

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations · vii

	Introduction	1
CHAPTER 1	Visions of Democracy	23
CHAPTER 2	Poetry and War: Emily Dickinson, Walt Whitman, and Abraham Lincoln	49
CHAPTER 3	Democratic Mourning: Louisa May Alcott, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, and Harriet Beecher Stowe	74
CHAPTER 4	The Republic of Men at Sea: Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, and Mark Twain	97
CHAPTER 5	Women at Home: Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Harriet Jacobs, Lucy Larcom, and Frances Harper	129
	Afterword: The History of the Present	151

Acknowledgments · 163

Notes · 165

Bibliography · 201

Further Reading · 207

Index · 211

Introduction

Men at War

On the fourteenth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's death, the poet who had famously mourned his absence delivered a lecture in Philadelphia declaring that the "secession war" was too recent to describe. Although he had previously written about the war in the poems of *Drum-Taps* (1865), on this day Walt Whitman announced that "A great literature will yet arise out of the era of those four years" because they offer "an inexhaustible mine for the histories, drama, romance, and even philosophy of peoples to come."¹ Whitman ended his eulogy by noting that the "grand deaths of the race . . . are its most important inheritance-value—in some respects beyond its literature and art."² The importance of such an inheritance, the charge that the greatness of literature or art would continue to pale before the quest to make such deaths significant, presented many challenges for the writers and artists who depicted the emotions, the bodies, and the landscapes left as a residue from this absorbing war. Developing a cultural legacy out of the grimy fabric of war became a greater challenge when the corpses—whether celebrated, claimed, or abandoned—proliferated across thousands of miles. Definitely haunted by Lincoln's death, Whitman, who has in turn haunted readers with poems like "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed," eerily proposes that death outweighs both literature and art.

The question remains: Why does the Civil War continue to haunt America? In other words, why does a series of often inchoate battles fought more than 160 years ago continue to be debated as though the victory or the loss contained something like the soul of the country?³ The origin tales of Civil War haunting have been traced back to 1619 with the arrival of

the first ships that came from England to Virginia carrying humans catalogued as cargo.⁴ They might also be traced to the seventeenth-century silencing of women, such as Anne Hutchinson, banished by her minister John Cotton after she dared to claim access to the voice of God.⁵ This book focuses on the nineteenth century, yet the writers and artists of that century were haunted by earlier histories. These include the violence of not only the American Revolution, that much celebrated “birth” of the codified nation-state, but also the almost numberless small battles that led up to the defining moments of the Civil War. Crucially and tragically, the soldiers who emerged to fight on both sides included veterans from nearly forgotten wars, such as the Cherokee Wars that lasted, conservatively, from 1776 until 1795, and the Seminole Wars that resumed in the early nineteenth century, influencing national policy for decades.

Such armed conflict continued in the West in such places as “Bleeding Kansas” and the Dakota territory, even as contemporary reenactments commemorate the Civil War battles that haunt the landscapes of the eastern United States.⁶ The concept of democracy remains haunted in this country because of its dual attachment to the legacy of slavery and the rift between North and South remaining from the war. In the abstract, the idea that democracy means access to participation in government adheres to the usual phrasing of participatory democracy.⁷ Yet such a concept of democracy has always involved exclusions, and in the United States these date from the earliest debates over how to count citizens, debates that arose among signers of the Declaration of Independence and resulted in counting enslaved human beings as fractions. Those excluded have witnessed their exclusion more vividly than those included have witnessed that privilege.

One of the most painful literary accounts of such exclusion during the nineteenth century appears in the emancipation narrative *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861). When Harriet Jacobs wrote about hiding in her grandmother’s house from the confinement of her enslaved status, she described looking through the small hole she named the “loophole of retreat,” eager for fresh air and a glimpse of her children. What she witnessed—a woman fleeing down the street, for example, from those who wished to claim her body as property—resulted from the operations of a democracy whose laws both excluded and confined her. This book bears witness to such exclusions while testifying about the desire for freedom that ideas about democracy still convey. This introduction examines some of these terms and the sensations they arouse.

To witness the history of democratic yearning in the nineteenth-century United States is to observe and testify about a vivid landscape with

sometimes competing languages. That testimony can evoke, sometimes simultaneously, the pleasure of belonging and the pain of alienation. For Walt Whitman, looking back on the war in his reflective *Democratic Vistas* (1871), the success of democracy is certain, but he also saw a “battle” raging “between democracy’s convictions, aspirations and the people’s crudeness, vices, caprices.”⁸ The image of people’s “crudeness” at war with democracy’s “aspirations” persists through the nineteenth century. The action of witnessing presents connotations at once of attesting to faith and giving testimony in a court of law. Although they literally fought for it, citizens who express faith in democracy often articulate something fragile or misplaced in the face of the challenges brought by war, slavery, genocide, and territorial imperialism. To bear witness in relation to the testimony of such voices is to convey the charge of competing words, to observe how pictures work as propaganda and illustration, to see what images the speakers use to testify—and to be haunted by death.⁹

Writers from the nineteenth century repeatedly display faith in testimony while they also exhibit uncertainty about the possible consequences of the act of looking. Fiction and poetry dominate this book’s choices of bearing witness, yet throughout this book I look for visual productions to complement a cultural understanding of political consequences. As I investigate forms of devotion to democracy, my witnessing stops short of the zeal and determination that drove the production of a book such as *American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (1839). When the Southern sisters Angelina and Sarah Grimke, intimately familiar with the legacy of the Southern “peculiar institution” because they grew up in the midst of it, worked with their Northern abolitionist friend Theodore Weld to produce that book, they used the testimony of Southern newspapers to expose the practices of slavery, because such newspapers routinely described the wounds, scars, and brands that identified brutal practices as a form of identification.¹⁰ The introduction to that book evokes a court proceeding in which “the case of Human Rights against Slavery” will be “adjudicated in the court of conscience.”¹¹ The ambiguous status of a “court of conscience” rarely appears in the legal testimony that determined federal policy toward either slavery or what became known as “domestic dependent nations.” Such invocations of domesticity and dependence declared an impossibly fraught relation to nationalism within the first decades of the nineteenth century.¹²

When Whitman writes about democracy he references faith in a democratic vision that appears at once intimate and national. Absurd as his declarations of faith might appear—and they can definitely appear absurd

in Whitman—the very love that he promotes becomes an essential part of his witnessing. For Whitman to address “Democracy!” is almost always to use an exclamation mark, and often to exclaim further, “Near at hand to you a throat is inflating itself and joyfully singing!” That joy can seem presumptuous, as when he asserts of “my nations” that he will “include you all with perfect love!” Yet he made it his life’s work to embrace that love, while mixing it with the details of war, of landscapes, of the particularities of the states from which came the young men that he loved so well. Exceptions occur. When Whitman offers a “Glimpse of War’s Hell Scenes” in *Specimen Days* or shows the “monkey-looking dwarfs” that have returned barely alive from prisoner of war camps, he turns to grim pondering. Even then, through suffering that raises doubts concerning the human capacity to offer testimony about such deeds, it bears repeating that the “kelson of creation” for Whitman is love.¹³ As a witness, Whitman testifies to a democracy perpetually unavailable, although he repeatedly celebrates that the bodies it contains can be embraced.

The onset of the war had a correlation in the development of photographic techniques; the covered wagons of photographic darkrooms trundled along to battlefields as the studios they left behind in cities like New York or Washington, DC, sought to sell images from the front. An appetite for visual representations of the blistering devastation to both bodies and landscapes recorded in photographs such as those later republished in Alexander Gardner’s *Photographic Sketchbook of the Civil War* (1865–1866) meant that such photographs could be seen in city streets far from the front. These images, merging stones and bones, have a technical corollary in the detail that the exposure times of cameras conveyed the stillness of ruined landscapes and corpses more easily than they could portray living bodies. The captions for the photographs that Gardner provides are famously inaccurate, as they distort how both bodies and weapons arrived at the locations he shows. The attention paid to the bones that littered those landscapes includes an implicit analogy that the rocks among which they appeared seem to have swallowed them. Gardner comments of his image “Home of a Rebel Sharpshooter” that the soldier’s “bones lie bleaching . . . between the rocks at Gettysburg.”¹⁴ The thin line between bones and rocks appears in the notations made by Walt Whitman in *Specimen Days* when he observes how many bodies were swallowed up by the land and remain in “secluded spots” as “skeletons.”¹⁵ These skeletons at once merge with the landscape and linger, as Whitman later notes, as dust.

Writers such as Stephen Crane and Ambrose Bierce might initially appear to endorse remembering the war as a crisis about masculinity

and the bodies of white men. Such a condition of understanding the war appears in the literature of both the North and the South. Troubling these persistent implications, this book first considers the effects of the environment and then turns to other forms of witnessing. The language of Crane's famous opening to *The Red Badge of Courage*—"The cold passed reluctantly from the earth"—gives the landscape an active presence.¹⁶ The "retiring fogs revealed an army stretched out on the hills, resting" and yet the landscape seems to be seeking to end its rest as the "low brows of distant hills" contain "the red eye like gleam of hostile camp fires" (3). More disturbing eyes appear in corpses. Henry Fleming, the "youth" who has come to fight as a heroic investment, finds himself first running from battle and then encountering a corpse: "he was being looked at by a dead man" (41). To encounter either landscapes or corpses in this novel is to find yourself being watched (figure I.1). And the watching, as in Winslow Homer's sketch, *Sharp-Shooter on Picket Duty*, carries the threat of death.

The look of death in the landscape that the writer Ambrose Bierce presents through stories such as "The Affair at Coulter's Notch" (1889) introduces gender to the matter of political loyalty. Captain Coulter, the eponymous Union soldier, has been ordered to fire on his own house, located in a "notch" between warring parties, where his wife and son are sheltered. At the end of the story, after the house has collapsed, Coulter is found cradling the corpse of his Confederate wife so closely that observers cannot at first distinguish between Coulter's beard and his dead wife's hair. The notoriety of such horror in Bierce's writing overshadows the extent to which it might be realistic reporting, and even possibly understatement. In "Chickamauga" (1889), for instance, the "inarticulate and indescribable cries" of a mute child who finds his mother apparently raped and definitely murdered after he has been wandering in the woods and trying to ride on the backs of injured crawling soldiers might also show the mute need to cry a language that cannot be uttered, to speak words that cannot be spoken.¹⁷ When the body subsides into the landscape, language subsides as well.

Women and landscapes, women and tears—the back story of war often seems to involve the soldier's desire to return home to a mother, a wife, a sister. What history adheres to such locations? The home might have been burned. Or shelled. Or abandoned. What became of the women and children who lived in that home, asks Ambrose Bierce's story. Yet the homes that appear in these short stories, however shattered and violated, are still the homes of white people. The confusion caused by seeing the beard of Captain Coulter draped over the long hair of his dead wife seems to blur the relation between the male Union soldier and the dead female

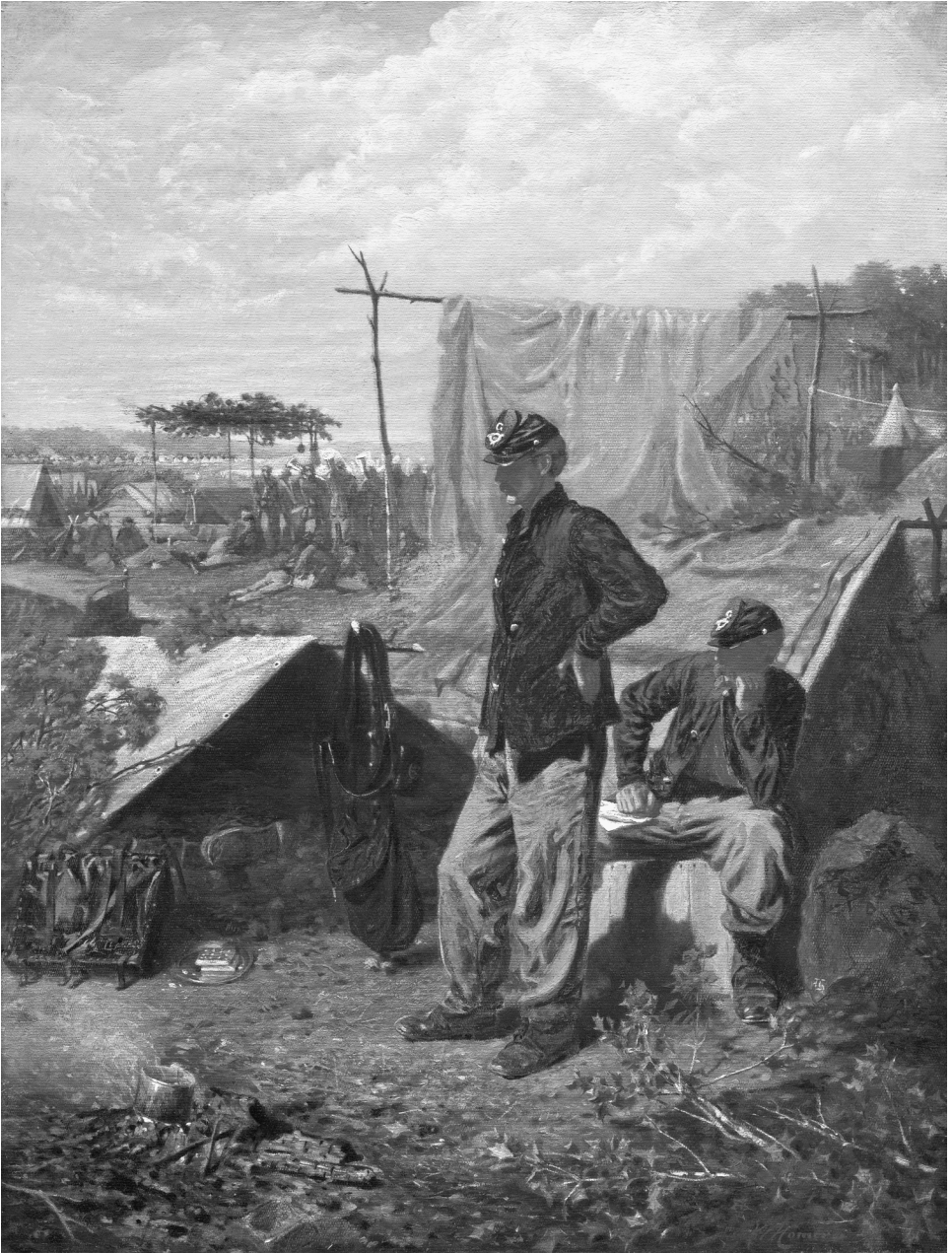


FIGURE I.1. Winslow Homer (1836–1910). *Home, Sweet Home*, ca. 1863. Oil on canvas. Overall dimensions: 21 1/2 in. × 16 1/2 in. (54.6 cm × 41.9 cm). Two Union soldiers (infantrymen, according to the insignia on their caps) listen to the regimental band play “Home, Sweet Home.” Patrons’ Permanent Fund (1997.72.1). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Southern sympathizer to whom he has been married and against whom he has been directed to fire cannonballs.

The haunting evoked by the sight of corpses in such a short story finds a corollary in the haunting provoked by the photographed faces of the wounded. It remains unnerving to open the pages of the photographic notebooks kept by Reed Bontecou, a medical surgeon during the war who wanted to document the results of the treatments he carried out after battles. The discomfort caused by looking at the faces of the young boys whose bodies have been torn engages the archival difficulty in understanding that surveillance is at once medical and political, at once personal and cultural. The spectacle of these faces set into the pages of an album makes them specimens of treatment, but also specimens of war. The idea of producing such albums as though they belonged in parlors introduces an aspect of war as uneasy vigilance and even an uncomfortable tourism as Northern soldiers took trains to the South and tried to figure out landscapes that became unrecognizable as trees were felled and bodies took the place of boulders.¹⁸

Encounters with the landscape suffuse literary and artistic imagination in the nineteenth-century United States before and after the war. The post-bellum turn to celebrating Western landscapes shows the West pulling against the difficult maneuvering of urban populations and industrialization in the Eastern United States. That thread pulling cultural and political energies westward was enhanced by the railroad. The “golden spike” was driven into the landscape of the West just after the war ended, a reminder that the war took place against a background of commerce and mobility. The transcontinental railroad project that was begun in the earliest days of 1863 was proposed as a means to reach markets in Asia. It reached a ceremonial end just after the war, on May 10, 1869.¹⁹ The railroad mobilized art as well as commerce: able to reach Western landscapes more quickly, the photographers who had followed troops across stony landscapes to find dead bodies now turned to the stony sublimity of Yosemite. Their images were echoed in the large landscapes of painters like Albert Bierstadt, whose vast mountains drew the eye away from small bodies in the foreground and reinforced the shift in popular attention from the loss of bodies in landscapes to landscapes that dwarfed bodies.

Witnessing

To declare that the Civil War haunts America is also to note that the dis-unified nation still called the United States persists as a haunted house, with ghosts as a legacy of its foundation. Abraham Lincoln, considered

during his lifetime as divisive and controversial, famously issued a warning about a “house divided”²⁰ that persists. The color-coded maps showing political disagreements in the current century—disagreements nurtured by the violence surrounding legislation about education, race, abortion, or immigration—resemble the maps that showed states splitting from the Union over the matter of slavery.²¹ In referring to Lincoln’s apocalyptic warning, I engage with the present while looking backward; by the time you read these words, the daily moments of crisis will have moved inexorably into the past.²² But the haunting will continue.

To observe how the Civil War haunts America, this book examines not only ghosts that cannot rest but also the cultural practices that invoke them as persisting.²³ These ghosts have been named, remembered, celebrated, or shamed according to the regions of the United States where they carried out their deeds when alive. In the West, the displacements of officially sanctioned genocide persist as controversies about Indigenous land rights in places like Oklahoma.²⁴ In the North, the history of racial strife persists as a controversy about police tactics. Southern celebrations, commemorations, and reenactments continue to produce a vision of the “war between the states,” but the concept of a unified nation becomes ever more elusive. My project seeks neither to compete with particular stories of battlefield remembrance nor to embrace a resistance founded in ideology. Rather, by tracing ceremonies, rituals, reenactments, and memorials in both literature and art, I propose that how often we look at the dead ties us to a history that has no end.²⁵

To remember the Civil War through such visible emblems of a heroic but lost identity as statues for fallen heroes continues to invoke controversies over what was lost. For example, Augustus Saint-Gaudens created the much-admired Robert Gould Shaw memorial (1897) in Boston Common to depict the doomed advance of the Massachusetts Fifty-Fourth Infantry at Fort Wagner.²⁶ While the memorial honors the heroic sacrifice by newly enlisted African American soldiers, in visual terms it celebrates white sacrifice: the doomed marching men are led by a white man on horseback. On the opposite side, certain statues in southern cities such as New Orleans, until recently, commemorated Southern generals. The statues don’t hold still: in places like Charlottesville, Virginia, their proposed removal generated violent protests from groups that represented both the North and the South. After toppling a statue in North Carolina, protestors kicked at its inert form in the grass.²⁷ These monuments often represent the groups that sought political or cultural power by erecting them decades after the war ended, including nostalgic lobbying groups such as the

Daughters of the Confederacy. Understanding this history reveals a haunting that has emerged repeatedly in the more than 160 years since the war officially ended. In arguing that the United States has been haunted, I also assert that the Civil War is still alive.²⁸

Talking about ghosts—both warding them off and inviting their return—has always been attractive as a mode of storytelling. The “frisson” of hearing or seeing a ghost mingles with the desire to know the story behind the fear, and both the story and the fear enact a kind of pleasure.²⁹ In naming ghosts I share the concern embedded in figures like the “crawling already? baby” in Toni Morrison’s *Beloved*. This two-year-old, killed by her mother Sethe, who pays for a tombstone with her body, haunts a house and a family that both contain and resist the memories of the house divided.³⁰ The ambiguity of the injunction in the novel’s final pages—is this really “not a story to pass on”?—might also haunt the telling here. In the pages that follow, I describe many historical ghosts.³¹ Each violent death that reflects the legacies of policing race and identity revives the historical shame of haunting.

To be haunted by the Civil War does not mean that an exorcism is in the future. Citizens of the United States will continue to live with these ghosts. The collective voices at the end of *Beloved* raise a wordless chant that brings peace for the house. Still trying to use our words to articulate what has happened, we develop stories to pass on, whether we believe them or not.³²

The first chapter of this book, “Visions of Democracy,” discusses early deliberations about the racialization of an ideal democracy and includes a more detailed account of how the violent debates about land ownership and slavery that led to the Civil War challenge democratic ideals. The second chapter, “Poetry and War,” examines the language of sensation in the war poetry of Herman Melville, Emily Dickinson, and Walt Whitman as well as in Lincoln’s relation to the poetic and visual culture of his time.³³ In “Democratic Mourning,” the third chapter, I turn to the haunted aftereffects of war. Here I focus on Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, who wrote some of the most popular inspirational fiction of the nineteenth century, as well as writings by Louisa May Alcott and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Women in Phelps’s postbellum sentimental novel *The Gates Ajar* (1868) confront the boundary between heaven and earth. Mourning lost loved ones, they live in an emotional border territory that alludes to the violent skirmishes and deadly betrayals taking place in border territories along the Mississippi River.

The fourth chapter, “The Republic of Men at Sea,” turns to both rivers and the sea. It sets in motion a comparison of travel along the Mississippi

River in the writings of Herman Melville and Mark Twain. For each writer, rivers become porous boundaries between territories considered free and places of bondage, a contrast considered here in relation to the numerous crossings of the Atlantic Ocean that conveyed enslaved bodies. Today's readings cannot be landlocked; they incorporate the expanding geographical boundaries of the nineteenth century and make a circuit from the westward expansion toward markets with China to the southern frontier with the Caribbean. For these modes of transit, the hauntings that accompany the often-lethal practices of enslavement and the simultaneous genocides of the Western United States emerge as key elements while considering the mythology of men set free on the water. In the fifth chapter, "Women at Home," I look at feminism with respect to labor in late-nineteenth-century productions by Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Lucy Larcom, and Frances Harper, and ask about the relation of their feminism to the casualties of the war. The afterword looks at the invocation of wartime stories in the work of contemporary playwrights such as Suzan-Lori Parks.

Women at War

The organization known since the nineteenth century as the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) states on its website that it most emphatically does not support white supremacy. At the same time, the website expresses regret about the desecration and removal of Confederate statues, many of which its past members worked to install, because the men honored by these monuments were all "American." Yet the membership page explicitly forbids extending membership to descendants of any member of the Confederate States of America (CSA) who signed the loyalty oath before April 9, 1865.³⁴ That is, they do not welcome descendants of soldiers who turned their backs on the Confederate nation they had sworn to defend before the war had officially ended.

It seems emphatically strange that there is no equivalent postbellum organization for the Daughters of the Union Army. Perhaps women in the nineteenth-century Northern states were too exhausted from the work of the so-called sanitary commissions that provided support for the Union Army and too distracted by counting their losses. Raising funds for Union soldiers while knitting socks, picking lint for bandages, and hosting fund-raising fairs that featured fabrics and board games with political motifs, the Northern women who supported the Union Army seem to have felt no need to commemorate the sacrifices made by their husbands, sons, fathers,

and brothers beyond their support for what was then called Decoration Day. Or maybe they already had an awkward sense of kinship. Before naming such an organization, both groups might have had to consider themselves as descended from the implicitly racialized organization known as the Daughters of the American Revolution. (The DAR emerged slightly earlier than the Daughters of the Confederacy, and was founded in 1890.) The oddity of all these organizations is that they proceed as though it's not possible to remember your place in the national order unless you name it with a familial order. Still, among the Sons of Confederate Veterans, the Sons of Union Veterans, the Children of the Confederacy, the Daughters of the Confederacy, why were there no daughters of the Union? Certainly we see one in photographs like the one here (figure I. 2) that shows a daughter mourning a lost soldier father. The badges that mark her small body as grieving are overridden by the haunting in her eyes.

What, then, does it mean to be a daughter of war? The organization set up as the UDC, honoring both the veterans and the women of the Confederacy, was founded in 1894. Still active, the UDC offers a sense of belonging that almost mocks citizenship in the “United States.” In the felt relation between kinship and national belonging, the current website conceals the organization’s previous relations with the Ku Klux Klan to which members contributed a memorial in 1926. The controversial Confederate memorial at Arlington National Cemetery, commissioned by the UDC, centrally featured the statue of a white woman and included images of enslaved persons expressing support for Confederate soldiers. Commissioned in 1910, its dedication was attended by President Woodrow Wilson in 1914. After repeated appeals protesting its presence on what some consider the hallowed ground of a national cemetery, it was removed only recently, in December 2023, and put into storage.

Promoting a form of reverence for mythical fathers, the group also founded the Children of the Confederacy (more formally “The Children of the Confederacy of the Daughters of the Confederacy”) to take the legacy forward. The results persist: a number of Southern states encourage attention to the mythology of the lost Confederacy not only by resisting the removal of Confederate memorial statues but also, far more significantly, by increased attention to how the history of the United States, including the Civil War but also the struggles over Civil Rights or *Brown v. Board of Education*, will be presented in schools. That struggle involves colleges and universities and libraries—what material can be made available to the young is essentially a struggle over the Children of the Confederacy and what they can learn in Southern schools.



FIGURE 1.2. Unidentified girl in mourning dress holding framed photograph of her father as a cavalryman with sword and Hardee hat. Photograph: sixth-plate tintype, hand-colored. Case: 3.7 in. $\times$ 3.3 in. (9.5 cm $\times$ 8.4 cm). Liljenquist Family Collection of Civil War Photographs. Courtesy of Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Haunted Bodies

Beginning with haunted bodies and an affective inquiry into witnessing and democracy, this book explores alternative cultural histories in the paths to and from the trauma of war. To attempt such cultural history within the context of extraordinary changes—such as the end of slavery, the emergence of feminist politics, the industrial revolutions, the growth of cities, and the expansion of geographical claims to national boundaries—is to

make selective choices about the volatile nineteenth-century United States. The chapters thus sample artistic and literary expressions in a historical context that saw a dramatic increase in magazines, newspapers, gift books, and cultural borrowing resulting from lax international copyright protection. Invoking declarations, from the “original” declaration of national identity to the “Declaration of Sentiments and Rights,” *Haunted by the Civil War* presents sometimes competing political and cultural testimony about national belonging in the nineteenth-century United States.³⁵

Using both symbolic and actual bodies as it interrogates the relation of witnessing to war, this book presents salient stories and images from the nineteenth century to challenge readers as well as to provoke further research. Telling stories about different cultural understandings of history, the book includes the staging of popular responses and the juxtaposition of texts and authors. Throughout, its attention to cultural moments engages the challenge of how to combine the visual texture, the political decisions, and the historical context into a narrative. My story encourages both historical and aesthetic understandings of genres: I tell the story mostly by interpreting literary expressions such as drama, fiction, poetry, and legal discourse, but I also look at the arts with which these genres intersect, such as painting, sculpture, and photography. To note the interpenetration of such genres with the history of conflict encourages a reading practice that involves at once an overview and the specific intimacy of coming to know an author, an image, a statue, a poem, a story, a performance.

The battles that predate the Civil War in addition to those that followed often began in reaction to legislative decisions as well as armed uprising. Historians have marked certain armed conflicts from the nineteenth century as turning points of violent response. These include responses to the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, the tragic displacements of the Cherokee Removal Act of 1830, the Astor Place Riots of 1849, the raid on Harper’s Ferry in 1859 (and the subsequent hanging of John Brown), and the miserable fate met by George Armstrong Custer’s troops at Little Big Horn in 1878.³⁶ To these dates we might add the militarized boundary disputes known as the Mexican–American War (1846–1848) as well as the quarrel over shipping that came to be known as the War of 1812. These events appear as temporal markers etched in blood: they insert codified violence into both urban spaces and the marginal spaces at the edge of territorial claims.

The violence that seems endemic to expanding the territorial limits of the United States marks both dramatic and incremental shifts in the locations of national identity. That is, if we consider the large expansions



FIGURE I.3. Winslow Homer (1836–1910). *The Army of the Potomac—A Sharp-Shooter on Picket Duty*, published in *Harper's Weekly*, November 15, 1862. Wood engraving based on painting by Homer. Sheet: 10 13/16 in. × 19 in. (27.5 cm × 48.3 cm). Gift of Peggy L. and Harold L. Osher (Peggy Liberman, Class of 1951). 1996.7.25. Courtesy of Davis Museum, Wellesley College.

that forcefully incorporated Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and most of California, the violence that accompanies the very geographic placing of the nation's borders shifts during the nineteenth century. As historians and artists visualize such moments, they rewrite the landscapes and populations of North and South, East and West. For a visual example, the widely viewed nineteenth-century engraving of Winslow Homer's painting *Sharp-Shooter*, showing a man in a tree with a gun (figure I.3). He appears at first glance to invoke the overlap of nature and violence, almost making killing seem natural as his left hand grasps the branch to steady the overlapping “X” of the rifle in his right hand. The young man could be perched in a tree looking to shoot a deer, but, as a Civil War marksman, he waits in the tree to shoot a person. The canteen dangling below the mouth of the rifle reminds the viewer that it can be thirsty work.³⁷

Political changes arrived not only through violence, however, but also through the quiet meetings of groups who met to propose or rewrite legislation: the women who gathered to write a “Declaration of Sentiments” at Seneca Falls in 1848, the soldiers who surrounded George McClellan and Abraham Lincoln as they met after the battle at Antietam in 1862, and, notwithstanding the genocidal violence that preceded and accompanied them,

the strategies that drove the Homestead Act and the transcontinental railroad launched during the war and memorialized by the men who met to drive the ceremonial “golden spike” in 1869.³⁸ These ceremonies engage forms of witnessing that involve contracts not always commemorated by photographs. Yet the women who signed the “Declaration of Sentiments,” the men gathered by a military tent, the men who gathered by the railroad, were all met by forms of violence as well as celebration. As the British cultural theorist Stuart Hall once observed, “I simply want to say that in the histories of the migration, forced or free, of peoples who now compose the populations of those societies, whose cultural traces are everywhere intermingled with one another, there is always the trace of historical violence and rupture.”³⁹ The archives of the nineteenth century make it possible to observe such traces of “historical violence and rupture,” while embracing the wonders of natural phenomena, the intimacy of loving relationships, and the extraordinary power of language.

Through the advent of photographic reproductions, historical witnessing became something that could be visually reproduced and preserved in an archive of historical memory. For example, when Abraham Lincoln was photographed at Antietam with General McClellan, it was unprecedented to see a president on the battlefield.⁴⁰ Surrounded by men in uniform, Lincoln towers above them but also seems distracted (figure I.4). Historians have noted that the Emancipation Proclamation was first drafted after this victory at Antietam. Such markers of temporal significance have become so commonplace that we no longer notice that we hold Lincoln’s face between our fingers and spend it as currency; the once revered “father of our country,” George Washington, stands by in our pockets. The literal currency of their faces keeps them alive in popular consciousness, yet the currency itself still has a political valence as the lingering controversy over the replacement of Andrew Jackson with Harriet Tubman on the twenty-dollar bill demonstrates.

The war persists in popular culture to invoke an idealized national mourning. One movie about Abraham Lincoln, for instance, opens with Black soldiers reciting the Gettysburg Address.⁴¹ Such recitals of momentous words from a singularly divisive event—mourning the dead from the Battle of Gettysburg—sometimes bookend the combinations of integrity and compromise that led up to the Civil War. The address, engraved in stone at one end of the National Mall, remains a speech to memorize. The cemetery itself remains politically controversial as the size of monuments commemorating the Confederacy in relation to the monuments for Union soldiers can still spur arguments. The volatile symbolism of



FIGURE I.4. Alexander Gardner (1821–1882). “President Lincoln on Battle-Field of Antietam,” 1862. Albumen silver print. 6 5/8 in. × 8 15/16 in. (17 cm × 23 cm). Reprinted in Gardner’s *Photographic Sketch Book of the War* (1866). As the only man out of uniform, Lincoln’s tall hat makes him rise above the military men who surround him. (See figure I.2.) Courtesy of Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth, Texas. P1984.30.A.23.

such nineteenth-century monuments—specifically Confederate statues—continues to provoke violence in the twenty-first century. Such violence at once commemorates and reenacts how the first half of the nineteenth century existed on a political stage that could include a senator bludgeoned almost to death on the floor of the US Senate (Charles Sumner attacked by Preston Brooks) and President Lincoln collapsing in his own blood at the theater where he had gone to unwind after the tumultuous conclusion of war.⁴²

A few writers resisted war. Some, like Nathaniel Hawthorne, seemed indifferent. Overt resistance appears in the nuanced politics of a writer such as Henry David Thoreau, whose essay “Civil Disobedience” reflected anti-war sentiments—in his case, resistance to the war with Mexico—that led to a short stint in prison.⁴³ The resistance to war on religious grounds paled in comparison to the religious justifications that appeared on both sides of the conflict. In particular the rage directed against the biblical justification for slavery that appears in Frederick Douglass has an uneven counterpart in the Southern fictions that proffered a view of benevolent enslavement in line with biblical scripture.⁴⁴

Women in both the North and the South wrote in support of the war. Sometimes they put their bodies on the front lines, something that appears occasionally in the examples of cross-dressing soldiers.⁴⁵ Polemical writing about gender norms more often appeared as part of abolitionist propaganda designed to encourage sympathy for the threats to women and families under the conditions of enslavement. While this book most often engages with prose, I definitely value poetry, and want to note especially the sentimental poetry written in the decades before the war to support political causes such as abolition or to protest working conditions in factories.⁴⁶ The project engages the political quandaries of abolition, but it also seeks to investigate further the relationship between oratory and autobiography in places such as the writings of Frederick Douglass.⁴⁷ Attention to shifts in poetic style—for instance, in the challenges to the lyric form that appear in Walt Whitman and Emily Dickinson—has sometimes drawn critical attention away from how their writing at once challenged existing poetic norms and displayed their reactions to war.

The increased distribution of newspapers, magazines, and gift books, along with increasingly mobile populations, changed how diverse populations absorbed culture in the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ As advances in railroads and canals during the early part of the century made travel from the Eastern states easier, the role of the travelogue by authors as diverse as Margaret Fuller and Charles Dickens changed the landscape as they invented forms of cultural tourism.⁴⁹ Within cities, new audiences appeared for the conversation, the musical ditty, the minstrel performance, and the “low” cultures of the moment. Thinking in geographical terms, such writers as Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton and John Rollin Ridge wrote vividly about the crises affecting and sometimes precipitated by the diverse populations negotiating the changed borders between the United States and Mexico.⁵⁰ The concept of national boundaries was challenged by international perceptions: in addition to the Mexican–American War and its territorial invasions, and the violence surrounding the Fugitive Slave Law that provoked the writing of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852), writers reacted to the European revolutions of 1848.

Given the repeated violence around citizenship and national belonging, it might come as no surprise that the writers and artists I discuss in this book express an uneasy relation to displacements in the American landscape.⁵¹ A tension persists between celebrating democratic ideals and describing the failures of democracy in the face of legal slavery and genocidal slaughter, while exposing the less dramatic daily oppressions of immigrants, laborers, and women. For Whitman, the problems

of democracy could be solved by literature: “a great original literature is surely to become the justification and reliance, (in some respects the sole reliance,) of American democracy.” Even as he celebrates “rivers and bay, sparkling sea-tides, costly and lofty new buildings, façades of marble and iron, . . . the flags flying, the endless ships, the tumultuous streets,” Whitman thinks that only poetry can hold the nation together.⁵²

To encourage readers to engage with a time that might seem remote and with items that have become increasingly remote—a book, a painting, even a photograph—is to find ambiguity about how representation reveals itself in a time when novels were published with subtitles such as “founded in fact” or “a true tale.” The testimony included in this book inversely reflects on the variant forms of desire and longing for an idealized form of democracy, while it occasionally displays nostalgic mourning for the sensation caused by the shattering of such ideals. Such a cultural history draws on literature as well as “ekphrasis,” the ways that words address images.⁵³

The malleable margins of political strife during the war often kept populations uncertain about whose guns might have been firing in the distance. Yet during the consuming years of strife many Northern city dwellers chose to ignore it, or, at worst, participated in events such as the New York City Draft Riots, seeking to ward off participation and at the same time punishing the most helpless inhabitants, such as the children in the so-called Colored Orphan Asylum.⁵⁴ Even as the announced teleology of war spoke to Christian beliefs and the rights of states to self-determination, the boundaries of what became North America had an elastic form before the Louisiana Purchase, before the Treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo. The landscape claimed as the nation changed through the enacting of many suspect treaties; the idea that the West was an available space for settler colonialism remains a legacy of the early-nineteenth-century journeys of Lewis and Clark.⁵⁵ The witnessing performed here emerges through many narratives, including interior ones that can only be guessed at, such as the emotions and longing that their companion and guide, Sacagawea, might have felt. What it means to be haunted by these voices becomes filtered through the vocabulary of war.

Living with Ghosts

Sensational images and the language of sensation retold the political business of the nineteenth-century United States. Often when political decisions were announced in a more somber way, reactions in the press expressed emotion. During the tense times of forcible Cherokee removal,

the incursions of the Mexican–American War, the struggles over slavery, the convulsions of the Civil War, and the horrors of Reconstruction, politicians, writers, and artists used sensation to convey an affective relation to an emerging concept of the nation. How such visions of political struggle meet sensational language forms part of this account of what haunts the literature, art, and politics of the United States that emerged from and through the war.

I worked on this book during the years of the pandemic, and some of the writing took place while sitting alone in a house that feels haunted. That house, known as Quarry Farm, a property set up for scholarly retreats by the Center for Mark Twain Studies, sits on a hill above Elmira, New York, a place that has a vivid nineteenth-century history. Over almost twenty years, the Twain family traveled by train to summer there with Olivia Langdon's sister; Twain's children were all born there. Mark Twain was photographed in a rocking chair on the porch of that house, but the separate study built for him to write in was located on a ledge above, looking out over the valley where the Chemung River flows into the Susquehanna. As he sat there and smoked cigars (and petted his cats), Twain wrote his stories about rivers and the past, such as *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), stories that are celebrated (and sometimes spurned) for the conflicted way they remember a past before the war that still haunts the United States. At the same time, Twain listened to actual stories of those who had escaped conditions of slavery.⁵⁶ In his modest home on a strip of land adjacent to the cemetery in the river valley below Quarry Farm, a former freedom seeker named John W. Jones continued the work that he had begun before the war when he served as a conductor on the Underground Railroad.

Insofar as Twain's famous stories reflect a history of racial haunting, it might come as no surprise that they have been banned from schools and libraries in this country. That conflict between what it means to live in the current moment of crisis and a desire to celebrate a nostalgic sense of witnessing the past produces a haunted memory. The ways that Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn react to the dead while their journey south along the Mississippi River repeatedly places them in perilous proximity to scenes of death—from threats of murder to shootouts in the street, from the elegies contained in the poetry of Emmeline Grangerford to the feud between the Grangerfords and the Shepherdsons—stand among the oddest conversions of horrifying violence into a story for children. The ongoing controversy about what such books show—does the river represent freedom or danger?—has been submerged into a controversy about what books might be dangerous for children to read. In particular, no one can explain why

it has become dangerous to talk about race, at its simplest a recounting of history through forms of witnessing that still exist across North America, in poems, stories, paintings, photographs, and statues.

But it also means that the commemorations even in a small town like Elmira have expanded to involve different ghosts. Recent work on the history of Elmira during the war has grown to include the relation of the town's prisoner of war camp, once known as "Helmira," to the legacy of the man who looked after corpses there, expanding his role as a conductor on the Underground Railroad to deliver bodies to their final resting places in Southern states. During and after the war John W. Jones was paid per burial to inter the bodies of Confederate prisoners of war as well as Union soldiers and townspeople. Joining the dust of soldiers from both sides of the war, both Twain and Jones are now buried in Elmira.⁵⁷ John W. Jones now has his own historical museum as the agency of those who were once held in bondage has increasingly come to be recognized.⁵⁸ While he leaves almost no written record, and a sparse visual record, his house has been preserved and the history of his involvement with what is now a national cemetery, called Woodlawn, has been recently expanding. In that cemetery, the rows of tombstones for Confederate prisoners of war with their pointed tops and the rows of tombstones for the Union soldiers with their rounded tops also buried there share vertical and horizontal lines.

The memorials most visible in small Eastern towns, including Elmira, are often statues erected long after the war, statues that show men standing erect in a public square holding a rifle. Their presence becomes almost invisible after many decades, but they have also evoked violent responses.⁵⁹ Such statues of anonymous standing soldiers that anchor public squares in small towns do not present the same challenge attached to the named statues of Civil War figures. These soldiers include General Ulysses S. Grant, whose mounted presence anchors one end of the National Mall in Washington, DC. At the other end of the mall sits Daniel Chester French's monumental Abraham Lincoln. That momentous presence appears removed from war, but the words inscribed to the left and right of Lincoln's seated gaze recollect the most violent times in the history of the United States. Yet statues of George Washington, once enshrined as "father" to the United States, and Thomas Jefferson have also been toppled in the ignominious fashion of dictators.⁶⁰ It seems unlikely that the Washington Monument standing between these solid figures along the parklike path between museums and government dwellings could meet the same fate, but sometimes I wonder.



FIGURE 1.5. “Manacles.” These manacles were a souvenir collected by Julia Wilbur from a local prison after the fall of Richmond, Virginia. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, #1543, Cornell University Library.

One goal of this book is to think about the stony glance of statues in relation to the words and images that surround commemorations of the war. To be haunted by these sites is also to bear witness. Throughout the book, cultural testimony bears witness to physical acts and acts of the imagination carried out by both men and women. These inhabitants were often haunted; they told haunting stories of the legacies of Civil War violence. The citizens of Elmira paid to observe prisoners from platforms erected on the walls surrounding the prisoner of war camp in their midst while listening to the tolling of bells for the burials.

A digression from this attention to violence might be useful here. As I study the nineteenth-century United States, I am sometimes most impressed by the stories that have left the least evidence, especially stories involving the courage and creativity of women who resist. Sometimes they resist slavery, as with the extraordinary story of Elizabeth Keckley, who became the dressmaker for Mary Todd Lincoln but began her life in slavery. In *Behind the Scenes, or Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House* (1868), she wrote of refusing to stand still for a vicious beating and wrestling with the man who held the stick. Sometimes women resist slavery by hiding, as in the better-known story of Harriet Jacobs, who wrote of spending seven years tucked away in her grandmother’s house in order to stay near her children, but who eventually fled to the North. Sometimes they resist as they act out variations on possible identity, as in the literal

acting out of Adah Menken, who spent many of the short years of her life traveling around the United States acting in plays as a corollary to her main act of making up stories about her life, writing poems.

I am also drawn to the visual and material emblems remaining from quieter forms of resistance, such as the resistance displayed in the activism of women like Sojourner Truth, who traveled with a *carte de visite* marked “I Sell the Shadow to Support the Substance.”⁶¹ I have found inspiration in the artifacts referred to in the private writings of women such as Julia Wilbur. Born in 1815 in New York, she ended up working for the patent office in Washington, DC, the first woman to be hired there. As an activist, during the aftermath of the war, she became close friends with Harriet Jacobs, with whom she plotted to fund and establish schools for those newly freed from slavery. She also, like many souvenir hunters even during the war, began to collect some of the material detritus of slavery.⁶² One object that she donated ended up in the vault at Cornell University. Labeled as “Manacles” from “City Jail, Richmond, Virginia, 1865,” they served for Wilbur to commemorate the fall of Richmond in the final days of the Civil War and were picked up along with the looting of odd artifacts from a defeated city (figure I.5). While no label remains to explain how these metal circles were used to hold the wrists of humans passing to and from their incarceration in cells, one can speculate concerning their relation to the indignity of exhibition in the marketplace. Whatever the legacy of this heavy set of metal curves, to hold them is to register the fear of the prison from which they came. To hold them is to be haunted. To find them in the archive is to register the weight of a history that has at once been overcome and still persists.

INDEX

- Aaron, Daniel, 64
 Adams, John, 26
Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, The, 19, 28, 99, 108–121
Adventures of Tom Sawyer, The, 108–110, 114
 “Affair at Coulter’s Notch, The,” 5
 Agassiz, Louis, 43
 Alcott, Louisa May, 9, 74, 75, 89, 138
 Alexander, Archer, 72
 Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, 13
 American Colonization Society, 64, 103–104
 American nationalism, 31
 American Revolution, 2, 25, 26, 32, 60, 103, 146
American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses, 3
American Women’s Home, The, 134
 Antietam, Battle of, 15, 16
 anti-war writers, 16
 “Appeal to the Christian Women of the South,” 79
 Arlington National Cemetery, 11
Army of the Potomac—A Sharpshooter, The, 14
 art, nineteenth century, 6, 7, 14, 55, 65, 111, 143, 161
 Arthur, T. S., 149
Arthur Gordon Pym, 108
 artifacts, Civil War, 21, 22, 42–43
 Astor Place Riots of 1849, 13
Atlantic Monthly, 53, 64, 112–113
Awakening, The, 130, 136
 Azoulay, Ariella, 157–158

 Ball, Thomas, 72
 Barthes, Roland, 36–37, 154, 156
 “Bartleby the Scrivener,” 153
Battle-Pieces and Aspects of the War, 54–55, 70
 Beecher, Catharine, 134
Behind the Scenes, or Thirty Years a Slave and Four Years in the White House, 21
Beloved, 9, 145
Benito Cereno, 104, 110, 123, 126

Beyond the Gates, 80
 Bible, the, 29
 Bierce, Ambrose, 4–5, 25
Billy Budd, 104
 Bingham, Caleb, 111
 Bird, Robert Montgomery, 127–128
 Bixby, Horace, 121
 Black Hawk War, 57, 125, 128
Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880, 24
 Bontecou, Reed, 39
 Boston Common, 8
 Brady, Mathew, 40, 58, 68, 154, 156
 Bridge, Horatio, 103, 104–107
 Brooks, Preston, 16
 “Brothers, The,” 74, 77, 138
 Brown, John, 13, 29, 64, 83
 Brown, William Wells, 99, 117, 138, 145
 Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, 91
 Brown v. Board of Education, 11
 Bryant, William Cullen, 50
 Bunyan, John, 75
 Bureau of Indian Affairs, 162
 Butler, Benjamin, 62

 Cable, George Washington, 120
Camera Lucida, 36, 154
 Carpenter, Francis Bicknell, 64
 Cassatt, Mary, 33
 Center for Mark Twain Studies, 19
 Cherokee Removal Act of 1830, 13, 160
 Cherokee Wars, 2
 Chesnutt, Charles, 24
 “Chickamauga,” 5
 “Chiefly about War Matters,” 71
 Child, Lydia Maria, 138
 Children of the Confederacy, 11
 Chopin, Kate, 130, 136
Cities of the Dead, 88, 120
Citizen, 156
 citizenship: debate over, 43–44, 146, 148; Dred Scott case and, 47–48; economic questions and, 144; land ownership and, 27, 43–44

- Civil Contract of Photography, The*, 157
 “Civil Disobedience,” 16
 Civil War, the, 1–7; art of (*see* art, nineteenth century); events in western states related to, 62–63; feminism during, 142–146; ghosts of, 8–9; guerilla warfare during, 83–84; haunted bodies of, 12–18; identification of corpses in, 79; images and imagery of, 32–40; literature of (*see* literature, nineteenth century); monuments commemorating (*see* monuments, Civil War); mourning and (*see* mourning); movement of ships during, 103–107; music of (*see* music of the Civil War); photography of, 4, 12, 33; poetry of (*see* poetry, nineteenth century); political cartoons of, 84, 85; politics during (*see* politics, nineteenth century); popular assumptions about, 63–64; reactions to and sensations of, 41–43; reenactments of, 151–152; relation between home fronts and battlefields in, 80–82; stories of witnessing, 7–10; technological changes during, 63; violence in Kansas during, 82–86; women during (*see* women)
 Clemens, Samuel. *See* Twain, Mark
Clotel, 99, 138, 145
 Colman, Lucy, 139, 141
 colonization of North America, 28
 Colored Orphan Asylum, 18
 Confederate States of America (CSA), 10
Confidence-Man, The, 98, 101, 121, 122–128
Conjure Woman, The, 24
Contrast, The, 31
 Coonley, Jacob Frank, 76
 Cooper, James Fenimore, 30, 31, 108
 “Cornerstone Speech,” 24
Corpse in the Kitchen, The, 110
 Cott, Nancy, 134
 Cotton, John, 2
 COVID-19 pandemic, 19
 Crane, Stephen, 4–5
 Crary, Jonathan, 38–39
 Crawford, Thomas, 161
Crimes of Writing, 156
 cultural tourism, 17
 Curtis, Benjamin R., 48
 Custer, George Armstrong, 13
 Daguerre, Louis, 37
 daguerreotype, 36–37
 Dakota Wars, 127, 128, 153–154, 159, 162
 Daly, Augustin, 149
 Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), 11
 Daughters of the Confederacy, 11
 Daughters of the Union Army, 10–11
 Davis, Jefferson, 119, 141, 162
 Davis, Rebecca Harding, 77
 death: boundaries between heaven and earth and, 81; *Huckleberry Finn* and *Tom Sawyer* and, 108–110; identification of corpses and, 79; of Indians, 154–159; mourning of, 74–79; stories and ghosts of, 27–28; stories of 21st century, 32–33
 “Declaration of Sentiments,” 14–15
 democracy: exclusions from, 2–3; failures with legal slavery and genocidal slaughter, 17–18; testimonies on, 2–4; various windows on, 25–26; Whitman on problems with, 17–18; Whitman’s faith in, 3–4
Democratic Vistas, 3, 73
 Dickens, Charles, 17
 Dickinson, Emily, 9, 17, 47, 49; grief in poetry of, 52; perception referenced in poetry of, 51; poetry style of, 50–51, 56; sense of public loss in poetry of, 53
 Dillon, Elizabeth, 27
 displacements of populations, 13, 159–162
 Douglas, Stephen, 45, 58–62; Missouri Compromise and, 82–83; as romantic rival of Lincoln, 61
 Douglass, Frederick, 16, 17, 138, 141, 144, 146; on the Chesapeake Bay, 99–100; on the Emancipation Monument, 71–72; on Lincoln as “white man’s president,” 59; on photography, 37–38; poetry of, 72; removal of statue of, 25; W.E.B. Du Bois on, 24
 “Dream Children,” 91
Dred, 34–36; mourning in, 74
 Dred Scott v. Sandford, 47–48, 62
Drum-Taps, 1, 53, 70
 Du Bois, W.E.B., 24
 Durant, Samuel, 157
 Eakins, Thomas, 33, 156
 Edmonds, S. Emma E., 78

- Elmer, Jonathan, 30
 Emancipation Proclamation, 15, 28, 44,
 46–47, 71, 153
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 41
 epic poetry, 70
 Erdrich, Louise, 162
 Evans, Augusta, 74–75
- Father Comes Home from the Wars*, 151
 Federalist Papers, 26, 31
 “Female World of Love and Ritual, The,”
 139
 feminism, 129–137, 142–146
 Fern, Fanny, 90
 Fields, James T., 71
Forest Leaves, 150
Forever Free, 142, 143
 Fourth of July, 28
 Frank, Jason, 69
Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Weekly, 29
 Franklin, Benjamin, 32
 Freeman, Elizabeth, 89
 French, Daniel Chester, 20, 64, 66
 Freneau, Philip, 25, 50
 “From Here I Saw What Happened and I
 Cried,” 43
 Fugitive Slave Law, 17, 26, 41, 44, 45–46,
 62, 124, 125; Lincoln on, 58–59
 Fuller, Margaret, 17, 130
- Gardner, Alexander, 4, 16, 68
Gates Ajar, The, 9, 74, 80, 83; heaven
 described in, 92–96; mourning and
 substitution in, 86–89; scenes of writ-
 ing in, 89–92
Gates Between, The, 80
 Gettysburg, Battle of, 15
 Gettysburg Address, 15, 43, 57, 66–68
 Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, 10, 77, 89–90;
 feminism and, 129–135; on labor of
 women, 135–138
 Gilroy, Paul, 28
 Gold Rush, California, 63
 Goodwin, Doris Kearns, 57
 Gordon, Avery, 30
 Grangerford, Emmeline, 19
 Grant, Ulysses S., 20, 33, 63
Greek Slave, The, 33
 Grimke, Angelina, 3, 79
 Grimke, Sarah, 3
- Grosz Clinic, The*, 156
 guerilla warfare, 83–84
- Habeas Viscus*, 156
 Habermas, Jurgen, 28
 Hall, James, 125, 127
 Hall, Stuart, 15
Hamilton, 26
 Harper, Frances, 10, 25, 142, 146, 150
 Harper’s Ferry raid (1859), 13
Harper’s Weekly, 64, 112
 haunted bodies, 12–18
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 16, 71, 101,
 103–107
 heaven, literary representations of, 92–96
Herland, 130
 Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, 53
 Hine, Lewis, 135
*History of a Little Frenchman and His
 Bank Notes, The*, 124
History of the Sioux Wars, The, 158
 Hogarth, William, 54
 Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 34, 37–40
Home as Found, 108
 home fronts vs. battlefield borders, 80–82
Home: Its Work and Influence, The, 134
 Homer, Winslow, 6, 14
 Homestead Act, 15, 156, 160
Home, Sweet Home, 6
 Hood, Thomas, 72
Hospital Sketches, 75–77
House of the Seven Gables, 105
 Howe, Julia Ward, 29
 Huniston, Amos, 67
 Hutchinson, Anne, 2
 Hyde, Lewis, 27
- images and imagery, 32–40; of Lincoln,
 64; relations of identity and race
 enhanced by, 33–34; resistance to
 slavery, 34–36; sensations of war
 described through, 41–43; in war
 poetry, 53–54. *See also* photography
Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl, 2
 “Indian Burying Ground, The,” 50
 Indian trials and executions, 154–159
 intersectionality, 156–157
In the Wake, 156
Intimacies of Four Continents, The, 27
Iola Leroy, or, Shadows Uplifted, 142–146

- Jackson, Andrew, 15, 62, 160
 Jacobs, Harriet, 2, 21, 22, 43, 100, 138–140
 Jacobs, Louisa, 140
 James, Jesse, 83, 118
 Jefferson, Thomas, 98, 148
 Jones, John W., 19, 20
Journal of an African Cruiser, 101, 103–105
 Juneteenth, 28
- Kansas, 82–86; *The Gates Ajar* and, 9, 74, 80, 83, 86–89
 Kansas-Nebraska Act, 45, 46, 61–62, 82
 Keckley, Elizabeth, 21, 41, 72, 79, 141
 Kelso, John, 29–30
 Kirkland, Caroline, 127
 Ku Klux Klan, 11
- Lamb, Charles, 91
 Langdon, Olivia, 19
 Larcom, Lucy, 10, 136
Leatherstocking Tales, 31
Leaves of Grass, 37, 52–53
Legends of the West, 125
 Leigh, Simone, 100
 “Letter to a Young Contributor,” 53
 Lewis, Edmonia, 142, 143
 Lewis, Maria, 140
 Lewis and Clark journeys, 18
 Liberia, 103–107
Liberty, the Fair Maid of Kansas in the Hands of the “Border Ruffians,” 84, 85
 “Life in the Iron Mills,” 77
Life of Washington, 31
Life on the Mississippi, 97, 101, 111–121
 Lincoln, Abraham, 1, 14; as abolitionist, 58, 59–60; assassination of, 16, 41, 91–92; death of sons of, 79; dissemination of face of, 64; on the Dred Scott decision, 62; first inaugural address of, 26; on the Fugitive Slave Act, 58–59; Gettysburg Address of, 15, 43, 57, 66–68; Harriet Beecher Stowe and, 75; image of, as representative of the country, 65–66; the Mississippi River and, 119, 125; on the Missouri Compromise, 82–83; National Mall monument to, 20, 33, 64; oral performance skills of, 60–61; photographs of, 15; poetry about, 71–72; as poetry motif, 57–64; poetry of, 69–70; Saint-Gaudens’s sculpture of, 64–65; sculptures of, 64–65, 152–153; second inaugural address of, 57; as subject of poetry, 49; team of rivals of, 57–58; Vinnie Ream statue of, 64–65, 153, 159; warning about a “house divided,” 7–8
 Lincoln, Mary Todd, 21, 33, 41, 61, 72, 79, 141, 152
Lincoln in the Bardo, 151
Lingering and Being Last, 30
 literature, nineteenth century, 4–5; American nationalism in, 31; anti-war, 16; attention to ghosts in, 23–24; cultural history in, 18; ecology and water in, 30–31; feminism in, 129–135; ghosts of death in, 27–28; greatness in, 148–149; heaven described in, 92–96; on home fronts vs. battlefields, 80–82; mourning in, 74–79, 86–89; by Native American writers, 31; portrayals of men at sea in, 97–99; presuming white readers, 31; reading culture and, 23–32; scenes of writing in, 89–92; stories of slavery in, 24–25; substitution in, 86–89; supportive of the war, 17; women’s mourning in, 74–79. *See also* poetry, nineteenth century; individual authors
 Little Big Horn Battle (1878), 13
 Little Crow, 154, 155, 159
Little Women, 74, 75, 89
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 31
 Louisiana Purchase, 18, 44, 45, 156
 Lowe, Lisa, 27
 lynch mobs, 70
- manacles, 21, 22
 manifest destiny, 28
Man-Made World, or, Our Androcentric Culture, The, 134
Marble Faun, The, 105
 “March in the Ranks Hard Pressed and the Road Unknown, A,” 55, 56
Mark Twain among the Indians and Other Indigenous Peoples, 110
 Maryat, Frederick, 118
Mayflower, 99
 McClellan, George, 14, 15
 Melville, Herman, 9, 10, 33, 42, 52, 54–56, 70, 108, 153; writing about water

- and the sea, 97–98, 101, 105, 106, 121, 122–128
- memory and poetry, 69–73
- Menken, Adah Isaacs, 22, 149–150
- Mexican-American War, 13, 19, 63, 159
- Mills, Charles, 157
- Milton, John, 29
- Mississippi River, the, 97–99, 101, 103; in *The Confidence-Man*, 98, 101, 121, 122–128; in *Life on the Mississippi*, 111–121
- Missouri Compromise, 45, 59, 61–62, 82
- Moby-Dick*, 97, 104, 105
- monuments, Civil War, 8–9, 15–16, 21, 32–33; to Lincoln, 20, 33, 64–65, 152–153, 159; in small towns, 20; toppling of, 20
- Morrison, Toni, 9, 145
- mourning, 74–79, 151; in *The Gates Ajar*, 86–89
- music of the Civil War, 28–29
- Native American writers, 31
- New Home, Who'll Follow?, A*, 127
- newspapers and magazines, 17, 32; images in, 33, 64
- New York City Draft Riots, 18
- Nick of the Woods*, 128
- Obama, Barack, 64
- ocean voyages, 99–108
- “Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking,” 49, 51, 53, 70
- Paine, Thomas, 147
- Paradise Lost*, 29
- Parkman, Francis, 113
- Parks, Suzan-Lori, 10, 151
- Pateman, Carol, 157
- Paulding, James Kirke, 124
- Payne, Lewis, 154
- Performing Remains: Art and War in Times of Theatrical Reenactment*, 89, 151
- Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, 104
- personhood, 27, 47
- Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart, 9, 74, 80, 91, 96
- Photographic Sketchbook of the Civil War*, 4, 68–69
- photography, 4, 12, 33, 36–37, 157–158; Abraham Lincoln and, 15, 64; of corpses, 40, 68–69; 1850s shift toward use of, 38–39; Frederick Douglass on, 37–38; Oliver Wendell Holmes on, 37–40; and photos carried by soldiers, 67; resistance to viewing nineteenth-century, 43
- Pierce, Franklin, 104
- Pierre*, 108
- Pilgrim's Progress*, 75
- Pioneers, The*, 30
- Poe, Edgar Allan, 108
- poetry, nineteenth century: ballad or elegy format of, 49–50; death in, 56; epic, 70; expressions of grief in, 52; influence of war on, 52–56; intimacy and violence in, 53–54; Lincoln motif in, 57–64; memory and, 69–73; perceptions of war in, 49–52; poets conveying their anger in, 25; public loss expressed in, 53. *See also* literature, nineteenth century; individual poets
- political cartoons, 84, 85
- politics, nineteenth century: debates over citizenship in, 43–44; debates over personhood in, 27, 47; language of compromise in, 44; political testimony, 43–48; resistance, 21–22; sensational images and language of sensation in, 18–19; slavery debates in (*see* slavery); strife in, 18, 19, 146–147
- “Po’ Sandy,” 24
- Quantrill’s Raiders, 81, 85–86
- Quarry Farm, 19
- Racial Contract, The*, 157
- Raftsmen Playing Cards*, 111
- Rags! Rags! Rags!*, 124
- Rankin, Claudia, 156
- Ream, Vinnie, 64–65, 153, 159
- Red Badge of Courage, The*, 5, 144–145
- Redburn, 104
- Regarding the Pain of Others*, 36
- Reminiscences*, 141
- Ridge, John Rollin, 17
- River of Dreams: Imagining the Mississippi before Mark Twain*, 118
- Roach, Joseph, 88, 120
- Robinson Crusoe*, 104
- Ruiz de Burton, Maria Amparo, 17, 42
- Ruth Hall*, 90

- Sacagawea, 18
 Saint-Gaudens, Augustus, 8, 64–65, 152
 Saunders, George, 151
Scarlet Letter, The, 105
 Schneider, Rebecca, 89, 151
 Schoolcraft, Jane Johnston, 31
 Schoolman, Martha, 75
 Scott, Dred, 47–48, 62
 Scott, Walter, 120
 Seminole Wars, 2, 62, 159
Sexual Contract, The, 157
 Sharpe, Christina, 156
 Shaw, Robert Gould, 8, 64
 Sherman, Cindy, 149
 “Shiloh,” 52, 54–56
 slavery: anxiety about racial identifications related to, 42; artifacts of, 21, 22, 43; *Dred* on, 34–36; *Dred Scott v. Sandford* case and, 47–48; Emancipation Monument and, 71–72, 153; Emancipation Proclamation ending, 15, 28, 44, 46–47, 71; erasure of personhood through, 27; Fugitive Slave Law and, 17, 26, 41, 44, 45–46, 58–59, 62, 124, 125; Kansas-Nebraska Act and, 45, 46, 61–62; Missouri Compromise over, 45, 59, 61–62, 82–83; resistance to, as visual category, 34–36; stories of ghosts remaining from, 24–25; stories of women resisting, 21–22; writers in support of, 29–30
 “Slavery’s Pleasant Homes,” 138
 Smith, Thomas Ruys, 118–119
 Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll, 139, 140
Snow Image, The, 104
Song of Hiawatha, The, 31
 “Song of Myself,” 52
 “Song of the Broad Axe,” 41
 songs of the Civil War. *See* music of the Civil War
 Sons of Confederate Veterans, 11
 Sons of Union Veterans, 11
 Sontag, Susan, 36
Specimen Days, 4, 76
 Speed, Joshua, 58
 Spencer, Lilly Martin, 54, 55
Standing Lincoln, 65, 68, 152
Statue of Freedom, 161, 162
 statues. *See* monuments, Civil War
 Stephens, Alexander, 24
 Stewart, Susan, 107–108, 156
Story of Avis, The, 80
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 9, 33, 34, 42, 74, 134, 145
 substitution, 86–89
Subtlety, or, The Marvelous Sugar Baby, The, 160, 162
 Sumner, Charles, 16
 Taney, Roger B., 47–48
 “Thanatopsis,” 50
 “There’s a certain slant of light,” 49, 50–51
 Thoreau, Henry David, 16, 41
Topdog/Underdog, 151
 transcontinental railroad, 15, 63
 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 18
 Trollope, Frances, 118
 Truth, Sojourner, 22, 149
 Tubman, Harriet, 15
 Twain, Mark, 10, 19–20; river journeys of, 111–121; writing about water, 97, 99, 100, 101
 Tyler, Royall, 31
Typee, 104
 “Uncle Julius,” 24
Uncle Tom’s Cabin, 17, 33, 34, 45, 134, 145; heaven described in, 95; mourning in, 74, 75
 Underground Railroad, 19, 20
 United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), 10, 11
 United States government, the: displacement of populations by, 13, 159–162; Indian trials and executions by, 154–159
United States Magazine and Democratic Review, 97
Unsexed; or, The Female Soldier, The Thrilling Adventures, Experiences, and Escapes of a Woman, as Nurse, Spy, and Scout, in Hospitals, Camps, and Battle-fields, 78
 US Capitol invasion (2021), 32
 Velazquez, Loreta, 78
 “Vigil Strange I Kept on the Field One Night,” 56
 Walker, Kara, 160
 Walker Art Center, 157

- Warner, Susan B., 87, 149
 War of 1812, 159
War Spirit at Home, The, 54, 55
 Washington, George, 15, 20, 31, 64
 “Weaving,” 136
 Webster, Daniel, 41
 Weems, Carrie Mae, 43
 Weems, Mason Locke, 31
 Weheliye, Alexander, 156
 Weir Mitchell, S., 131, 132, 133
 “What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?”
 24–25, 100
 “When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard
 Bloom’d,” 70–71
 White, Andrew Dickson, 69
White Jacket, 104
 Whitman, Walt, 1, 9, 17, 37, 47, 49, 70, 146,
 149, 153; convoluted language used by,
 53–54; on death of Abraham Lincoln,
 41, 70–71; on deaths of soldiers, 56,
 71; experiments in language by, 23;
 faith in democracy, 3–4; mourning in
 poetry of, 79; perception referenced
 in poetry of, 51–52; poetry on the war,
 52–56, 73; poetry style of, 50, 51; on
 problems of democracy, 17–18
 Whitney, Joel E., 154, 155, 156
 Whittier, John Greenleaf, 25, 50
Wide, Wide World, The, 87, 89
 Wilbur, Julia, 21, 22, 43, 139–141
 “Wild Nights–wild nights,” 52
 Willis, Cornelia, 139
 Willis, Nathaniel Parker, 139
 Wilson, Woodrow, 11
 Winslow, Seth Thomas, 160
 Winthrop, John, 25–26
Within the Gates, 80
 Wolfersberger, William A., 76
 women, 5, 7; activist, 21, 22; caring for
 wounded soldiers, 75–77; “Decla-
 ration of Sentiments” and, 14–15;
 feminism and, 129–137, 142–146;
 literary scenes of writing by, 89–92;
 mourning in writing by, 74–79, 86–89;
 organizations for, 10–11; portrayed on
 the water, 98–99; resisting slavery,
 21–22; on the sea, 100; as soldiers,
 78, 140; wartime labor of, 138–142;
 working, 135–138; writing about home
 fronts and battlefields, 80–82; writing
 about the sea, 107–108
Women and Economics, 130–131, 135
*Women of the War; Their Heroism and
 Self-Sacrifice*, 77–78
Work: A Story of Experience, 75
 “Wound Dresser, The,” 23, 54, 56
 “Yellow Wallpaper, The,” 77, 89–90; as call
 to women to work, 136; feminism and,
 129–135; repetition used in, 137–138