small paragraph mentions the holiday, and not by name. "Tears and cheers for Blue and Gray. Men do not lay down their lives unless they believe what they preach. Any man dying for a principle he holds to be right is entitled to respect. He swears to it with his life. Is further proof of sincerity wanting?"

[66] J.A. Edgerton, "Gettysburg Forty-Three Years After," *Freeman*, (May 26, 1906): 6.

[67] Gannon, *The Won Cause*, 190-191. This only increased during World War I.

[68] "The Colored Veterans," *Pittsburgh Press*, September 9, 1894; cited in Gannon, *Making and Remaking Pennsylvania's Civil War,* eds. William Blair and William Penack (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 184.

[69] See for example, the character "Stumpy" in Charles D. Stewart's *The Fugitive Blacksmith* (New York: The Century Co, 1905).

[70] Jennifer Greenhill, *Playing it Straight: Art and Humor in the Gilded Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 2012), 21-25.

[71] Shaffer, *After the Glory*, 195-197.

CONCLUSION

"Adios, Half Soldier."
--Angel Eyes, *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*

The tagline for Clint Eastwood's *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly* (1966) was "For three men the Civil War wasn't hell. It was practice." Set in a southwestern ghost town, the classic spaghetti western tells a tale of greed against the backdrop of the American Civil War. The film follows the adventures of three central characters—Angel Eyes, Tuco, and Blondie—who compete to find a hidden cache of Confederate gold during the violent chaos of the 1862 New Mexico campaign. Unscrupulous, the three gunmen engage in deceptive tactics and unethical behavior while the Civil War unfolds around them. In director Sergio Leone's hands, the corrupt trio's murderous conflict becomes an allegorical vision of the war, a senseless quest for a gilded prize that leads to death and despair. Early in the film the main character, Angel Eyes (the "bad" in the title), encounters an amputee Confederate cavalryman who has information regarding the whereabouts of hidden gold (Fig. 6.1). As the legless soldier enters the scene, the camera pans down to the amputee's height, emphasizing his diminutive status compared to Angel Eyes. Reinvigorating a type that first appeared in postwar white Northern imaginings of the Confederate South, the amputee soldier wears mended Confederate grays, displays a mouth full of exaggerated, protruding teeth, and speaks with a slow, raspy drawl. In the course of the scene, the character acts as a crook, beggar, and a drunkard; he leaves the film with the line, "Hey Luke, hand me down a whiskey." The movie, while acknowledging the horrendous brutality of the Civil War, turns the disabled soldier into a caricature, a supporting colorful character whose

corporeal deformity becomes his namesake. After paying the Confederate for his information, Angel Eyes says, "Adios, Half Soldier."[1]

Though Half Soldier's comedic appearance in *The Good, The Bad, and the Ugly* was relatively short—lasting a mere minute and a half—it speaks nevertheless to the enduring presence of the disabled Civil War soldier in twentieth-century American popular culture. And the character's brief role in turn reveals Americans continued uneasy relationship with war-related disability, even following two world wars; juxtaposed with the able-bodied Angel Eyes and framed as the butt of the latter's bemused condescension, Half Soldier exemplifies a derogatory construct of partial masculinity that had been prevalent in post-Civil War visual culture, a construct that reinforces customary modes of corporeally vigorous manliness.

At the same time, the disabled soldier offered twentieth-century viewers a poignant look back at the divisions and traumas of the Civil War. Taken together, the camera angles described above and derogatory name "Half Soldier" frame the character as a partial or divided body; while working to advance the film's plot (by providing a key bit of information that keeps Angel Eyes moving toward the hidden gold), the character functions as a suggestive evocation of the broader conflicts, injurious effects, and lingering divisions of the Civil War, an emblem of enduring trauma that supplements the sweeping battle scenes that appear intermittently in *The Good, The Bad, and The Ugly*. In using the broken body of a veteran to conjure up the pain and divisions that drove the war and lingered after it, the film extends a visual tradition that began, as we have seen, in the 1860s.

Confronting the uncertainties and pain of Reconstruction, nineteenth-century American artists employed the pictorial type of the disabled veteran as a symbol, an embodiment of the distressed and fractured mood and an evocation of the past and the future of the nation. In

representing the disabled veteran, Thomas Nast, Eastman Johnson, Winslow Homer, William Ludwell Sheppard, and Garfield Thomas Haywood shed light on the physical and psychological difficulties of recovering from the Civil War, difficulties shared by many Americans. Navigating the complicated political and racial atmosphere of mid- and late- nineteenth-century America, these artists developed a pictorial type able to represent the fraught figure of the wounded veteran in such a way as to serve several different outcomes and purposes. Indeed, in the years between 1865 and 1915 disabled veterans appeared in illustrations, photographs, cartoons, and paintings aimed at a wide variety of audiences. Thomas Nast used an African American disabled veteran to question racial inequality, George Inness painted disabled veterans to elicit attention to their impoverished state, and Garfield Thomas Haywood drew disabled black veterans in order to remind the African American community about their Civil War military service and bodily sacrifice on the eve of World War I. In these and many other imaginings, the disabled veteran acted as both a vehicle for expressing divergent political claims and as a means of bridging disparate audiences by referencing mutual experiences of suffering.

The visual codes that artists worked out to contend with the Civil War veteran were in turn taken up and repurposed for future wars. As artists contended with new conflicts, they drew on and diverged from the interpretations set forth by nineteenth-century visual culture. Some took up the figure of the wounded veteran to render the brutality and violence of modern war; John Singer Sargent's *Gassed*, for example, employed the debilitated survivor to grapple with the horror of chemical warfare (Fig. 6.2). Others looked back to the complicated figure of the Civil War veteran to make sense of later conflicts. Norman Rockwell's *The Long Shadow of Lincoln* (1945), for example, makes a direct correlation between the American Civil War and World War II (Fig. 6.3). In the center of the painting, Rockwell depicted an American soldier

holding a crutch in his left hand and Lincoln's speeches in his right. By positioning an able-bodied engineer in front of the disabled soldier's stump, however, Rockwell avoided rendering the troubling reality of amputation and corporeal loss. In so doing, the artist shaped a circumscribed representation of the veteran that gave visual form to the sort of hesitations and anxieties that structured his nineteenth-century artistic referents. Although an extended analysis of twentieth- and twenty-first century wars is outside of this dissertation's purview, a brief discussion of one contemporary artist still drawn to the American Civil War will suggest how later works depicting wounded veterans continue to highlight American's reticence over war-related disability.

In a direct response to the attacks on September 11, 2001 and the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, the contemporary Texan artist Dario Robleto began creating artworks focusing on war, especially the American Civil War. These works typically feature assemblages of found objects that employ various ephemeral materials from past conflicts (including bullets, letters, photographs, and bones) to draw attention to the social process of coming to terms with warfare. Since 2003, Robleto's work has referenced an anonymous time-traveling soldier, an absent but informing figure who could fight or be wounded in every war from America's history.[2] Robleto's assemblages never literally represent or make manifest this invisible soldier; instead, they consistently employ sculptural materials and objects—such as a pair of boots or soldiers' mementos—to allude to the figure. In combining mourning objects (letters, locks of human hair, etc.) with pieces of shrapnel, casts of minié balls, or pulverized bones, Robelto evokes the corporeal and mental trauma war afflicted upon his fictional soldier. He frequently combines materials from multiple wars, such as dirt from various battlefields, minimizing the

ideological specificity of particular conflicts and exploring the common experiences of loss that unite wars across time and space.

Robleto most frequently references the American Civil War, using objects to conjure up its immense physical and emotional suffering.[3] In particular, Robleto focuses on one of the defining characteristics of the Civil War: amputation. In *The Creative Potential of Disease* (2004; Fig. 6.4), for example, Robleto repaired a self-portrait doll of a Union amputee by inserting a new bone from recast materials (femur bone dust and prosthetic alginate) and stitching up the figure's leg with surgical thread. The self-portrait doll represents a self-reflection of its creator (the imaginary soldier described above) coming to terms with his new, mutilated body. Robleto's fictional character seeks redemption after having suffered through various American wars, and attempts to set things right by making the doll's body whole. Even as it references the Civil War, *The Creative Potential of Disease* finds a common ground linking all American conflicts: the universality of pain and suffering.

The figure of the disabled veteran is likewise at the center of Robleto's haunting installation *A Defeated Soldier Wishes to Walk His Daughter Down the Wedding Aisle* (2004; Fig. 1.4). Struck by accounts of disabled Civil War veterans crafting their own prosthetics to engage in social activities, Robleto constructed a pair of vintage World War I boots made from vinyl records and a cast of a hand-carved Civil War prosthetic shuffling through a line of ballistic gel. The sight of disembodied boots is immediately affecting, and the work comments upon bodily loss, inept government support, and the physical difficulty of mobility. In *A Defeated Soldier,* the personal becomes collective (as it had in nineteenth-century imaginings of the disabled veteran), and adaptable to a variety of audiences. More than a memorial and testament to the immense physical and emotional suffering at the hands of warfare, *A Defeated Soldier* is a

quest to reanimate forgotten objects imbued with history, and in so doing, remind the public of the effects of war.

While rooted in the current climate of terror and global conflict, Dario Robleto's work reinvigorates a set of concerns that faced artists following the American Civil War. Using combinations of skeletal pieces, discarded prosthetics, and hand-stitched dolls to force contemporary viewers to confront the violent effects of war, Robleto's works echo the veteran images of Thomas Nast, Eastman Johnson, George Inness, William Bell, and others. Yet Robleto exposes the silence regarding disabled bodies by making them central to his sculptural installations. In making his viewers aware of the common denominator of physical trauma that spans across time, Robleto rekindles debates about the role of disabled veterans in American society and refuses historical amnesia over war-related loss.

In their efforts to interpret the traumatic aftermath of the Civil War, nineteenth-century American artists frequently contended with the problematic subject of the disabled veteran, a figure that challenged the bodily status quo and assumptions about national unity. The illustrations, prints, and paintings that resulted from these engagements advanced multivalent interpretations of the Civil War that worked to assuage the pain and suffering caused by the conflict, advanced contradictory political arguments about the origins and consequences of the war, and set the terms for the complicated responses that disability, trauma, and memory of the war would inspire in the future.

[1] Half Soldier is not on the casting list for the film, and the actor who played the character remains elusive.

[2] Paula Owen, "Conversation with A Resurrectionist: Dario Robleto," *Art!es* (Fall 2004): 45.

[3] Gerard Brown, "Reenactment and Relic: The Civil War in Contemporary Art," in *Remixing the Civil War: Meditations on the Sesquicentennial*, ed. Thomas J. Brown (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 150-151.

FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Winslow Homer, "Our Watering Places—The Empty Sleeve at Newport," *Harper's Weekly*, August 26, 1865

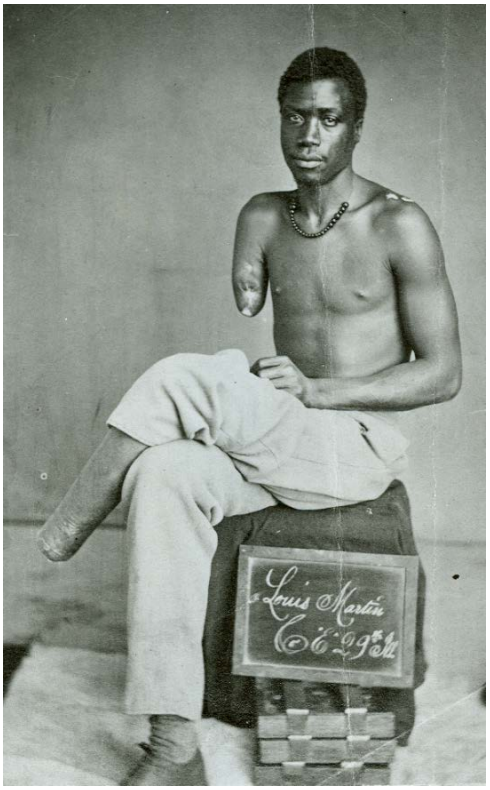

Figure 1.2: Dr. Reed Bontecou, "Lewis Martin," ca. 1863-1865, National Archives and Records Administration

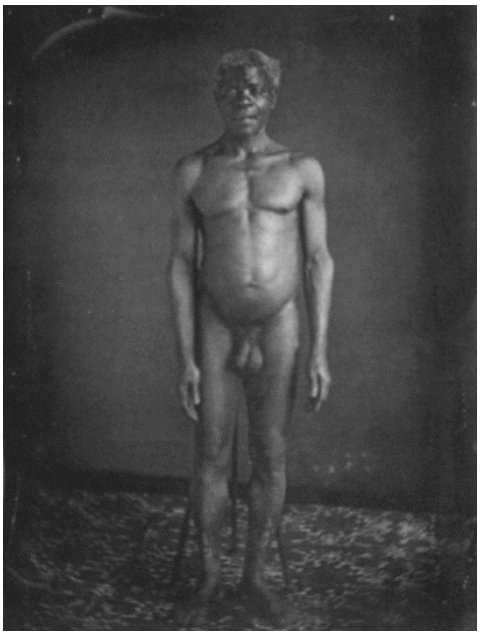

Figure 1.3: J.T. Zealy, “Jem, Gullah, belonging to F.N. Green,” Columbia, SC, March 1850, Harvard, Peabody Museum

Figure 1.4: Anonymous, “Unidentified African American soldier in Union uniform and Company B, 103rd Regiment forage cap with bayonet and scabbard in front of painted backdrop showing landscape with river,” ca. 1863-1865, Prints and Photographs Department, Library of Congress

Figure 1.5: Dario Robleto, *A Defeated Soldier Wishes to Walk His Daughter Down the Wedding Aisle*, 2004, Cast of a hand-carved wooden and iron leg that a wounded Civil War soldier constructed for himself, made from The Shirelles' "Soldier Boy" melted vinyl records and femur bone dust, fitted inside a pair of WWI military cavalry boots made from Skeeter Davis' "The End Of The World" melted vinyl records, oil can filled with homemade tincture (gun oil, rose oil, bacteria cultured from the grooves of Negro prison songs and prison choir records, wormwood, golden rod, aloe juice, resurrection plant, Apothecary's rose and bugleweed), brass, rust, dirt from various battlefields, ballistic gelatin, white rose petals, white rice, Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Figure 1.6: Timothy O'Sullivan, *A Harvest of Death, Gettysburg, July 1863*, from *Gardner's Photographic Sketchbook*, 1865, Prints and Photographs Department, Library of Congress

Figure 1.7: Postcard of William Rudolf O'Donovan, Confederate Soldiers Monument, Oakdale Cemetery, Wilmington, North Carolina, built in 1872, from the North Carolina Photographic Archives, University of North Carolina

Figure 1.8: John Rogers, *Wounded to the Rear*, *One More Shot*, patented 1865, Smithsonian American Art Museum

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Figure 1.10: "The Art of Inspiring Courage," *Frank Leslie's Budget of Fun*, October 1863, American Antiquarian Society

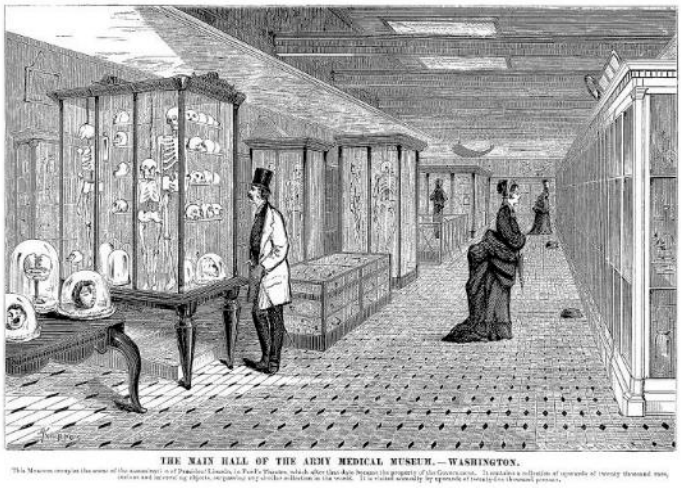

Figure 2.1: Alfred Kappes, "The Main Hall of the Army Medical Museum—Washington" from Mary Clemmer Ames, *Ten Years in Washington: Life and Scenes in the National Capital as a Woman Sees them*,1874

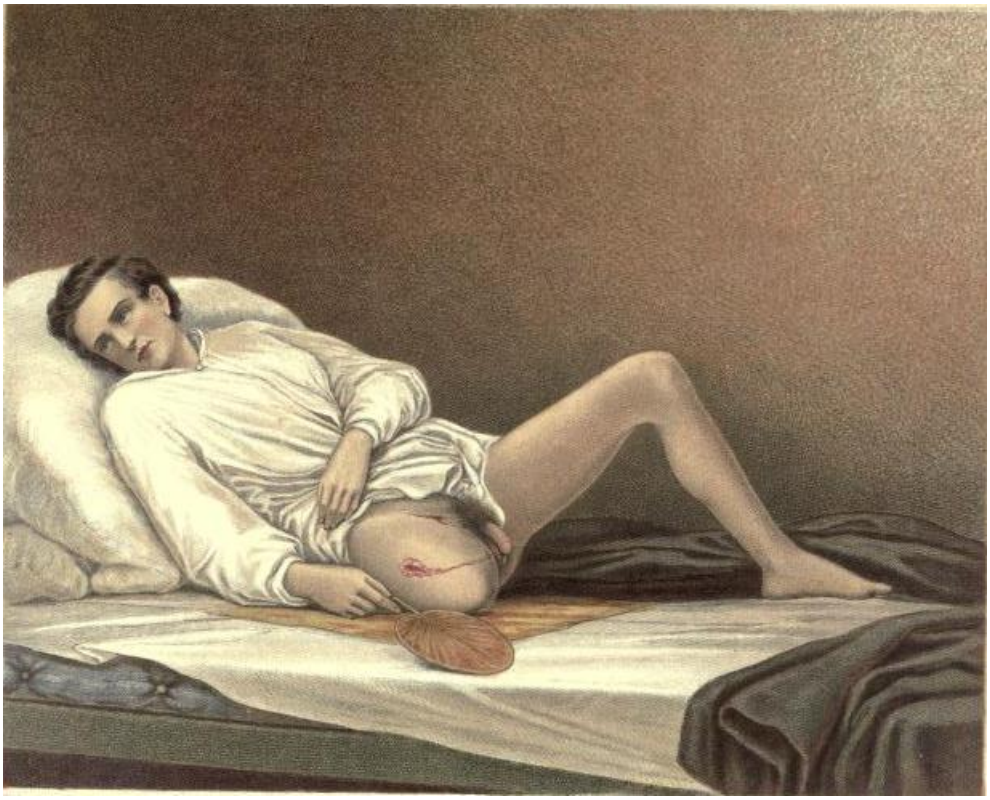

Figure 2.2: Herman Faber (printed by F. Moras), *Packard's Successful Re-Amputation at the Hip Joint* from Dr. George A. Otis, *Circular No. 7: A Report on Amputations at the Hip-Joint in Military Surgery*, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1867, Chromolithograph

Figure 2.3: Attributed to Guido Reni, *Beatrice Cenci*, ca. 1662, Oil painting, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica

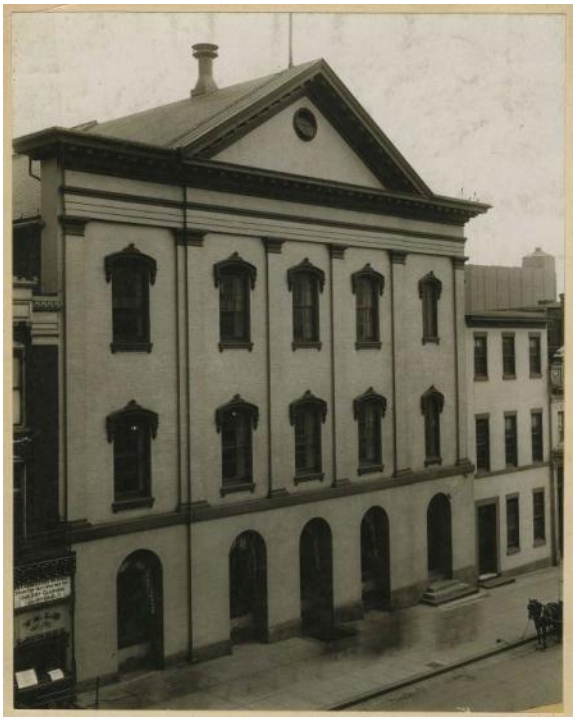

Figure 2.4: Unknown, *Exterior of Ford's Theatre Building, Home of the Army Medical Museum*, ca. 1866-1877, Albumen photograph, Otis Historical Archives, National Museum of Health and Medicine

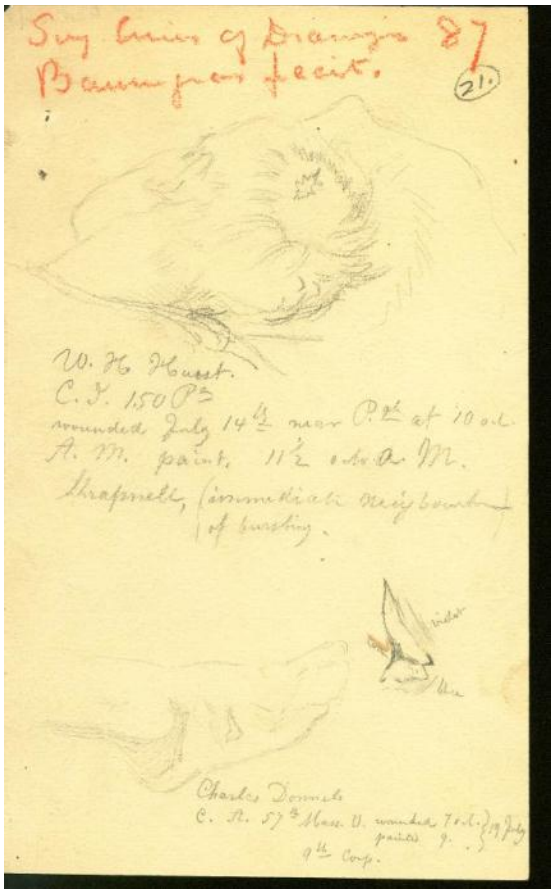

Figure 2.5: Edward Stauch, “Shell wound of left parietal bone” and “Foot wound,” 1864, Pencil drawing, Otis Historical Archives, National Museum of Health and Medicine

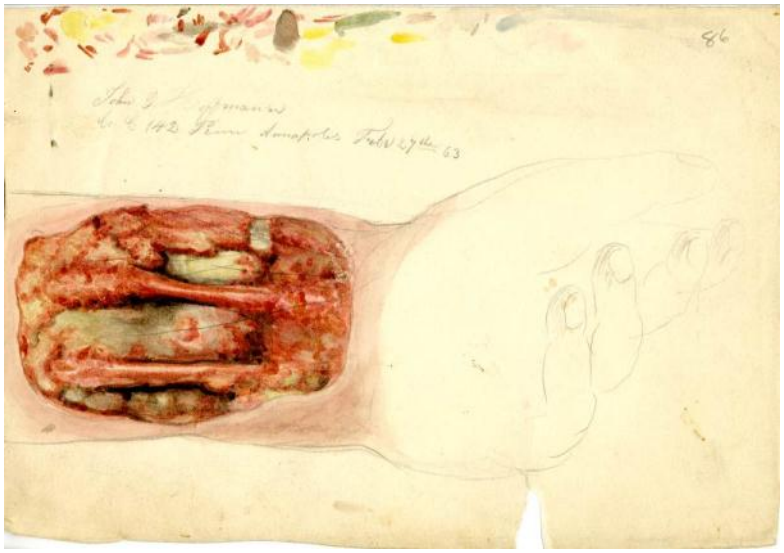

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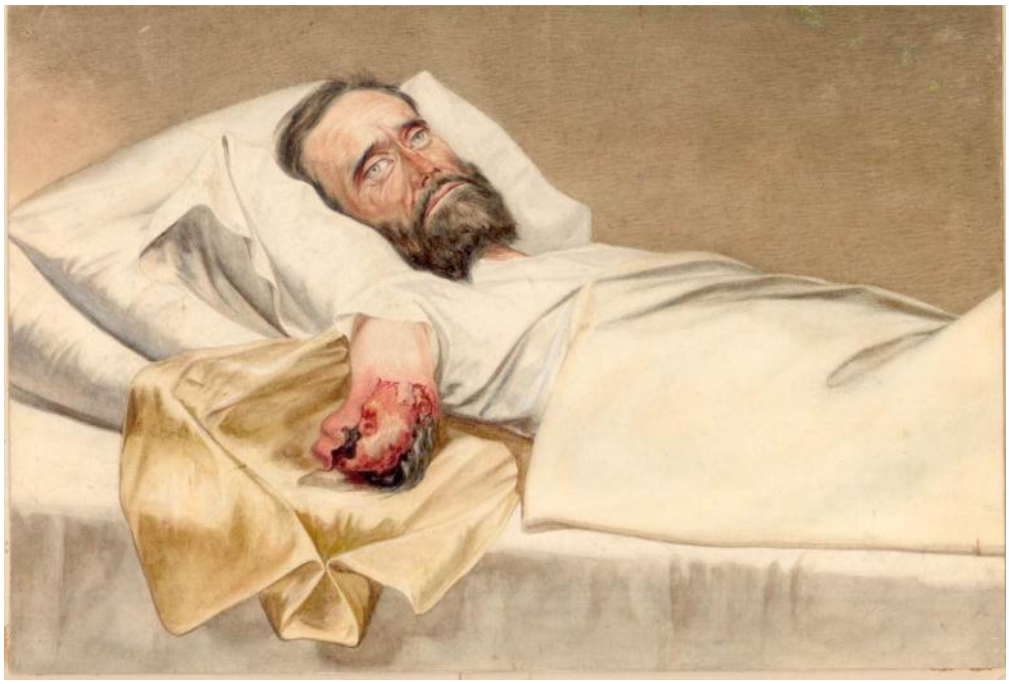
Figure 2.8: Edward Stauch, “Hospital Gangrene of an Arm Stump,” Pencil drawing, Otis Historical Archives, National Museum of Health and Medicine



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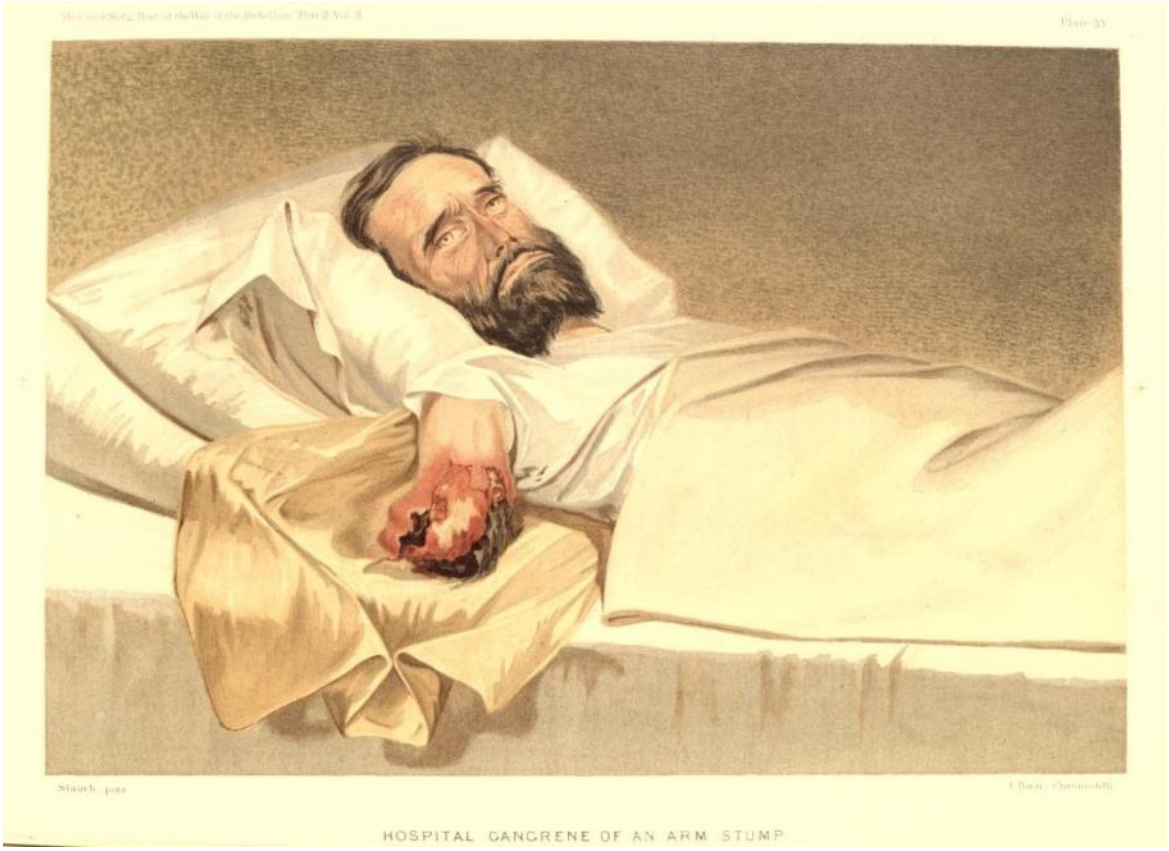

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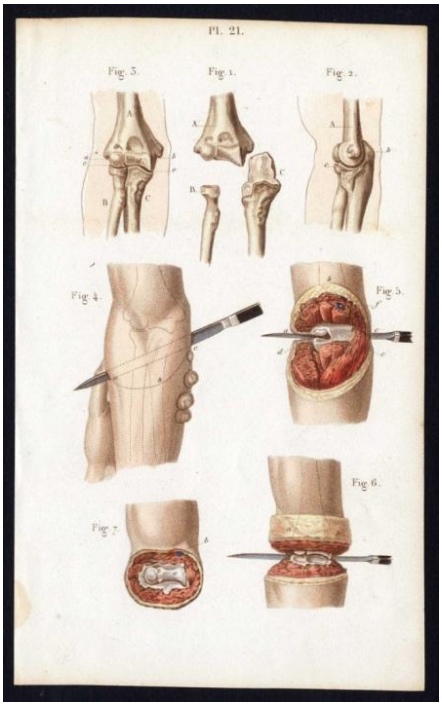

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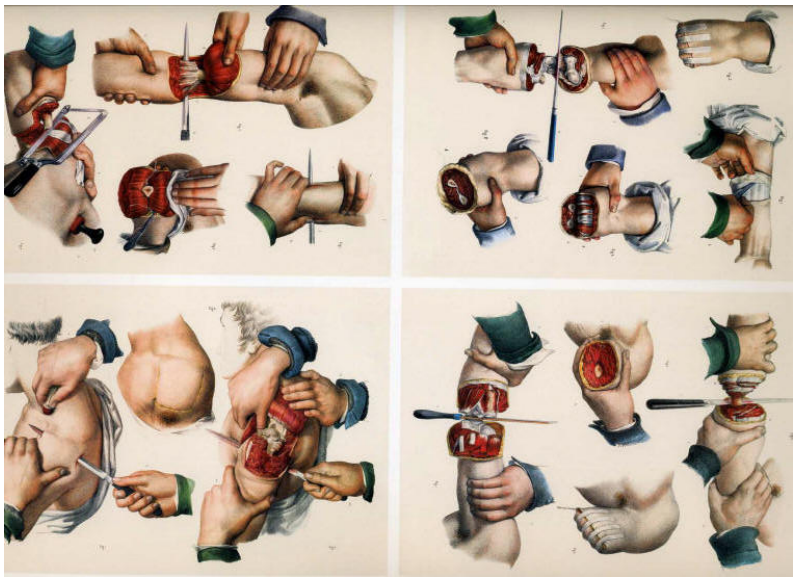


Figure 2.13: Jean Baptiste Marc Bourgery and Nicolas-Henri Jacob, *Traité complet de l'anatomie de l'homme, comprenant la medecine opératoire*, Paris, Hand-colored lithographs, 1832-1854

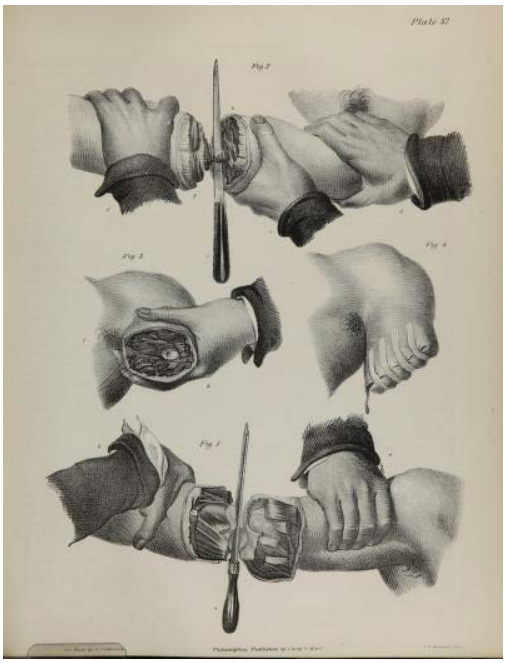
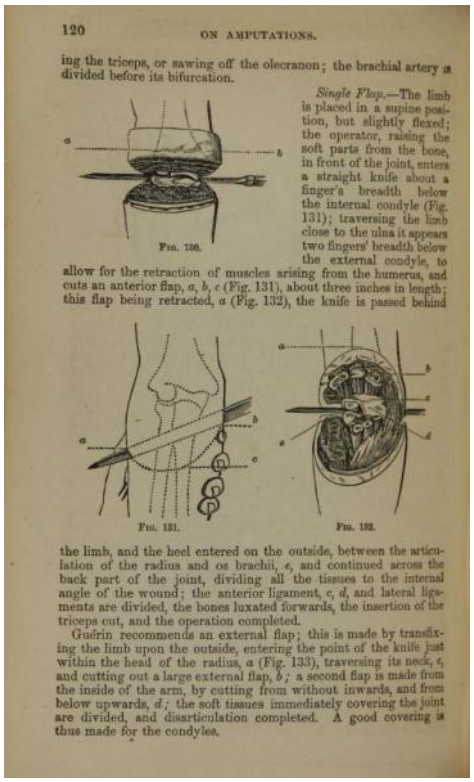


Figure 2.14: Joseph Pancoast, *A Treatise on Operative Surgery: A Description of the Various Processes of the Art*, Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1844, plate 37



120 ON AMPUTATIONS.

ing the triceps, or sawing off the olecranon; the brachial artery is divided before its bifurcation.

Single Flap.—The limb is placed in a supine position, but slightly flexed; the operator, raising the soft parts from the bone, in front of the joint, enters a straight knife about a finger's breadth below the internal condyle (Fig. 131); traversing the limb close to the ulna it appears two fingers' breadth below the external condyle, to allow for the retraction of muscles arising from the humerus, and cuts an anterior flap, *a*, *b*, *c* (Fig. 131), about three inches in length; this flap being retracted, *a* (Fig. 132), the knife is passed behind

Fig. 130.

Fig. 131. Fig. 132.

the limb, and the heel entered on the outside, between the articulation of the radius and os brachii, *e*, and continued across the back part of the joint, dividing all the tissues to the internal angle of the wound; the anterior ligament, *c*, *d*, and lateral ligaments are divided, the bones luxated forwards, the insertion of the triceps cut, and the operation completed.

Guérin recommends an external flap; this is made by transfixing the limb upon the outside, entering the point of the knife just within the head of the radius, *a* (Fig. 133), traversing its neck, *c*, and cutting out a large external flap, *b*; a second flap is made from the inside of the arm, by cutting from without inwards, and from below upwards, *d*; the soft tissues immediately covering the joint are divided, and disarticulation completed. A good covering is thus made for the condyles.

Figure 2.15: Stephen Smith, *Handbook of Surgical Operations*, New York, 1862, 120

Figure 2.16: Julian J. Chisolm, *A Manual of Military Surgery: Prepared for Use in the Confederate Army*, 1863, Richmond

Figure 2.17: Charles Le Brun, “Le Ravissement,” *Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner les passions*, 1698

Figure 2.18: Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, Marble, 1617, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

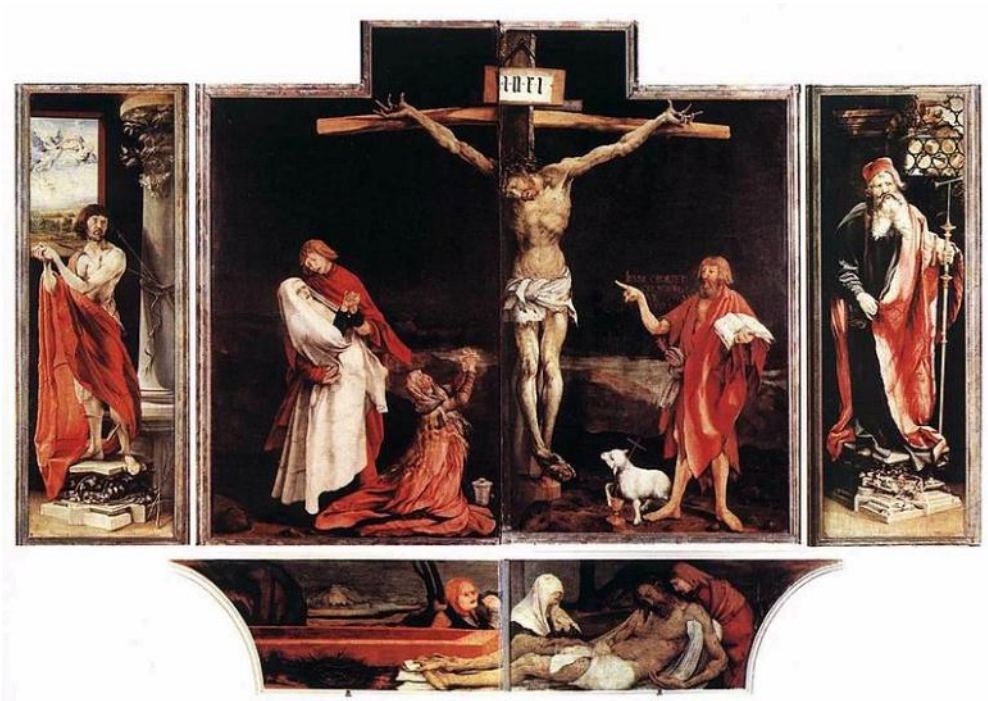


Figure 2.19: Matthias Grünewald, *Isenheim Altarpiece*, 1512-1516, Oil on panel, Unterlinden Museum at Colmar

Figure 2.20: Edward Stauch, "Leg Wound, Amputation at the Hip," 1863, Oil sketch, Otis Historical Archives, National Museum of Health and Medicine

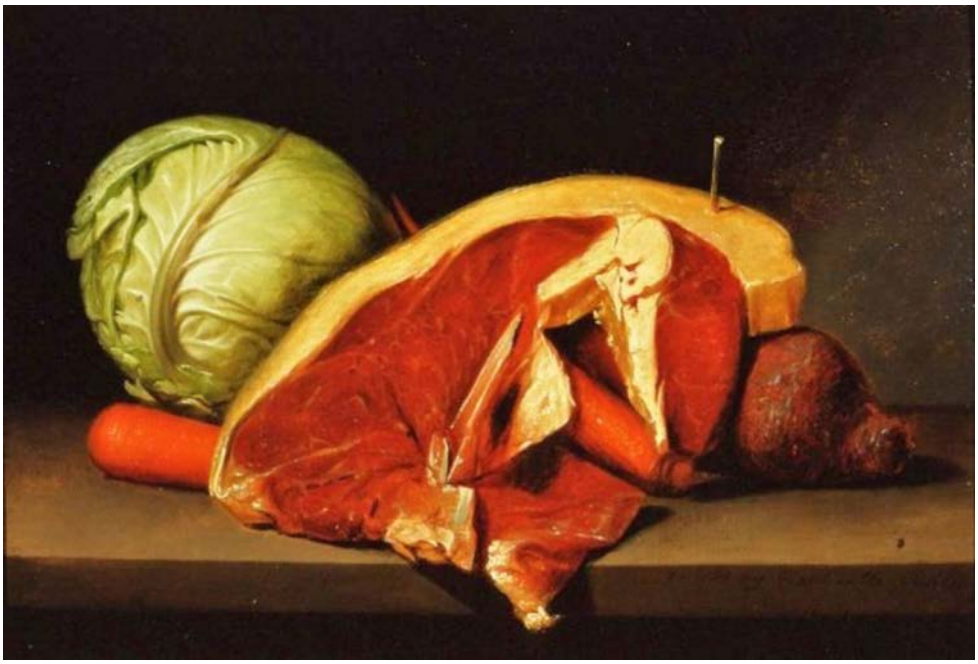


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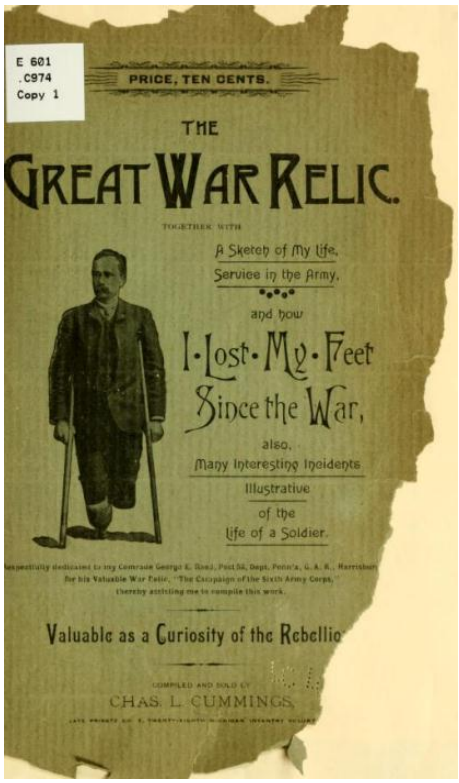
Figure 2.25: Main exhibit hall of the Army Medical Museum in Ford's Theatre building, ca. 1870s, (Reeve 32786), Otis Historical Archives, National Museum of Health and Medicine



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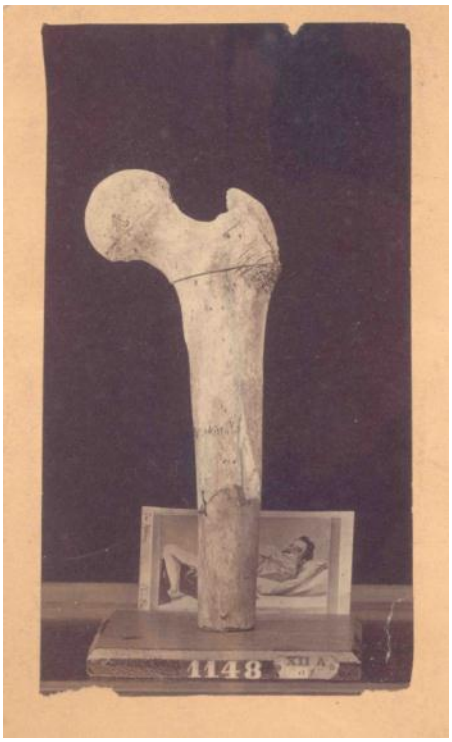

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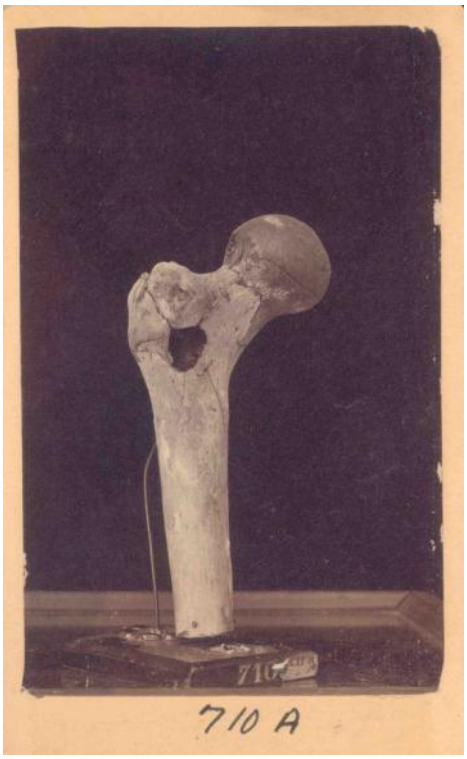


Figure 2.28: Unknown, Specimen 710A, Carte-de-visite, Otis Historical Archives, National Museum of Health and Medicine

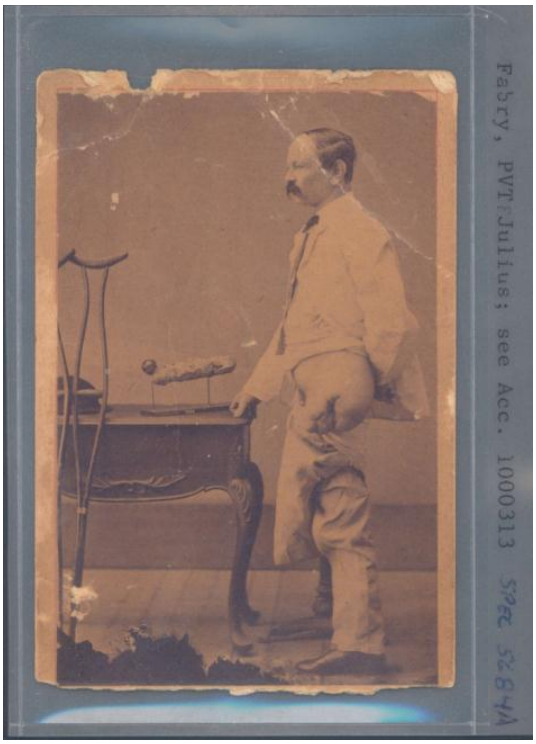


Figure 2.29: Unknown, *Private Julius Fabry*, Carte-de-visite, Otis Historical Archives, National Museum of Health and Medicine

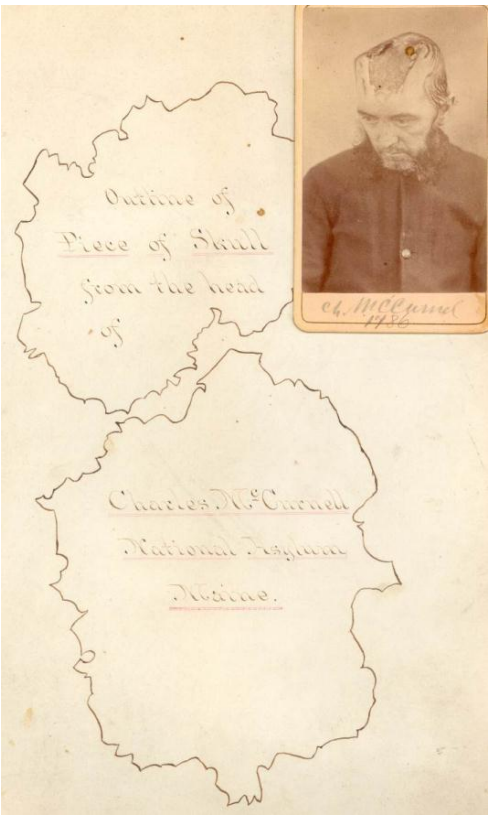


Figure 2.30: Unknown, "Charles McCurnell," Otis Historical Archives, National Museum of Health and Medicine

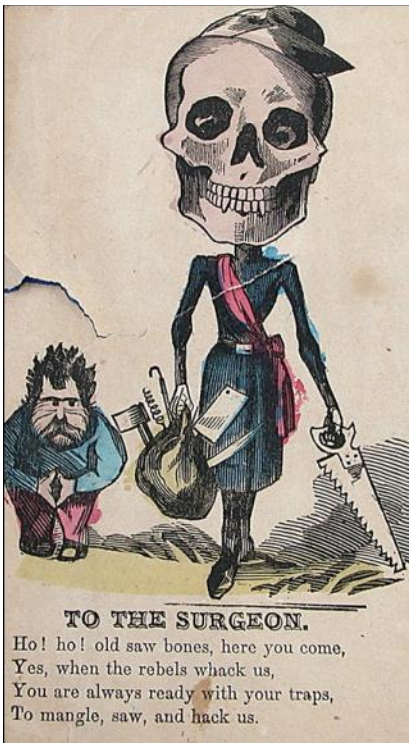
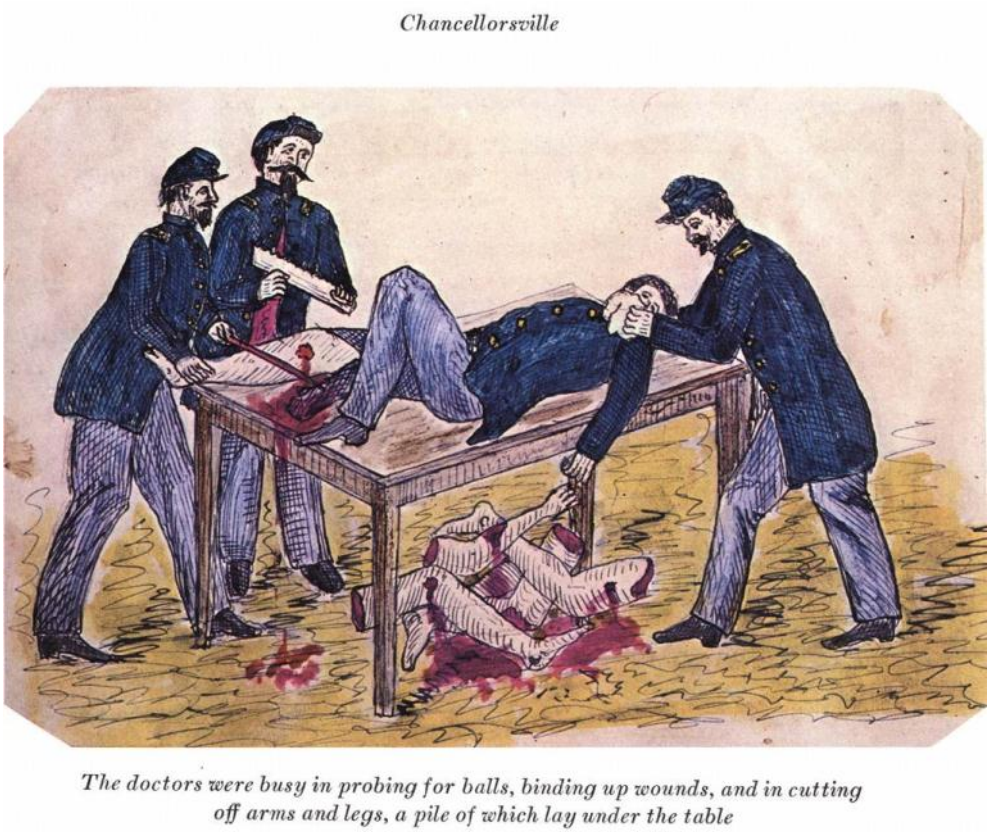


Figure 2.31: *To the Surgeon*, ca. 1861-1865, Library Company of Philadelphia



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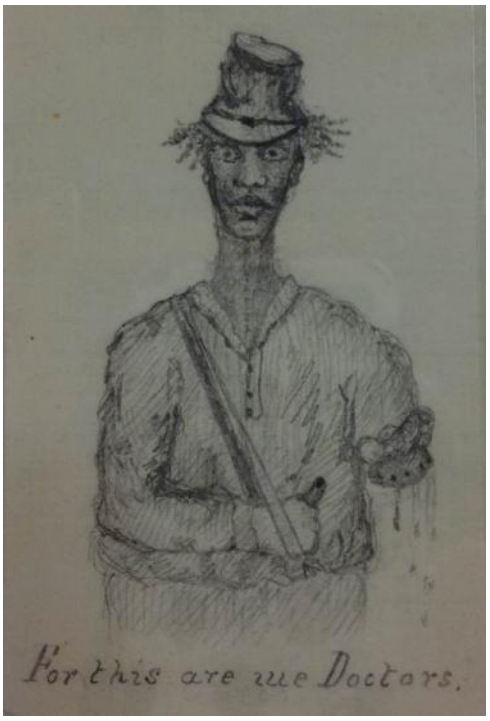

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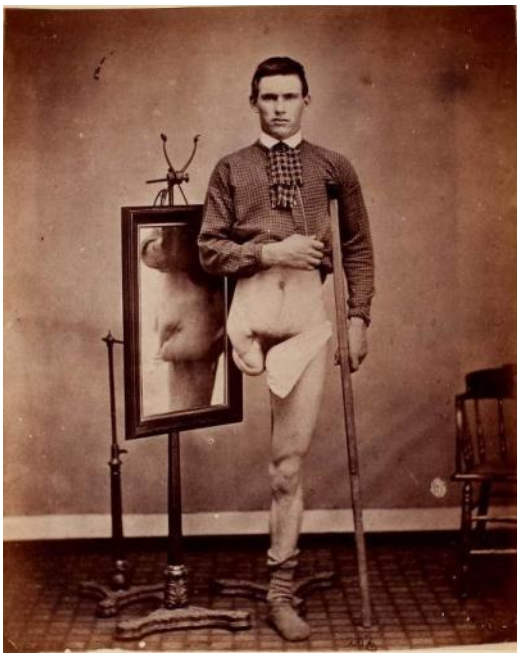

Figure 2.39: William Bell (?), *Case of Successful Secondary Amputation at the Right Hip Joint* from George A. Otis, *Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens,* Vol. 5, 1867

Figure 2.40: Unknown, "Henry A. Barnum," Pension Records of Henry A. Barnum, National Archives and Records Admistration

Figure 2.41: Johnson and D'Utassy, *Showing Stumps of Preceding Case*, mid-1860s, Otis Historical Archives, National Museum of Health and Medicine

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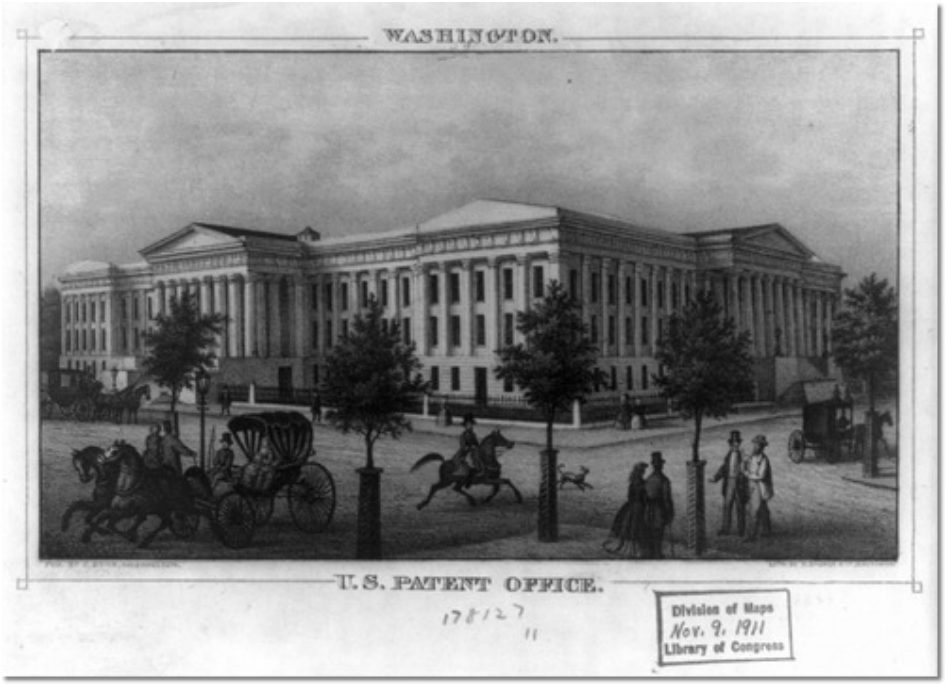
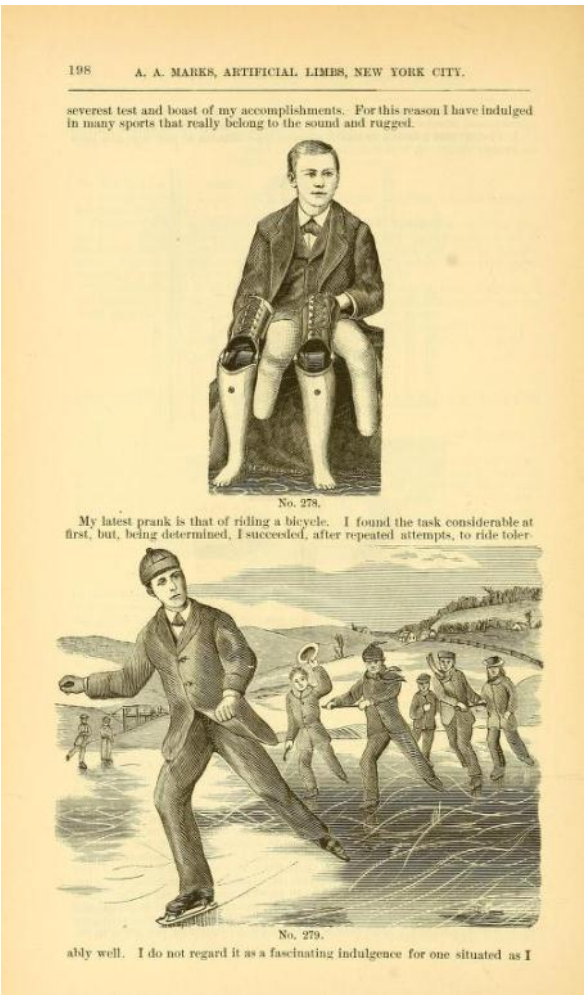


Figure 2.44: E. Sachse & Co, *Washington. U.S. Patent Office*, ca. 1855, Lithograph, Library of Congress

Figure 2.45: Theodore R. Davis, "Patent Office, Washington, D.C.—Examiners at Work," 1869, *Harper's Weekly*, Hand-colored wood engraving on paper, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

Figure 2.46: Dubois Parmelee, Improvement in Artificial Legs, Patent 37637, 1863, Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution



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severest test and boast of my accomplishments. For this reason I have indulged in many sports that really belong to the sound and rugged.

No. 278.

My latest prank is that of riding a bicycle. I found the task considerable at first, but, being determined, I succeeded, after repeated attempts, to ride toler-

No. 279.

ably well. I do not regard it as a fascinating indulgence for one situated as I

Figure 2.47: A.A. Marks, *A Treatise on Marks' Patent Artificial Limbs with Rubber Hands and Feet*, New York, 1888

Figure 2.48: Exterior View of U.S. Pension Bureau, 1891, Library of Congress

Figure 2.49: Caspar Buberl, *Gate of the Invalids*, U.S. Pension Bureau (National Building Museum)

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Figure 3.3: George Inness, *The Veteran's Return (Landscape at Sundown; Close of Day)*, ca. 1881-1883, Oil on panel, Private Collection

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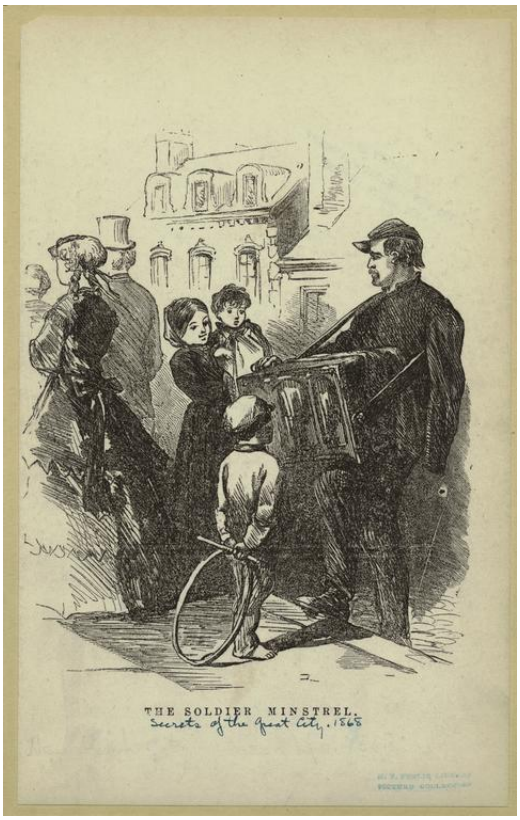

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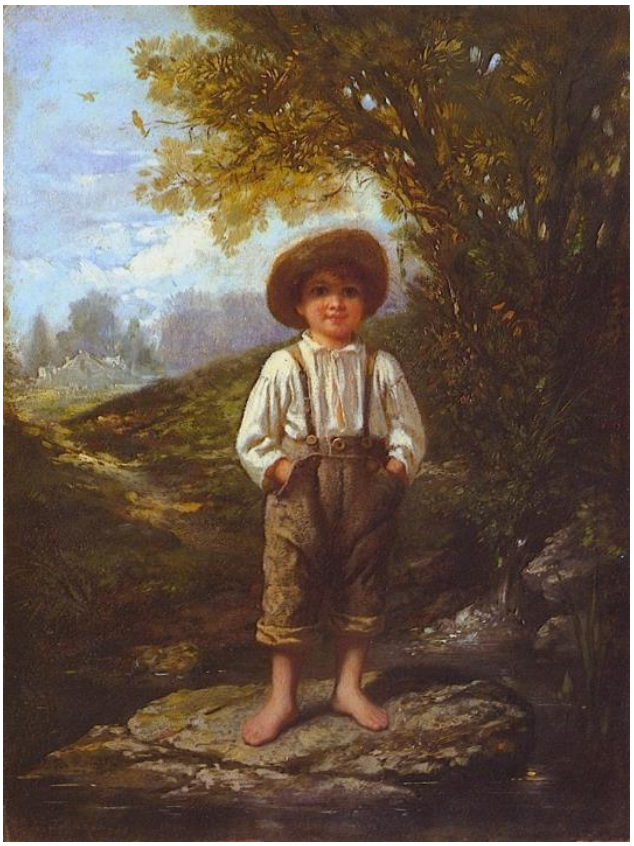

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Figure 3.15: George Inness, *October Noon*, 1891, Oil on canvas, Harvard Art Museum

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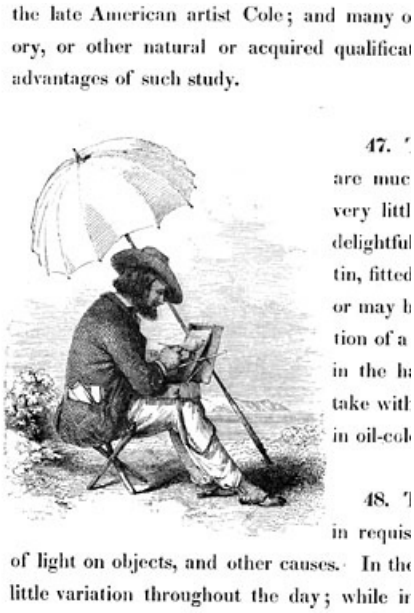

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Figure 3.19: J.G. (John Gadsby) Chapman, *The American drawing-book: a manual for the amateur, and basis of study for the professional artist: especially adapted to the use of public and private schools, as well as home instruction.*
(1870 [1873 printing])

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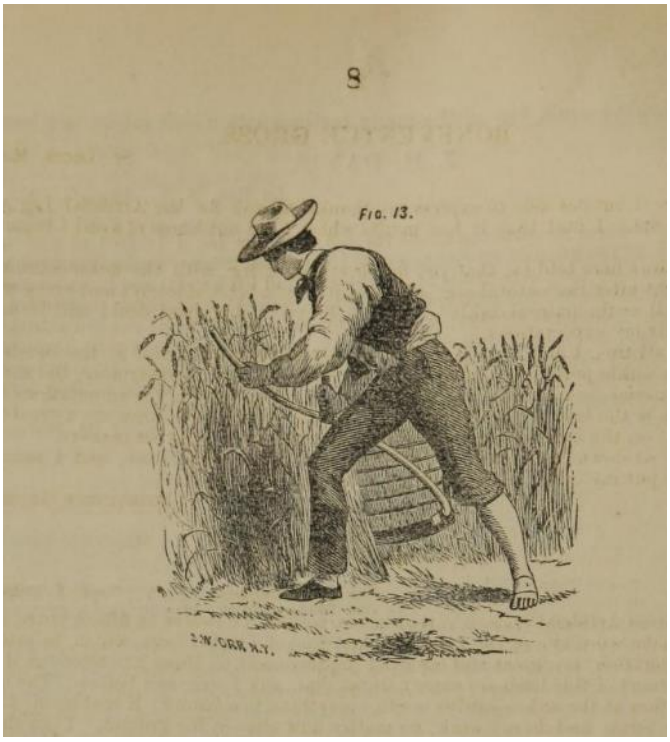

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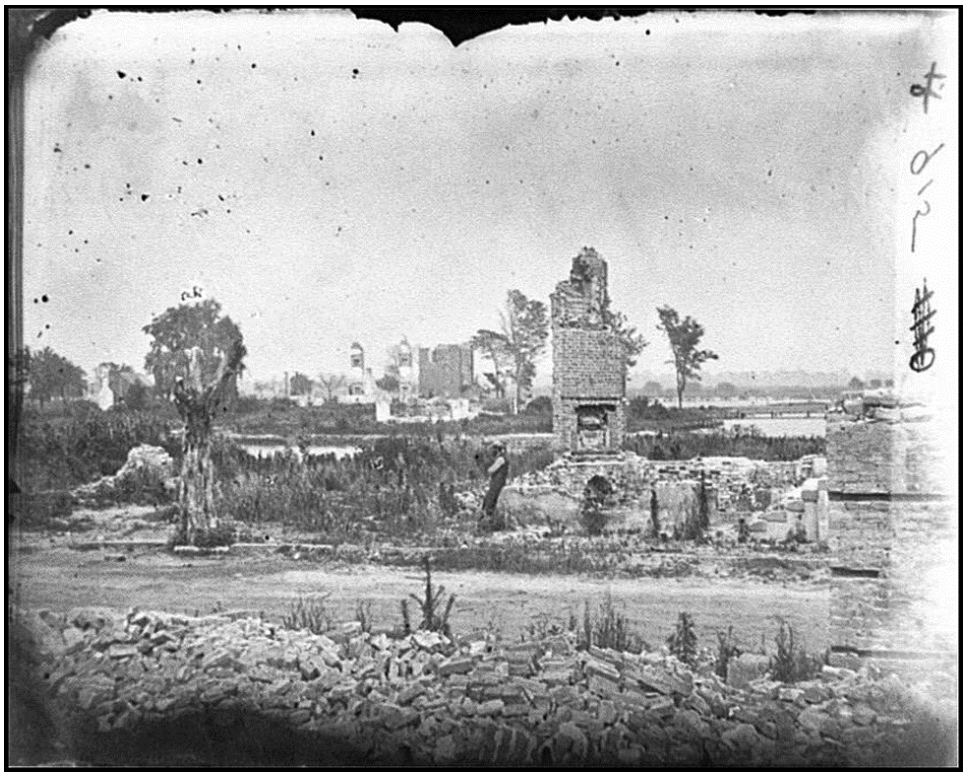
Figure 3.27: Detail of *Goochland, West Virginia*, 1884, Henry Art Gallery, Photo by Jason Corrales-Diaz



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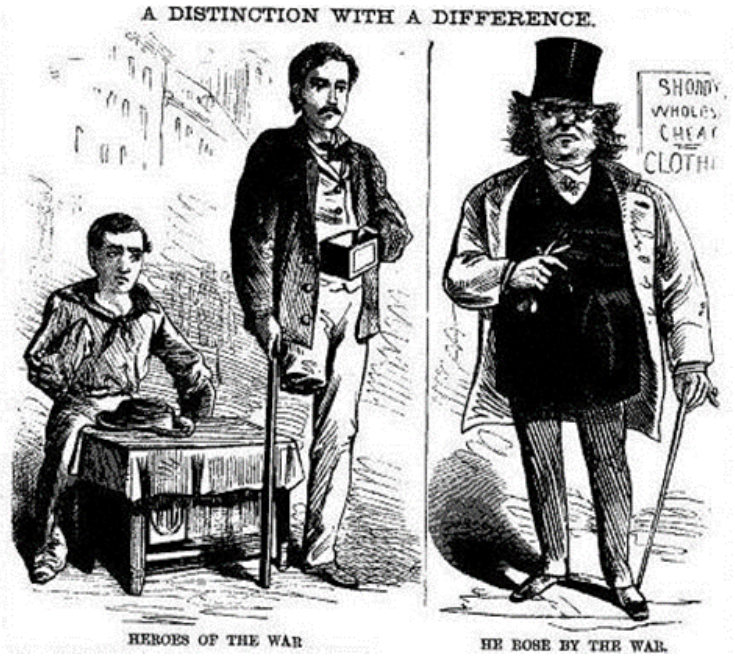

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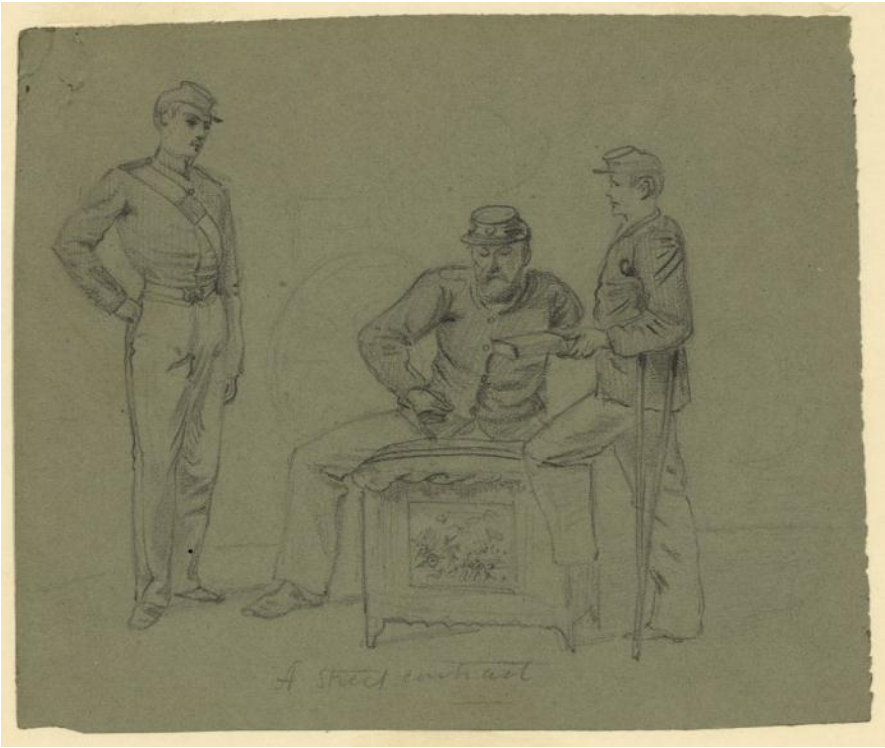

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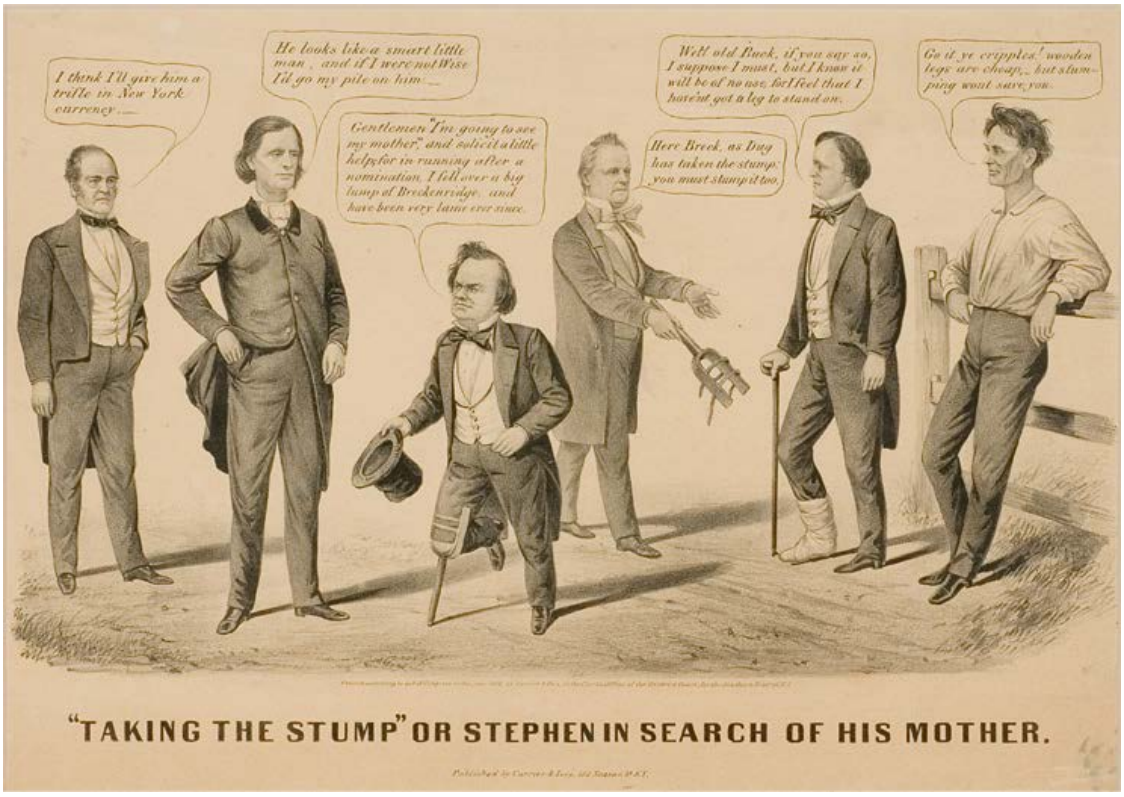


Figure 4.3: Currier and Ives, *"Taking the Stump" or Stephen in Search of His Mother*, c. 1860, Lithograph, Library of Congress

Figure 4.4: Rembrandt van Rijn, *Beggar with a Wooden Leg*, ca. 1630, Etching, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Figure 4.5: *The Ballad Singers*, 1820, Hand-colored aquatint, Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

Figure 4.6: Frederick de Wit after Pieter Jansz Quast, *Fools*, 1640-1652, Etching, The British Museum

Figure 4.7: *The Conscription in Prospect—The Would-Be Exempts [A Manufactured Accident]*, May 1863, Engraving, Item No. 55, Folder 2, Box 1, Civil War Cartoons Collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

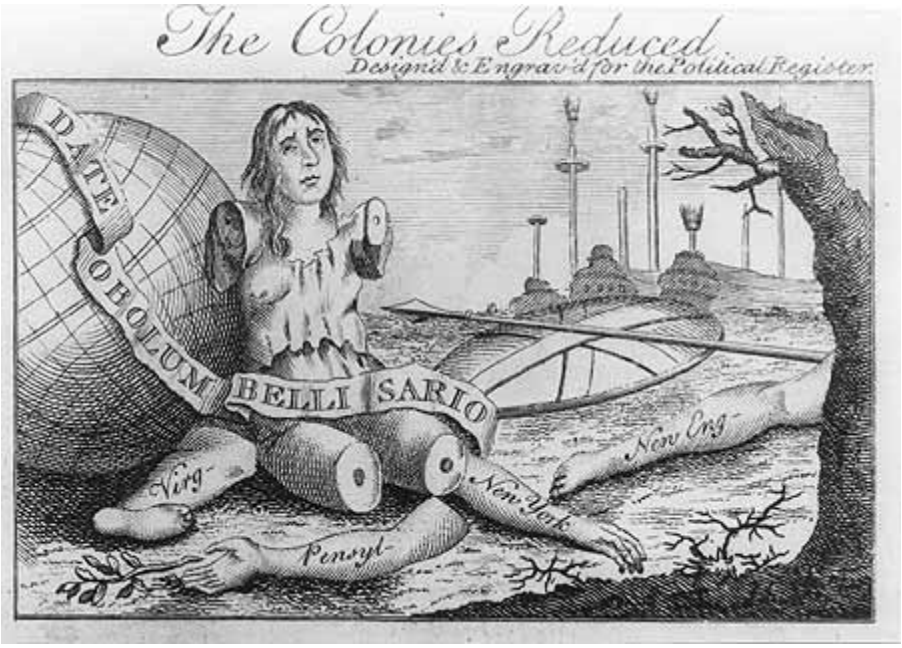


Figure 4.8: Benjamin Franklin, *Magna Britannia, Her Colonies Reduc'd*, 1767, Engraving, The Library Company of Philadelphia

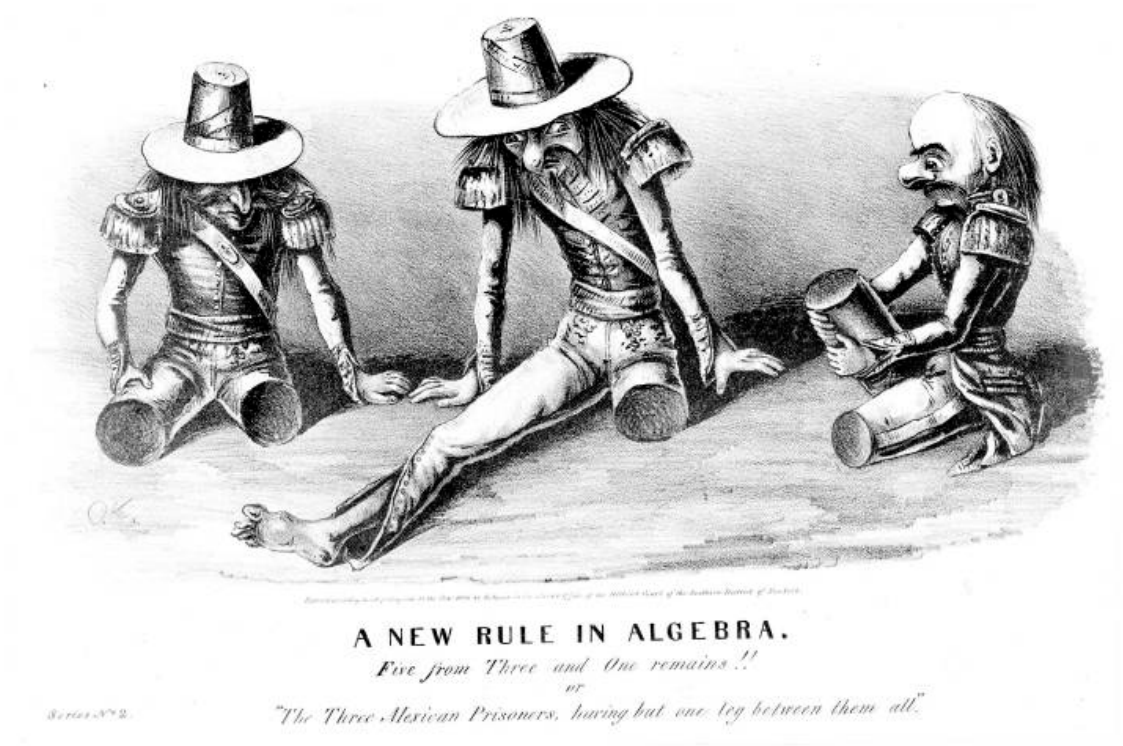


Figure 4.9: Edward Jones, *A New Rule in Algebra. Five from Three and One Remains!!*, ca. 1846, Lithograph, Library of Congress

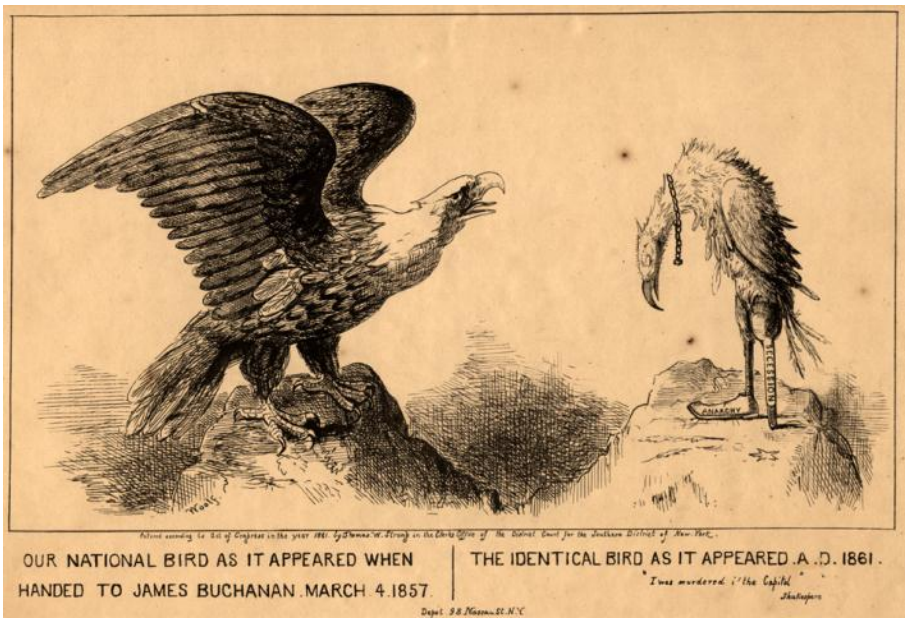


Figure 4.10: Michael Angelo Woolf, *Our National Bird…The Identical Bird*, 1861, Engraving, The Boston Athenaeum

Figure 4.11: Louis Mauer, Published by Currier and Ives, *Abraham's Dream!*, 1864, Lithograph, Library of Congress

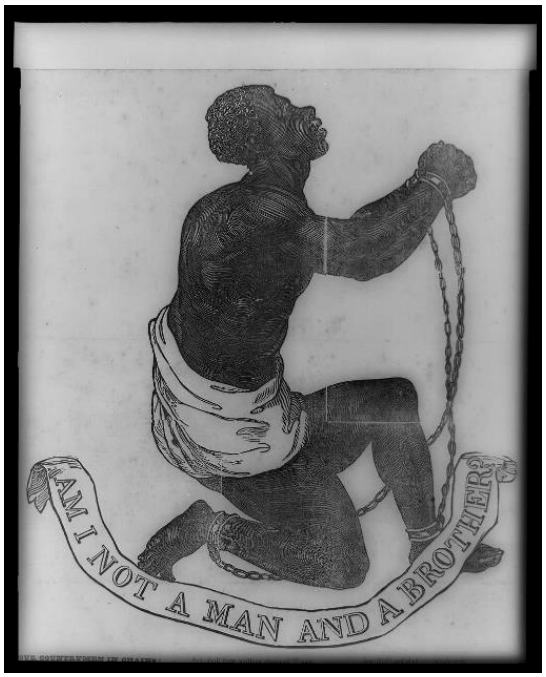


Figure 4.12: American Anti-Slavery Society, *Am I Not A Man and A Brother?*1837, Woodcut, Library of Congress

THE DEGRADING COMPROMISE

THAT THE NORTHERN COPPERHEAD LEADERS WOULD FORCE UPON THE COUNTRY.

REBEL TERMS OF PEACE!!

"Save on our own terms, we can accept no peace whatever, and must fight till doomsday rather than yield one iota of them; and our terms are:

"Recognition by the enemy of the Independence of the Confederate States.

"Withdrawal of Yankee forces from every foot of Confederate ground, including KENTUCKY and MISSOURI.

"Withdrawal of Yankee soldiers from MARYLAND, until that State shall decide, by a free vote, whether she shall remain in the old Union, or ask admission into the Confederacy.

"Consent on the part of the Federal Government to give up to the Confederacy its proportion of the Navy as it stood at the time of secession, or to pay for the same.

"Yielding up all pretensions on the part of the Federal Government to that portion of the old Territories which lies west of the Confederate States.

"An equitable settlement, on the basis of our absolute independence and equal rights, of all accounts of the Public Debt and Public Lands, and the advantages accruing from foreign treaties.

"These provisions, we apprehend, comprise the minimum of what we must require before we lay down our arms. That is to say, THE NORTH MUST YIELD ALL WE MENTION. The whole pretension of that country to prevent by force the separation of the States must be abandoned, which will be equivalent to an avowal that our enemies were wrong, from the first, and, of course, as they waged a ruinous and wicked war upon us, they ought, in strict justice, to be required, according to usage in such cases, to reimburse to us the whole of our expenses and losses in the course of that war."

These are the terms of peace, and the "Enquirer" says further—

"As surely as we completely *rate* their armies—and without that is no peace nor truce at all—SO SURELY SHALL WE MAKE THEM PAY OUR WAR DEBT, THOUGH WE WRING IT OUT OF THEIR HEARTS."

Citizens of Indiana! These are the terms of peace to which you are invited by the Copperhead politicians of our State—the destruction of the Union—the giving up of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, which have all voted by immense majorities for the Union—the surrender of a large part of our Navy—the loss of more than one-half of our territory, *and the payment of the debt of the unnatural rebellion of traitors*, by having it "WRUNG OUT OF OUR HEARTS!"

People of Indiana! Will you give your assent to such a base surrender of our cause? If not, then repel the "Peace Organizations" in Indiana, and rally only with those who "keep step to the music of the Union," who stand by our brave soldiers in the field, and are for "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

PRINTED AND CIRCULATED BY THE INDIANA TIMES CLUB, WASHINGTON, D. C.

☞ Please post this up.

Figure 4.13: *The Degrading Compromis*e (Indiana), 1864, Broadsides and Ephemera Collection, Duke University

Figure 4.14: *The Degrading Compromise* (Ohio), 1864, Princeton University

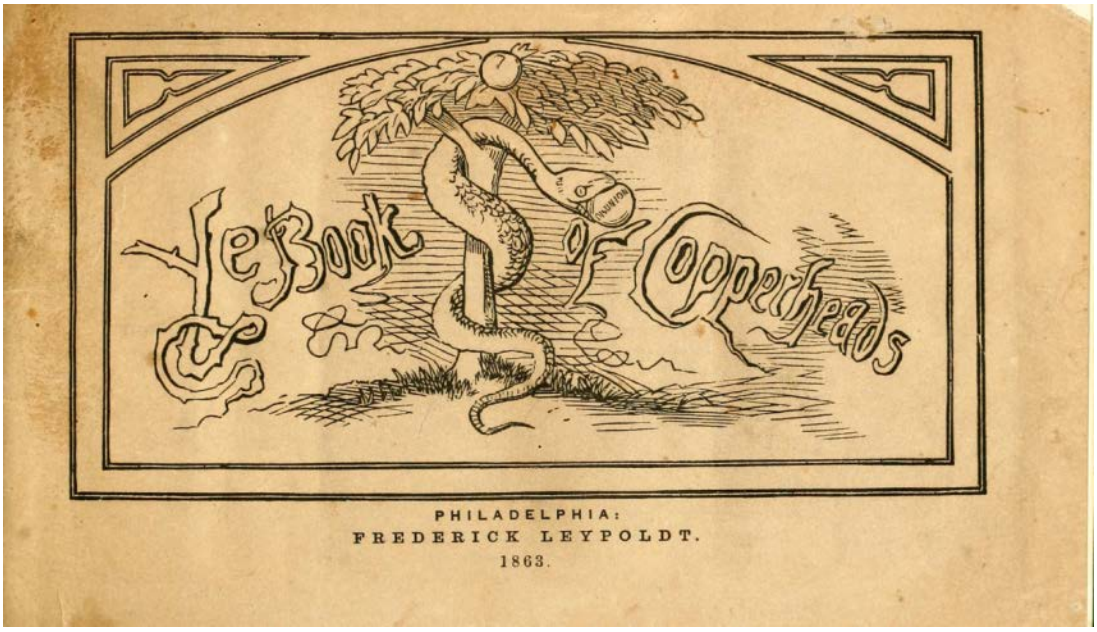


Figure 4.15: Charles Godfrey and Henry Patrick Leland, *Ye Book of Copperheads*, Frontispiece, Philadelphia, Frederick Leypoldt, 1863, Library of Congress

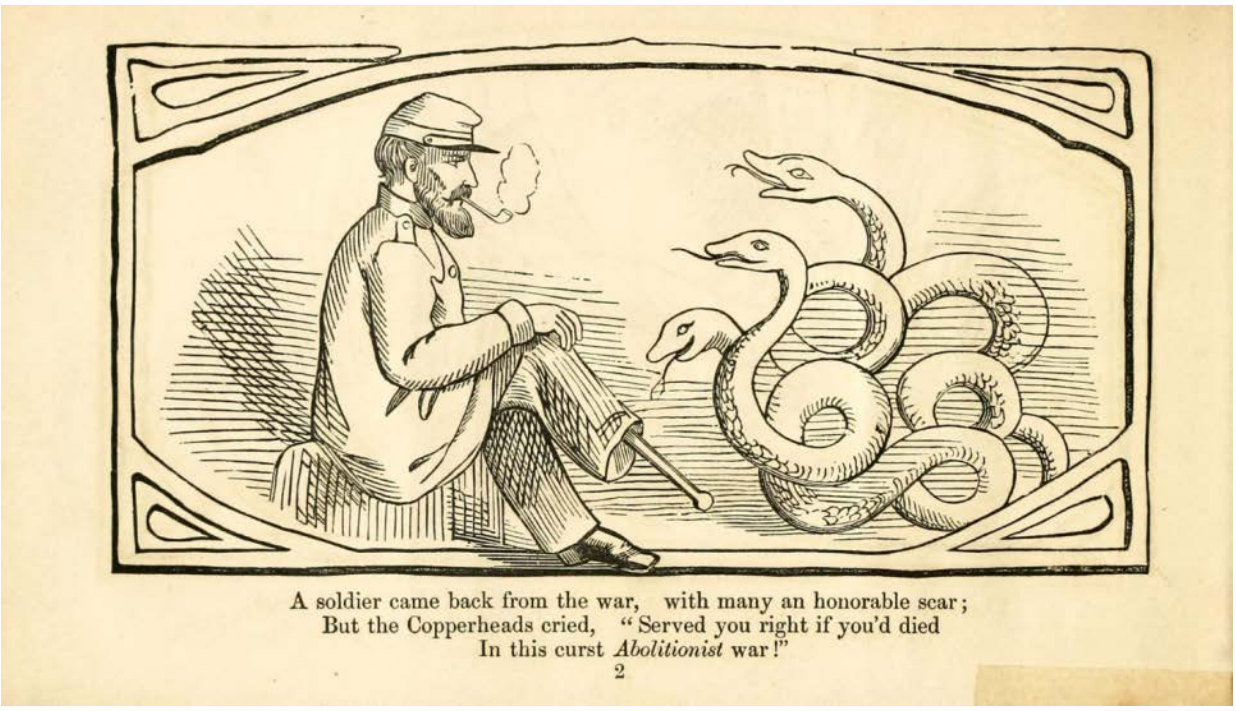


Figure 4.16: Charles Godfrey and Henry Patrick Leland, *Ye Book of Copperheads*, Page 2, Philadelphia, Frederick Leypoldt, 1863, Library of Congress

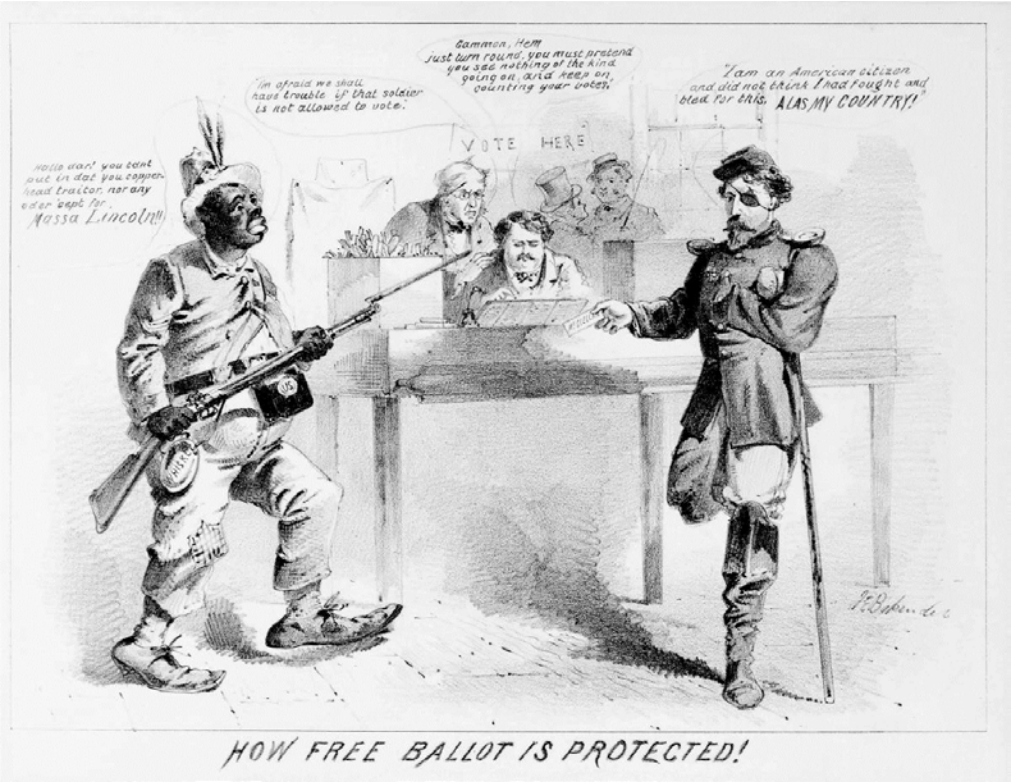


Figure 4.17: Joseph E. Baker, *How Free Ballot is Protected*! 1864, Lithograph, Library of Congress

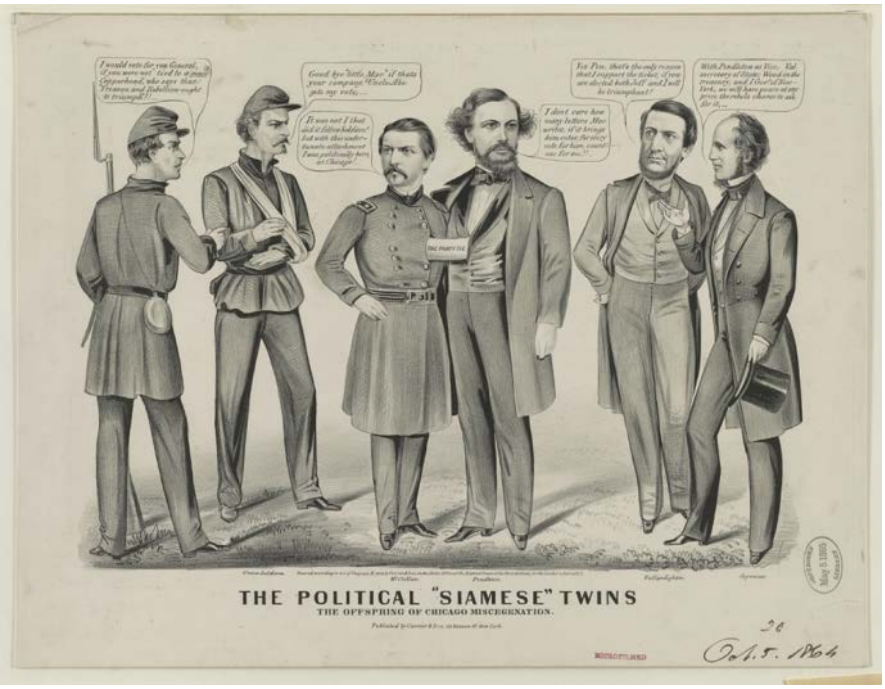


Figure 4.18: Currier and Ives, *The Political "Siamese" Twins*, ca. 1864, Lithograph, Library of Congress

Figure 4.19: Thomas Nast, "Pardon. Franchise," *Harper's Weekly*, August 5, 1865

Figure 4.20: Thomas Nast, "He Wants a Change too," *Harper's Weekly*, October 28, 1876

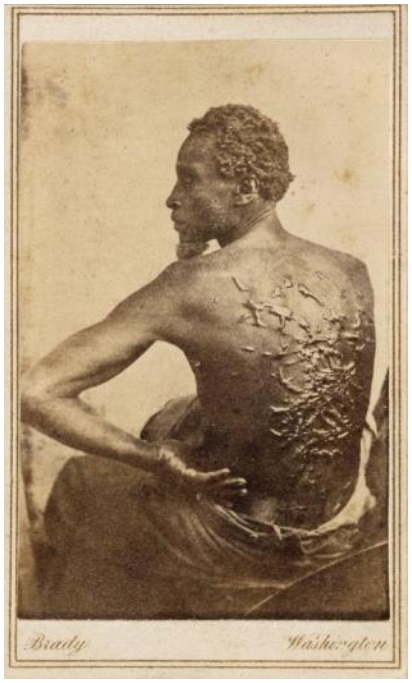


Figure 4.21: Mathew Brady, *The Scourged Back*, Albumen print on carte-de-visite paper, 1863, National Portrait Gallery

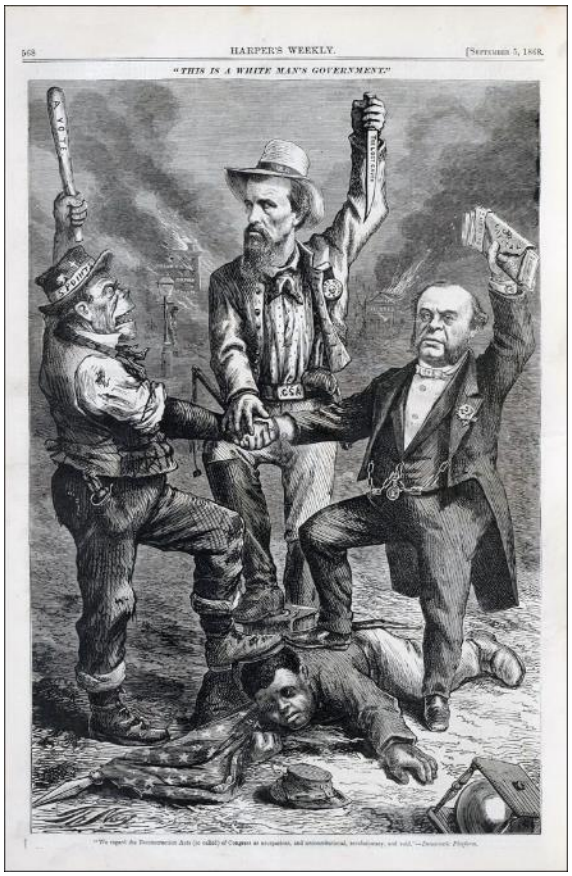


Figure 4.22: Thomas Nast, "This is a White Man's Government," *Harper's Weekly*, September 5, 1868


Figure 4.23: Thomas Waterman Wood, *A Bit of War History*, 1866, Oil on canvas, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Figure 4.24: After Thomas Waterman Wood, "A Bit of War History," *Harper's Weekly*, May 4, 1867

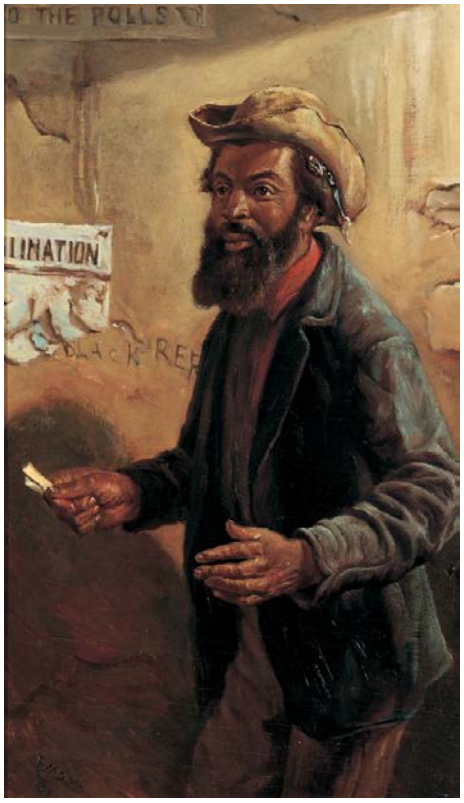


Figure 4.25: Thomas Waterman Wood, *His First Vote*, 1868, Oil on board, Cheekwood Botanical Garden and Museum of Art

Figure 4.26: Thomas Waterman Wood, *American Citizens (To the Polls)*,1867, The Wood Art Gallery

Figure 4.27: Thomas Nast, "Andy's Trip," *Harper's Weekly*, October 26, 1866

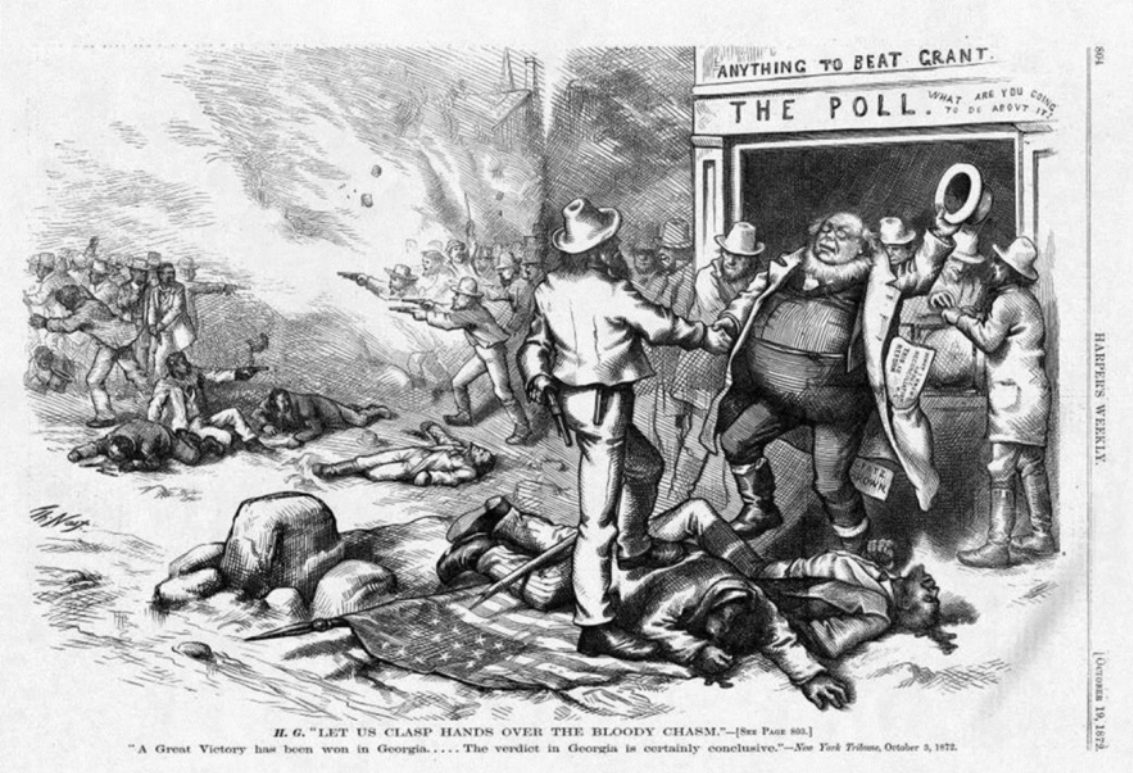


Figure 4.28: Thomas Nast, "Let us Clasp Hands over the Bloody Chasm," *Harper's Weekly*, October 19, 1872

Figure 4.29: Thomas Nast, "Bring the Thing Home," *Harper's Weekly*, July 13, 1872

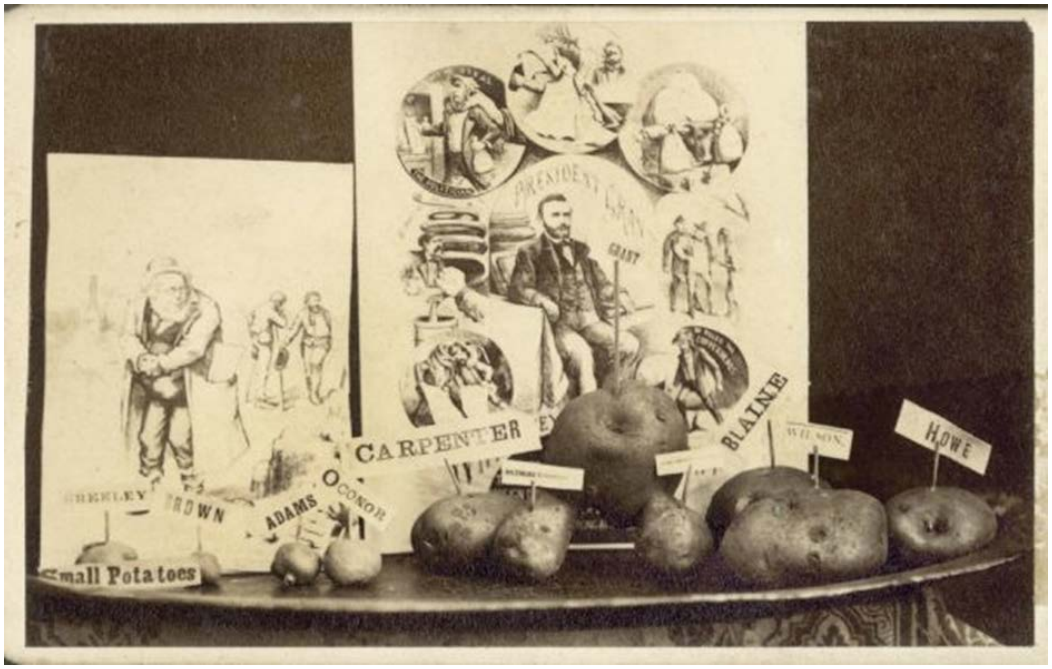


Figure 4.30: Pro-Grant Window Display from Whitewater, WI, 1872, Wisconsin Historical Society

Figure 4.31: Thomas Nast, "Bringing the Thing Home; Or, Reasons Why the South Should Vote for Greeley," *The Carolina Era*, October 30, 1872

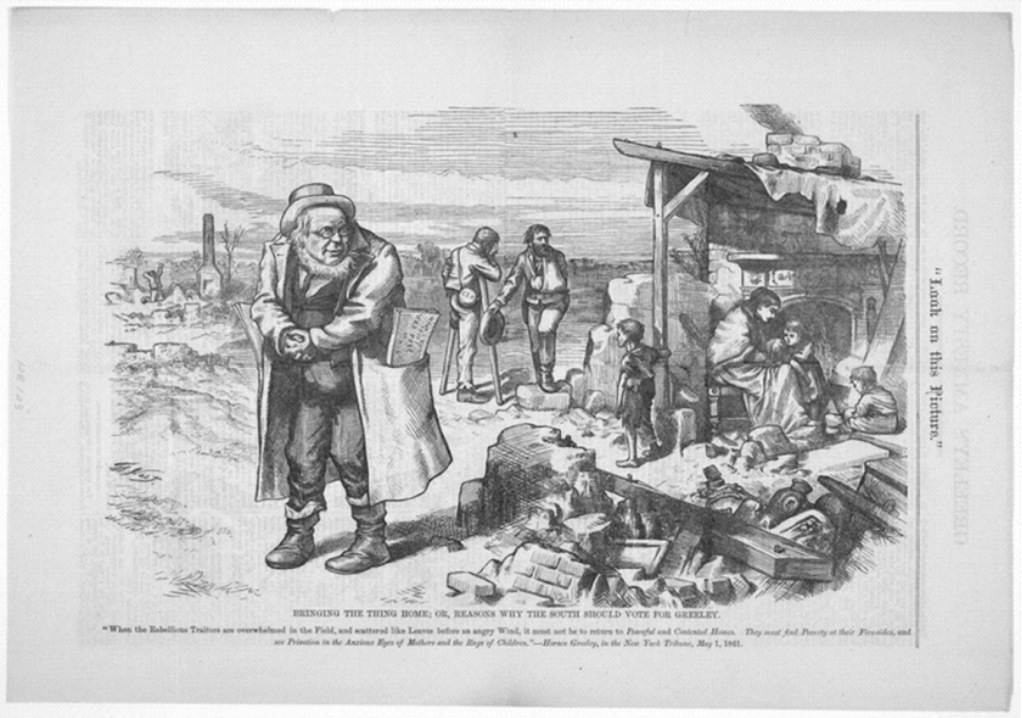


Figure 4.32: Thomas Nast, *Greeley's Amnesty Record*, 1872, Broadsides and Printed Ephemera Collection, Library of Congress

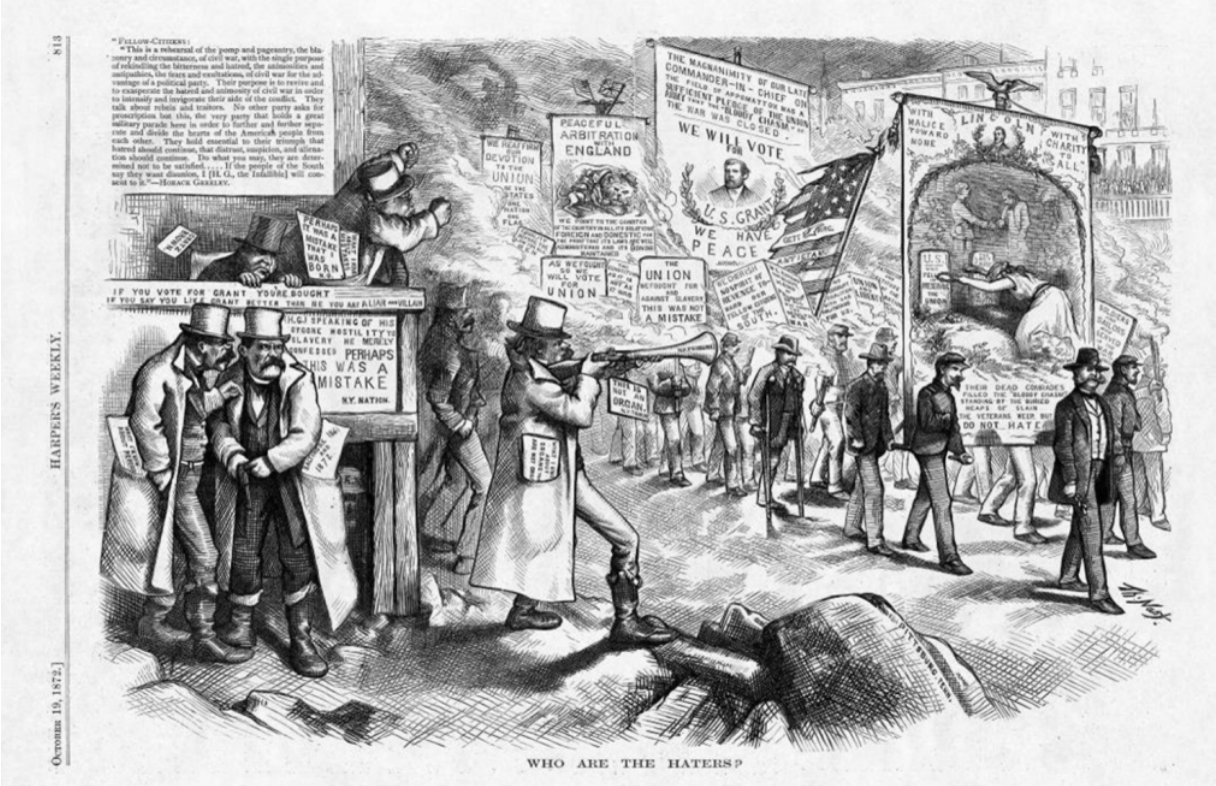
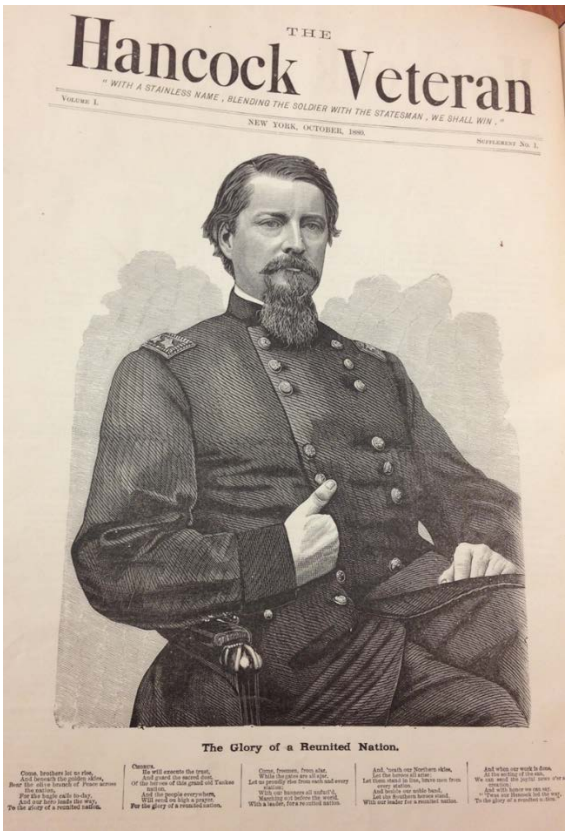


Fig. 4.33: Thomas Nast, "Who Are the Haters?" *Harper's Weekly*, October 19, 1872


THE
Hancock Veteran
"WITH A STAINLESS NAME, BLENDING THE SOLDIER WITH THE STATESMAN, WE SHALL WIN."
VOLUME I. NEW YORK, OCTOBER, 1880. SUPPLEMENT No. 1.

The Glory of a Reunited Nation.

Come, brothers let us rise,
And beneath the golden skies,
Bear the olive branch of Peace across
the seas;
For the bugle calls to-day,
And our hero leads the way,
To the glory of a reunited nation.

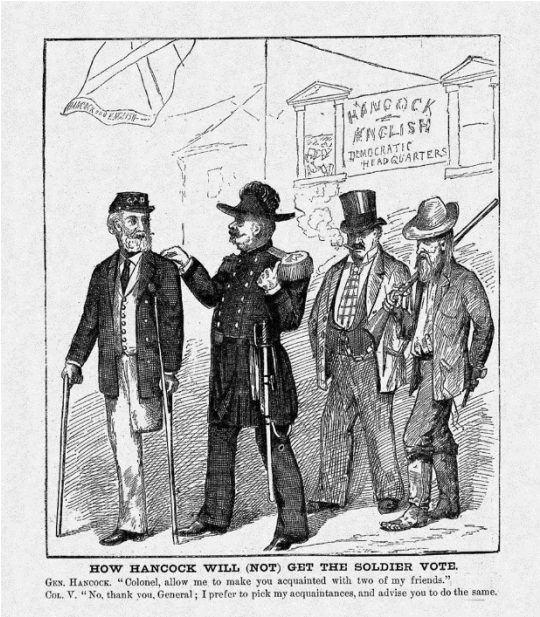
Chorus.
He will execute the trust,
And guard the sacred dust,
Of the hero of this grand old Yankee
nation,
And the people everywhere,
Will send on high a prayer,
For the glory of a reunited nation.

Come, freemen, from afar,
While the pines are all ajar,
Let us proudly rise from each and every
nation,
With our banners all unfurl'd,
Marching out before the world,
With a smile, for a united nation.

And, 'neath our Northern skies,
Let the heroes all arise
Let them stand in line, brave men from
the North,
And beside our noble band,
Let the Southern heroes stand,
With our leader for a reunited nation.

And when our work is done,
At the setting of the sun,
We can send the joyful news over
the seas;
And with honor we can say,
"Twas our Hancock led the way,
To the glory of a reunited nation."

Figure 4.34: National Association of Hancock Veterans, *The Hancock Veteran*, October 1880, The Huntington Library



HOW HANCOCK WILL (NOT) GET THE SOLDIER VOTE.
GEN. HANCOCK. "Colonel, allow me to make you acquainted with two of my friends."
COL. V. "No, thank you, General; I prefer to pick my acquaintances, and advise you to do the same.

Figure 4.35: "How Hancock will (not) get the Soldier Vote," *Harper's Weekly*, August 28, 1880

Figure 5.1: Thomas Faris, *Funeral Procession for Abraham Lincoln*, New York, April 25, 1865, The Library Company of Philadelphia

Figure 5.2: *New York, Brdwy. Decoration Day Parade. The big building is Brooks Bros store cor. Bond St*, 1875, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection, The New York Public Library

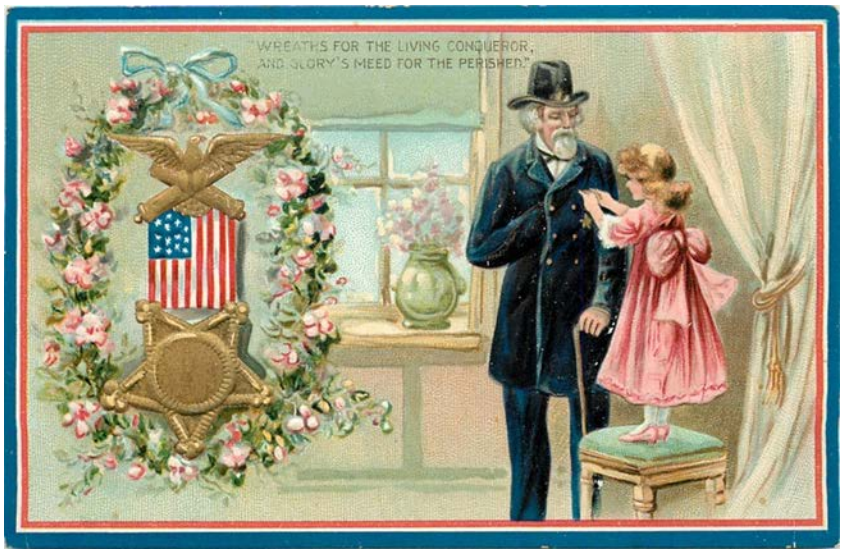


Figure 5.3: Raphael Tuck, publisher, *Wreaths for the Living Conqueror, and Glory's Meed for the Perished*, Decoration Day Series #158, 1908

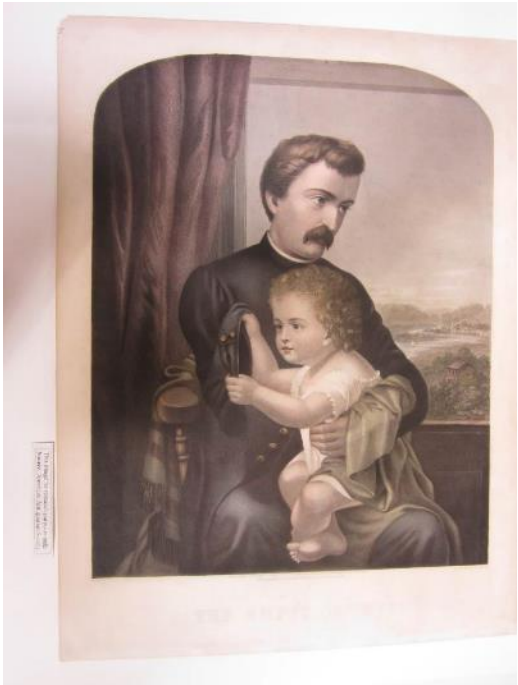


Figure 5.4: Adelaide R. Sawyer, *The Empty Sleeve*, J.C. Buttre engraver, 1866, Hand-tinted mezzotint and engraving, American Antiquarian Society

Figure 5.5: Domenico Ghirlandaio, *An Old Man and his Grandson*, ca. 1490, Tempera on wood, Musée de Louvre, Paris

Figure 5.6: Giovanni Bellini, *Madonna and Child*, ca. 1510, Oil on panel, Galleria Borghese, Italy

Figure 5.7: George Caleb Bingham, *Order No. 11*, 1865-1870, Oil on canvas, Cincinnati Art Museum

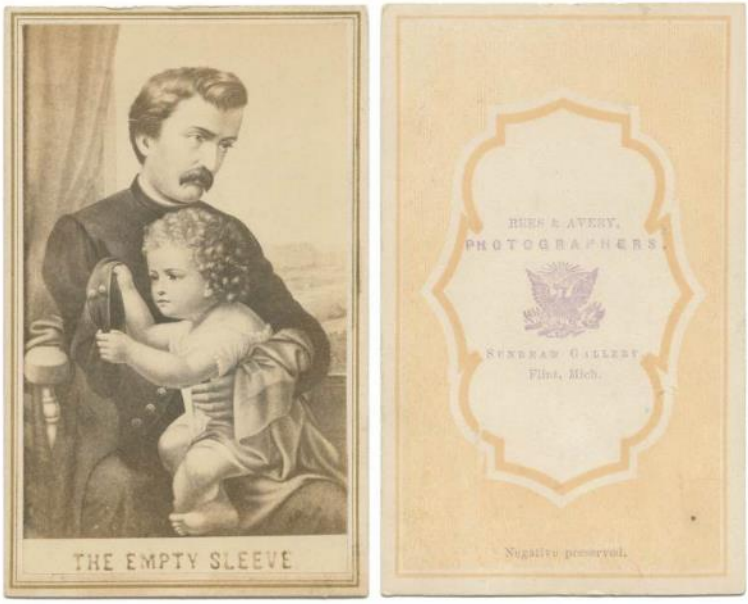


Figure 5.8: Rees and Avery, photographers of Adelaide R. Sawyer's *The Empty Sleeve*, Photographic carte-de-visite, ca. 1866

Figure 5.9: *George Bosely*, 1864, Greenslade Special Collections and Archives, Kenyon College

Figure 5.10: George P. Critcherson, *The Empty Sleeve*, ca. 1870s, The Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University

Figure 5.11: E.E. Kellogg, *The Empty Sleeve*, 1907, The Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University

Figure 5.12: Henry Alexander Ogden, "Decoration Day—The Veteran's Right Arm," *Harper's Weekly*, June 5, 1886

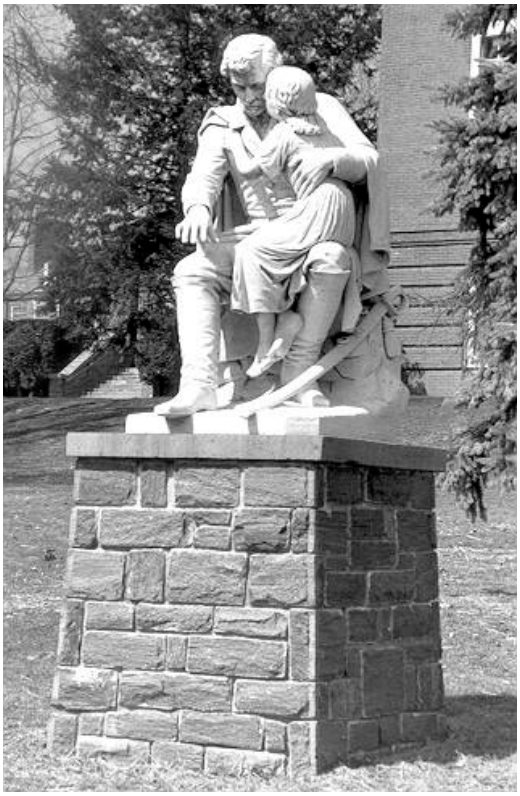


Figure 5.13: Larkin G. Mead, Jr., *The Returned Soldier*, 1867, Marble, located at Veterans Home and Hospital, Rocky Hill, Connecticut

Figure 5.14: "The 'Girl of the Period'—Club Life," *Harper's Bazar*, January 30, 1869

Figure 5.15: F. Heppenheimer's Sons, *Decoration*, 1890s, John and Carolyn Grossman Collection, Winterthur Library

Figure 5.16: Frances Brundage, Raphael Tuck, publisher, *Nobly They Died in Freedom's Name*, Decoration Day Series 173, 1908

Figure 5.17: Frances Brundage, Raphael Tuck, publisher, *The Bravest are the Tenderest. The Loving are the Daring*. Decoration Day Series #173, 1908.

Figure 5.18: Frances Brundage, Raphael Tuck, publisher, *Honor the Living for Life's Consecration. Give to their Pierced Hearts Love's Healing Balm*. Decoration Day Series #173, 1908.

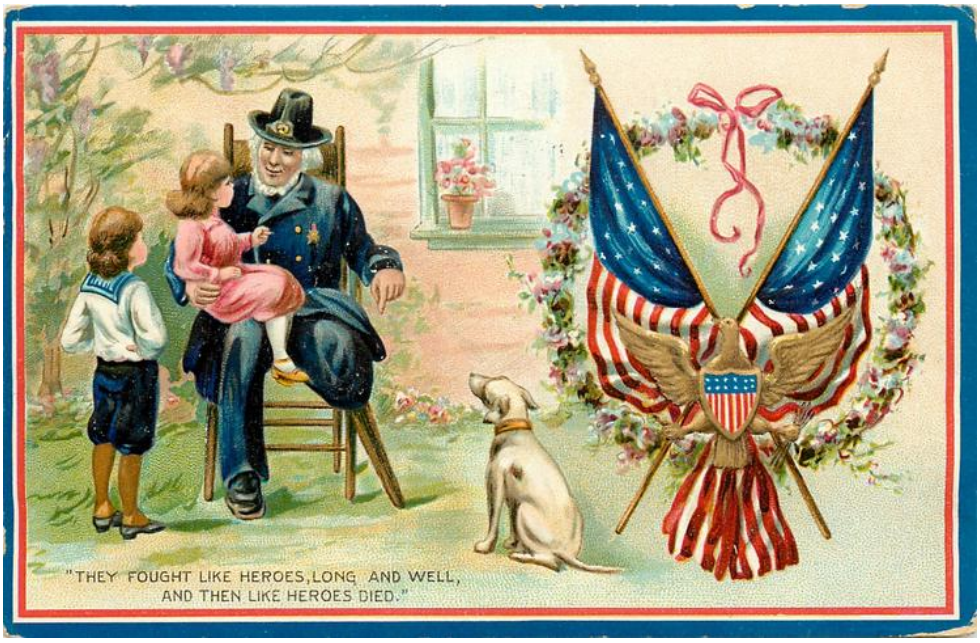


Figure 5.19: Raphael Tuck, publisher, *They Fought Like Heroes, Long and Well, and then Like Heroes Died*, Decoration Day Series #158, 1908

Figure 5.20: Frances Brundage, Raphael Tuck, publisher, *And Every Patriot's Dust Shall Claim Affection's Tenderest Tears*. Decoration Day Series #173, 1908.

Figure 5.21: E. Nash, publisher, *Decoration Day*, Decoration Day series #3, 1910

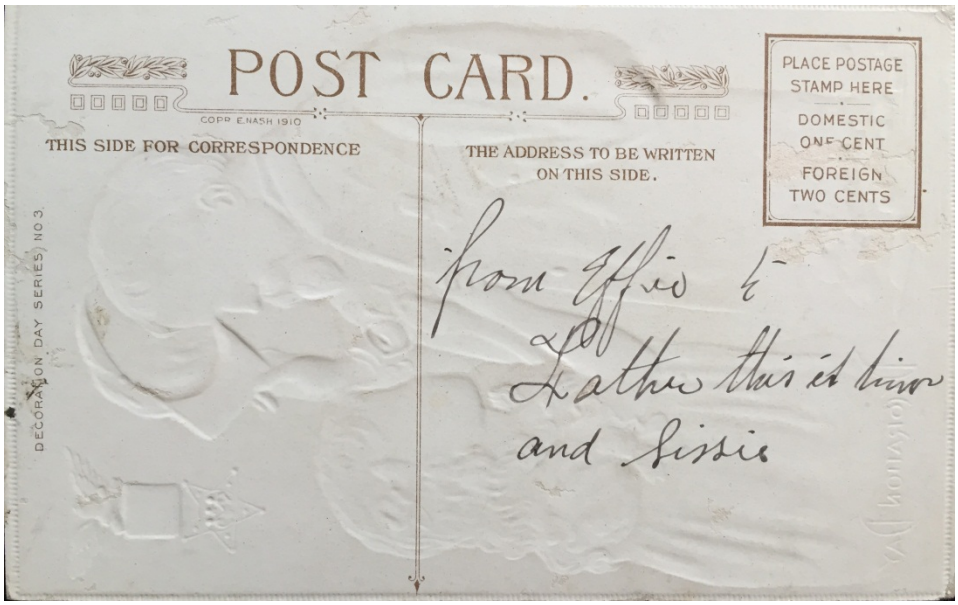


Figure 5.22: E. Nash, publisher, *Decoration Day*, Decoration Day series #3, 1910

Figure 5.23: E. Nash, publisher, *Decoration Day*, Decoration Day series #3, 1910

Figure 5.24: William Ludwell Sheppard, *The Prison Camp, Bell Isle, Virginia*, September 1863, Brush and wash, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 5.25: William Ludwell Sheppard, *Heroes Still*, *Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier*, ca. 1866, The Virginia Historical Society

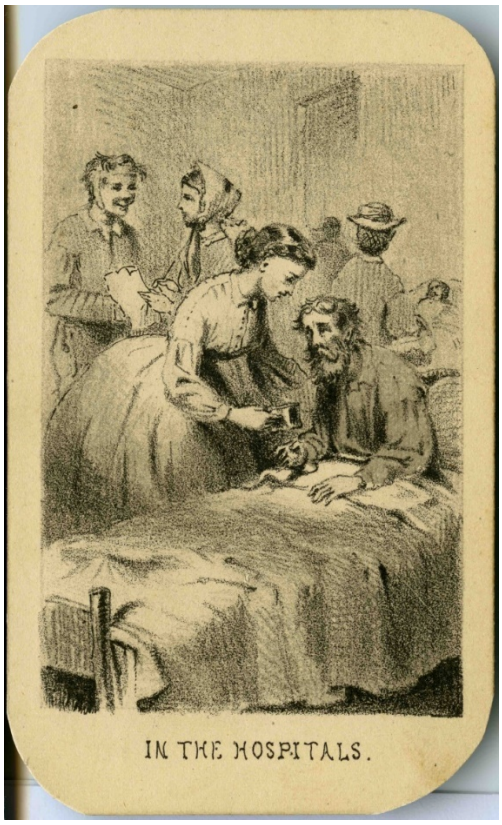


Figure 5.26: William Ludwell Sheppard, *In the Hospitals*, *Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier*, ca. 1866, The Museum of the Confederacy

Figure 5.27: William Ludwell Sheppard, *In the Hospital, 1861*, ca. 1900, Watercolor, The Museum of the Confederacy

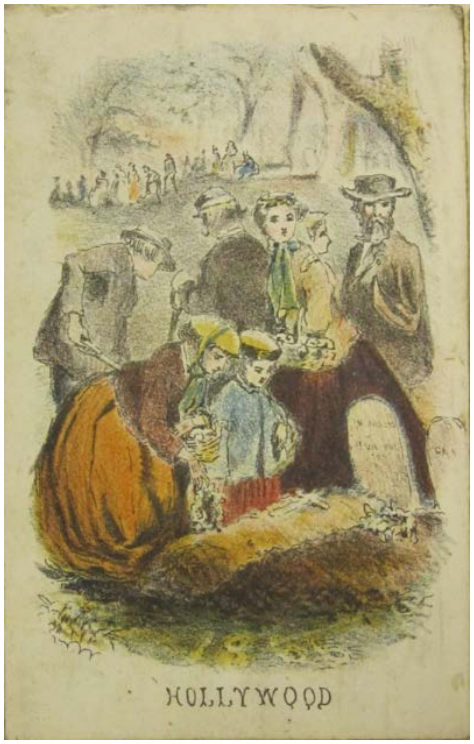


Figure 5.28: William Ludwell Sheppard, *Hollywood, Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier*, ca. 1866, The Virginia Historical Society

Figure 5.29: William Ludwell Sheppard, "Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia—Decorating the Graves of the Rebel Soldiers," *Harper's Weekly* August 17, 1867

Figure 5.30: Boude & McClelland, *Girls of Ann Smith Academy Visiting Stonewall Jackson's Grave*, photographic carte-de-visite, ca. 1864-1865, The Museum of the Confederacy

Figure 5.31: William Ludwell Sheppard, "Decoration of the Graves of Confederate Soldiers, at Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Va., May 31st" *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, June 26, 1869

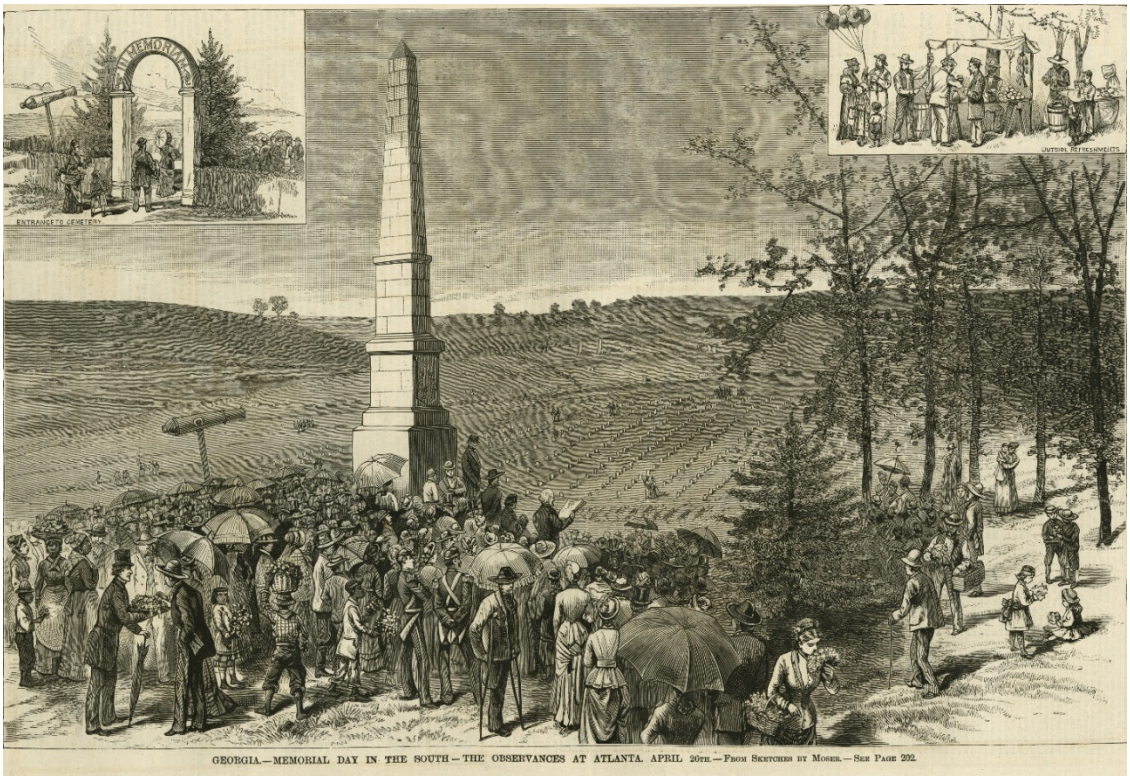


Figure 5.32: James Henry Moser, "Georgia—Memorial Day in the South—The Observances at Atlanta April 26th," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Magazine*, May 21, 1881

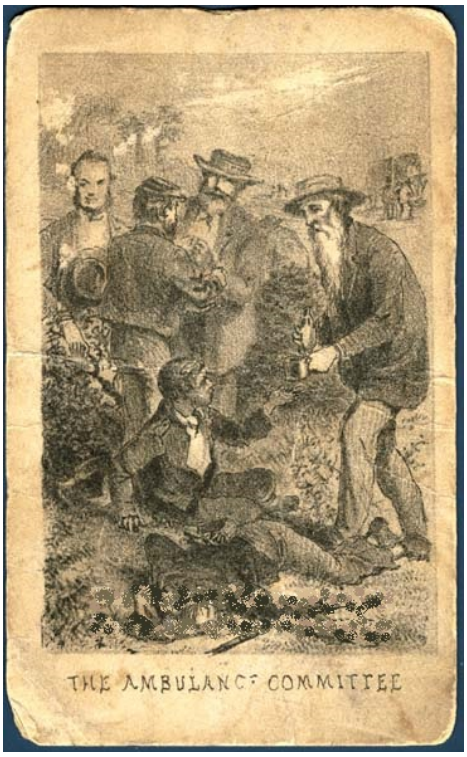


Figure 5.33: William Ludwell Sheppard, *The Ambulance Committee*, *Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier*, ca. 1866, The Virginia Historical Society

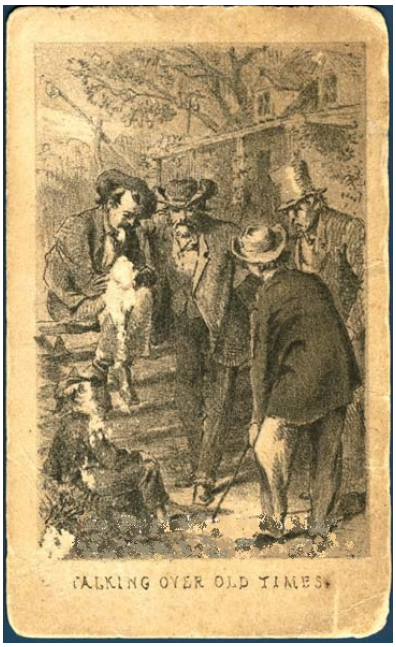


Figure 5.34: William Ludwell Sheppard, *Talking Over Old Times*, *Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier*, ca. 1866, The Virginia Historical Society

Figure 5.35: William Ludwell Sheppard, *First Winter Not What It Is Cracked Up To Be*, *Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier*, ca. 1866, The Virginia Historical Society

Figure 5.36: William Ludwell Sheppard, *The Camp Darkey*, *Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier*, ca. 1866, The Virginia Historical Society

Figure 5.37: Winslow Homer, *Life in Camp, Part 1*, 1864, Color lithograph, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Figure 5.38: Winslow Homer, *Life in Camp, Part II,* 1864, Color lithograph, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Figure 5.39: William Ludwell Sheppard, *General Lee to the Rear! The Wilderness May 1864*, *Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier*, ca. 1866, The Virginia Historical Society

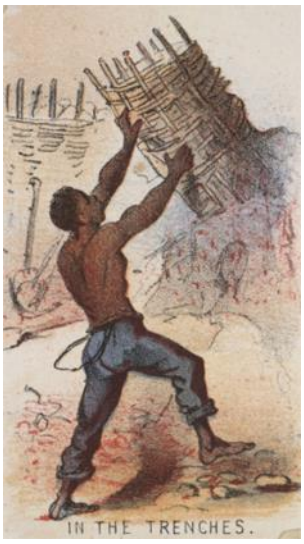


Figure 5.40: Winslow Homer, *In the Trenches, Life in Camp*, 1864, Color lithograph, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Figure 5.41: William Ludwell Sheppard, *In the Trenches*, *Life Scenes of a Confederate Soldier*, ca. 1866, The Virginia Historical Society

Figure 5.42: Van Doren Family Album, 1835-1903, The Virginia Historical Society

Figure 5.43: Van Doren Family Album, 1835-1903, The Virginia Historical Society

Figure 5.44: Van Doren Family Album, 1835-1903, The Virginia Historical Society

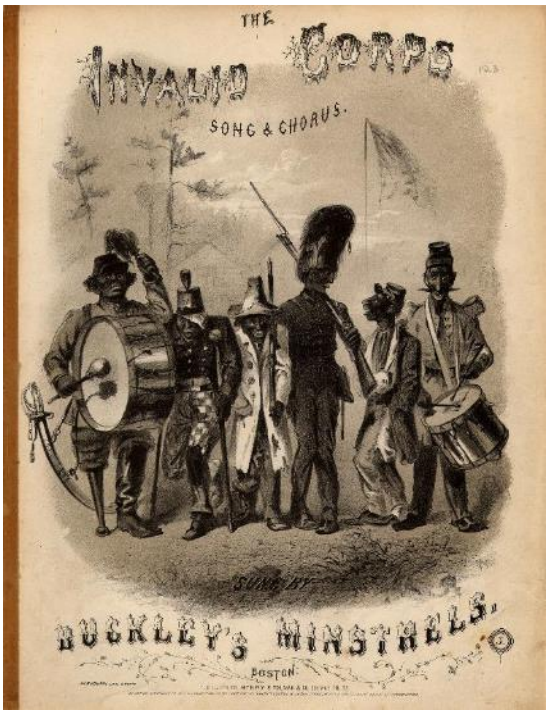


Figure 5.45: J.H. Bufford, lithographer, "The Invalid Corps," Boston, Massachusetts, 1863, Duke University Libraries

[A TYPICAL NEGRO.]

We publish herewith three portraits, from photographs by M'Pherson and Oliver, of the negro Gordon, who escaped from his master in Mississippi, and came into our lines at Baton Rouge in March last. One of these portraits represents the man as he entered our lines, with clothes torn and covered with mud and dirt from his long race through the swamps and bayous, chased as he had been for days and nights by his master with several neighbors and a pack of blood-hounds; another shows him as he underwent the surgical examination previous to being mustered into the service—his back furrowed and scarred with the traces of a whipping administered on Christmas-day last; and the third represents him in United States uniform, bearing the musket and prepared for duty.

This negro displayed unusual intelligence and energy. In order to foil the scent of the blood-hounds who were chasing him he took from his plantation onions, which he carried in his pockets. After crossing each creek or swamp he rubbed his body freely with these onions, and thus, no doubt, frequently threw the dogs off the scent.

At one time in Louisiana he served our troops as guide, and on one expedition was unfortunately taken prisoner by the rebels, who, infuriated beyond measure, tied him up and beat him, leaving him for dead. He came to life, however, and once more made his escape to our lines.

By way of illustrating the degree of brutality which slavery has developed among the whites in the section of country from which this negro came, we append the following extract from a letter in the New York *Times*, recounting what was told by the refugees from Mrs. GILLESPIE'S estate on the Black River:

The treatment of the slaves, they say, has been growing worse and worse for the last six or seven years.

Flogging with a leather strap on the naked body is common; also, paddling the body with a hand-saw until the skin is a mass of blisters, and then breaking the blisters with the teeth of the saw. They have "very often" seen slaves stretched out upon the ground with hands and feet held down by fellow-slaves, or tied to stakes driven into the ground for "*burning*." Handfuls of dry cornstalks are then lighted, and the burning embers are whipped up with a stick so as to fall in showers of live sparks upon the naked back. This is continued until the victim is covered with blisters. If in his writhings of torture the slave gets his hands free to brush off the fire, the burning brand is applied to them.

Another method of punishment, which is inflicted for the higher order of crimes, such as running away, or other refractory conduct, is to dig a hole in the ground large enough for the slave to squat or lie down in. The victim is then stripped naked and placed in the hole, and a covering or grating of green sticks is laid over the opening. Upon this a quick fire is built, and the live embers sifted through upon the naked flesh of the slave, until his body is blistered and swollen almost to bursting. With just enough of life to enable him to crawl, the slave is then allowed to recover from his wounds if he can, or to end his sufferings by death.

"Charley Sice" and "Overton," two hands, were both murdered by these cruel tortures. "Sice" was whipped to death, dying under the infliction, or soon after punishment. "Overton" was laid naked upon his face and burned as above described, so that the cords of his legs and the

GORDON AS HE ENTERED OUR LINES.

GORDON UNDER MEDICAL INSPECTION.

GORDON IN HIS UNIFORM AS A U. S. SOLDIER.

Figure 5.46: "A Typical Negro," *Harper's Weekly*, June 4, 1863

Figure 5.47: Garfield Thomas Haywood, "The Idol of Memorial Day," *Freeman*, May 26, 1906

Figure 5.48: Garfield Thomas Haywood, "The Stand of the American Sheriff," *Freeman* November 11, 1905

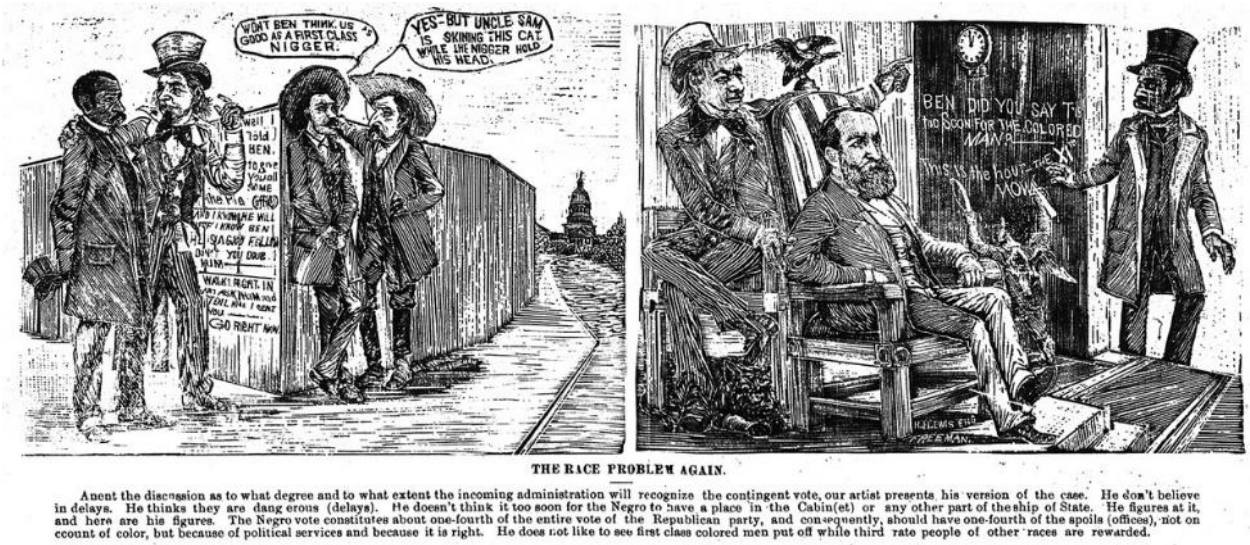


Figure 5.49: Henry J. Lewis, "The Race Problem Again," *Freeman*, June 2, 1889

Figure 5.50: Garfield Thomas Haywood, "Memorial Day," *Freeman*, May 25, 1907

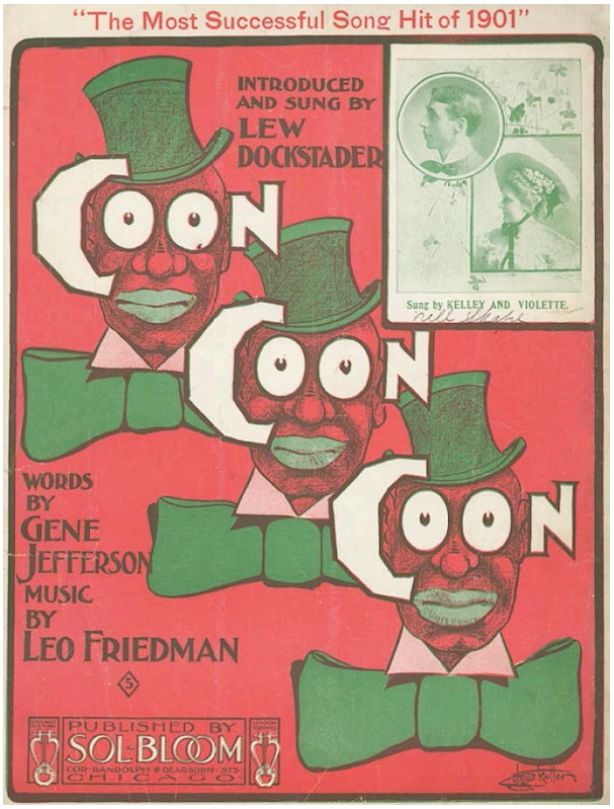


Figure 5.51: "Coon, Coon, Coon" by Gene Jefferson and Leo Friedman, 1900, Chicago, Library of Congress

Figure 5.52: "A Man Knows a Man," *Harper's Weekly*, April 22, 1865

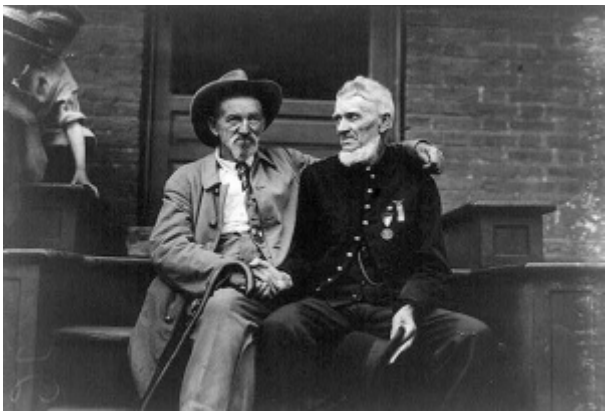


Figure 5.53: *The Blue and the Gray at Gettysburg, Assembly Tent, Gettysburg Celebration, Pennsylvania*, 1913, Library of Congress

Figure 5.54: Reunion of the Blue and the Gray at Evansville, IND, 1899

Figure 5.55: Fritz W. Guerin, *Cuba Libre*, ca. 1898, Library of Congress

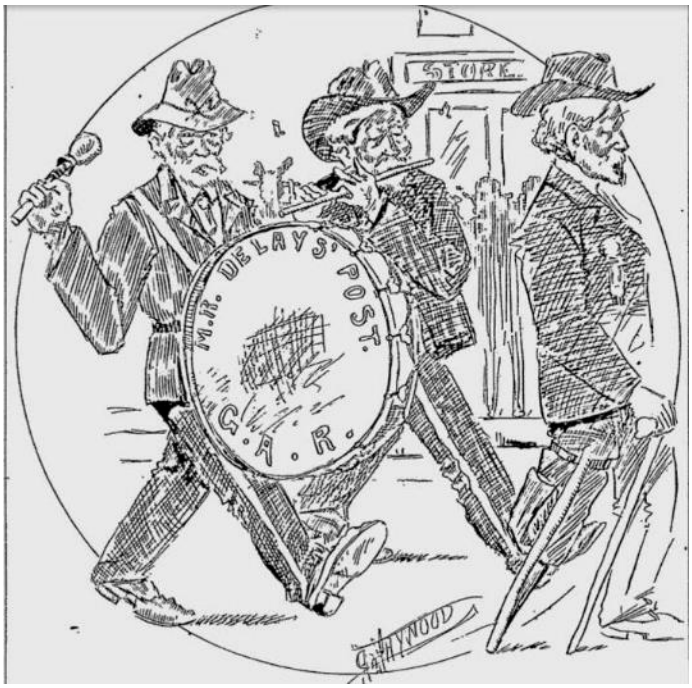


Figure 5.56: Garfield Thomas Haywood, "Still Marching to the Grave," *Freeman*, May 30, 1908

Figure 5.57: Garfield Thomas Haywood, “Reminiscence,” *Freeman*, May 29, 1909

Figure 5.58: F. Nash, publisher, *To Day and Yesterday*, Decoration Day Series No. 2, ca. 1909

Figure 5.59: Archie Gunn, *1861-1917 The American Spirit*, ca. 1917, The Wolfsonian, Florida International University

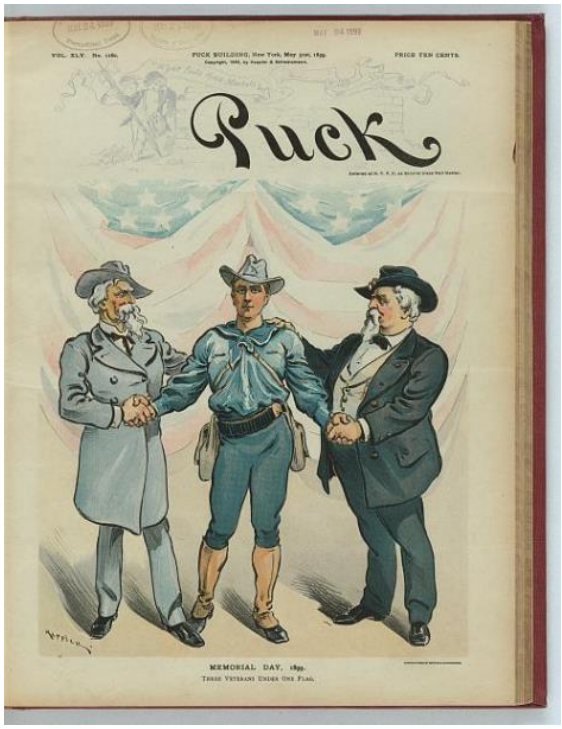


Figure 5.60: Udo J. Keppler, "Memorial Day, 1899: Three Veterans under One Flag," *Puck* 45:1160 (May 31, 1899)

Figure 6.1: Film still of Half Soldier and Angel Eyes, *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, 1966

Figure 6.2: John Singer Sargent, *Gassed*, 1919, Imperial War Museum

Figure 6.3: Norman Rockwell, *The Long Shadow of Lincoln*, 1945, Lincoln Shrine, Redlands, California

Figure 6.4: Dario Robleto, T*he Creative Potential of Disease*, 2004, a self-portrait doll made by a Civil War union soldier amputee while recovering in the hospital, mended and repaired with a modern day surgeon's surgical needle and thread, new pant leg material made from a modern day soldier's uniform, cast leg made from femur bone dust and prosthetic alginate treated with *Balm Of A Thousand Foreign Fields*, vegetable ivory, collagen, melted shrapnel and bullet lead, cold cast steel and zinc, polyester resin, rust

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