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The Sacrificial Enterprise:  
Negotiating Mutilation in W. D. Howells'  
*A Hazard of New Fortunes*

What at the end of the nineteenth century did it mean to reclaim the Civil War? It is a question that forms the foundation of W. D. Howells' *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (1889). In her influential work on *Hazard*, Amy Kaplan suggests that the text negotiates New York City through the production of a manageable foreground and an "unreal" background, a distinction meant to control social conflict and produce common ground amidst difference.<sup>1</sup> More recent criticism takes up Kaplan's claim to consider what the construction of this "line" might suggest about the text's political undercurrents. There is a general sense of agreement that *Hazard* is as radical as it is conformist, as idealistic as it is pragmatic.<sup>2</sup> But this tension is not just a product of Howells' conflicting political commitments; rather, it arises from the incompatible claims to the meaning of the Civil War that he stages around Union veteran Berthold Lindau's missing hand. Susan Mizruchi notes that it is the act of sacrifice, "what is *given up*," that makes the social possible.<sup>3</sup> The coherence of the foreground depends on the erasure of the background. In *Hazard*, the disremembering of Lindau's mutilation is the principal sacrifice through which the social is constructed. Yet his "empty sleeve" also represents the most real threat to this order. In reorienting *A Hazard of New Fortunes* around Lindau's missing hand, I first discuss the importance of soldiers' bodies to Gilded Age culture in general and to realist fiction in particular. I then consider Lindau's mutilation as a target of sacrificial rites that he himself complicates and contests. In conclusion, I address Mizruchi's and Michael Elliott's assertions that U.S. multiculturalism finds its origins in the postbellum era. The fictional negotiation of

Lindau's hand sheds light on this proto-multiculturalism as an arrangement that reroutes but does not lessen the sacrifice of cultural others.

### Civil War Bodies and the Sacrificial Enterprise

In *Specimen Days* (1882), Walt Whitman recalls tending to a soldier on his deathbed in a Washington, D.C., hospital during "the gloomiest period" of the Civil War. The resident surgeon, standing beside the soldier, tells Whitman that he has not seen one soldier die in fear during the war. To this, the poet asks,

What have we here, if not, towering above all talk and argument, the plentiful-supplied, last-needed proof of democracy, in its personalities? Curiously enough, too, the proof on this point comes, I should say, every bit as much from the south, as from the north. . . . Grand common stock! to me the accomplish'd and convincing growth, prophetic of the future.<sup>4</sup>

Whitman's declaration represents a common sentiment in the latter decades of the century. The Civil War became justifiable according to the logic of American exceptionalism, transforming more than a half-million deaths into proof of the nation's singular status. American exceptionalism is, Donald Pease points out, as much about what the United States lacks as what it possesses.<sup>5</sup> The political doctrine and ideological framework of exceptionalism articulates the U.S. as a classless nation, lacking the class antagonisms and feudal traditions of Europe. Whitman's representation of martial death epitomizes this belief in homogenous U.S. selfhood, as a "grand common stock" sacrificing for the shared future of the nation. His and others' myth-work facilitated, of course, the reunification of North and South after 1877.<sup>6</sup> But it is also important to consider, to which Whitman's scene suggests, that it took place through a careful construal of soldiers' bodies.

Yet it is far easier to mythologize a dead and nameless soldier, as Whitman does, than one still able to debate the meaning of his "sacrifice." Lisa Long argues that in the 1880s and '90s the Civil War was reclaimed as the beginning and basis of modern senselessness, conjuring the specter of race suicide, and thus a principal site of cultural and political contestation.<sup>7</sup> In particular, accounting for Civil War bodies became a central means of "rehabilitating" the body politic: "Bodies became universal signifiers, their mere existence needed to guarantee nineteenth-century Americans the possibility of knowledge. . . . The impossibility of bodies means the impossibility of knowledge itself."<sup>8</sup> Mutilated Civil War bodies, like Lindau's, did not just destabilize the meaning of the conflict. Such illegible bodies

destabilized meaning altogether for the Gilded Age subject. The sight of poor or disabled ex-soldiers reminded citizens of the precariousness of life in the United States, challenging the idea that success is fair recompense for bootstrap determination and, on the other hand, failure the result of idleness. To temper this realization, Americans constructed Civil War soldiers as, to use James Marten's term, "living statues," a fiction that permitted little representational space for the ongoing struggles of the actual men being recognized.<sup>9</sup> Although this transformation took multiple forms—Memorial Day, Grand Army of the Republic reunion parades, dime-store fiction, and tributes at the Columbian Exposition—Americans honored veterans in order to forget them. As Marita Sturken reminds us, "remembering is in itself a form of forgetting."<sup>10</sup>

Negotiating Civil War bodies thus becomes a significant project for late-century realists.<sup>11</sup> If, as Kaplan argues, realism is a tactic "for imagining and managing the threats of social change,"<sup>12</sup> it must first reconcile an unstable past. It is, after all, the Civil War that laid the groundwork for the socioeconomic formations—the consolidation of capital, shifting gender roles, class conflict—that became material for realist fiction. In *Hazard*, Lindau's missing hand represents a troubling reminder of this past and all that it is assumed to cause. He is therefore a source of cultural anxiety for middle- and upper-class characters. His dismemberment attracts what Mizruchi calls the "sacrificial enterprise."<sup>13</sup> Basil March, Fulkerson, Dryfoos, and others attempt to force him into the background through acts of consecration, exceptionalist nationalism, and remuneration. *A Hazard of New Fortunes* stages the efforts of this enterprise, but it also represents Lindau's persistent and disrupting return to the foreground, a tension that animates Howells' realist project.

### Rehabilitating Lindau, Containing the Past

Berthold Lindau's status as a disabled veteran makes him difficult for his bourgeois counterparts to ignore. Whereas the rest of "the other half" appear as no more than a backdrop to magazine editor March and his wife's settlement in New York City, Lindau emerges into their line of sight due to his missing hand and the personal and historical pasts it conjures. Lindau, an outspoken German-American socialist, tutored March in Indianapolis prior to the Civil War. March's role in the conflict (or lack thereof) remains unclear throughout *Hazard*, whereas Lindau seldom appears without mention of his dismemberment and military service. March, in fact, tends to reduce Lindau to his mutilation altogether, telling his wife, "that stump of his is character enough for me."<sup>14</sup> But the thought of Lindau's arm alone

seems to set March off-balance and arouse feelings of guilt and shame. It is through fantasies of consecrating Lindau's mutilation that March finds some relief from this discomfort. Once he decides to hire Lindau as a translator at his magazine, *Every Other Week*, March imagines himself compensating his old friend for his hardships: "he fell into a remorseful reverie, in which he rehabilitated Lindau anew and provided handsomely for his old age. He got him buried with military honors and had a shaft raised over him, with a medallion likeness by Beaton and an epitaph by himself" (134). March's scenario depends on the present and future absence of Lindau. In the ex-soldier's presence, March suffers from anxiety and guilt, and he is less than considerate of Lindau's socialist criticisms of postbellum politics. March's grand scenario thus depends on Lindau's immediate absence, but it also imagines his future erasure. First, he alludes to Lindau's "old age," his departure from public life, and then to his death. March's fantasies are less about honoring Lindau for Lindau's sake than about rehabilitating and silencing Lindau for his own personal relief.

His scenario hinges on the idea of rehabilitating Lindau because the veteran's mutilation challenges the coherence of March's middle-class life and aspirations. The desire to rehabilitate Civil War bodies, Long notes, shared close affinities with desires to restore the national culture throughout the postbellum era.<sup>15</sup> Rehabilitation is not a figure of speech; rather, it alludes to a particular material source of middle- and upper-class anxiety: the persistence of bodies in pain after the Civil War. It is telling, then, that March imagines a military burial for Lindau, positioning him among the American dead as a sacrifice to and for the nation. He reminds his wife that Lindau "helped to save us and keep us possible" (134), furthering this sacrificial rhetoric around his old friend's relationship to the United States. The tension in March's apparent admiration for Lindau is that his desire to include Lindau in the nation, as a Civil War hero, rests on his radical exclusion from it, as dead and buried. To return again to Whitman's anecdote, it is far easier to maintain an exceptionalist belief in a classless U.S. citizenry when that citizenry is no longer present. Exceptionalism depends on and facilitates the relegation of the social other to the background, a sacrifice that sustains the coherence of a prosperous and familiar foreground.

Yet the imagined burial also contains embellishments from the editorial and art departments at *Every Other Week*. March composes an epitaph, offering succinct organization to Lindau's life, and Beaton, the art editor, contributes a medallion likeness. Whereas March is shamed and inarticulate in Lindau's presence, he pictures a scene in which he controls the meaning of his old friend's life, narrating it in stone and arranging for the appropriate figural accompaniment from his art department. This is

not an uncommon coping tactic for March. In charting New York City, he mediates his recognition of racial and class differences through a series of aesthetic appraisals. During a trip to Mott Street to see Lindau, March finds the sight of the tenement houses disturbing, as proof of “the fierce struggle for survival, with the stronger life persisting over the deformity, the mutilation, the destruction, the decay, of the weaker.” He does not find his bearings until he begins to think of himself as an author-spectator, reflecting that “he would particularly like his illustrator to render the Dickensy, cockneyish quality of the shabby-genteel ballad-seller . . . whom he instantly perceived to be, with his stock in trade, the sufficient object of an entire study by himself” (164). March represents his discomfort on Mott Street in corporeal language, as a response to “deformity” and “mutilation,” as if seeing the poor through the lens of Lindau’s Civil War disfigurement. The nation remains, he realizes, fragmented and unrehabilitated. But repositioning himself as a remote onlooker, he begins to take pleasure in the charming destitution of tenement life. He becomes a tourist of their far-off suffering. Howells stages March’s recognition of the line separating him from immigrant and working-class New Yorkers and then his careful retraction from it. Elliott refers to the phenomenon as “cultural realism”: realist authors of the period encouraged readers to appreciate cultural difference as an aesthetic object and scientific subject.<sup>16</sup> Otherness is understandable and, in fact, amusing if taken in from the appropriate standpoint. As an author and editor, March uses his “expertise” as a cultural chronicler to turn an uncomfortable encounter into business-as-usual. This culturalism, then, functions to reduce as it records, sacrifice as it authenticates.

But Lindau presents a more troubling subject for a culturalist negotiation of difference than do his neighbors. Unlike the ballad-seller, Lindau cannot be dismissed as a foreign object of aesthetic interest. Living among the immigrant populations of the tenement houses, he is foreign according to the strategies of containment with which March charts New York City. Yet as a veteran of the Civil War, he also epitomizes American personhood in the rhetoric of the era. Whereas March associates the residents of Mott Street with Naples and London, as the products of foreign cultures, he struggles to place Lindau in this dualistic framework. He and his business partner, Fulkerson, satirize Lindau as an eccentric foreigner but then honor him as the embodiment of American sacrifice. Lindau is the source of bourgeois anxiety not because he is foreign but because he is, to use the language of Justice John Marshall, “foreign in a domestic sense.” The result of this contradiction is that March, Fulkerson, and others tend to oscillate in their treatment of Lindau; sometimes he epitomizes the American spirit and sometimes he is flat-out “un-American.”<sup>17</sup> Because of his personal rela-

tionship to Lindau, March struggles to use the same culturalist tactic he employs with the ballad-seller. Instead, he imagines Beaton and himself aestheticizing Lindau not as an object of cultural difference but as a model of national sameness and sacrifice.

Like much of *Hazard*, this scene offers an ambiguous metacommentary on the novel's own serialization in *Harper's Weekly*. Running from March through November 1889, the serial included sixteen illustrations from longtime *Harper's* cartoonist William Allen Rogers. The illustrations present realist depictions of select scenes, most of which are captioned with lines from *Hazard*. In his 1922 memoir, Rogers notes that Howells' fiction was difficult to illustrate because it was less about action than thinking and speaking.<sup>18</sup> Hence it should be no surprise that Howells often criticized and demanded changes to Rogers' work,<sup>19</sup> suggesting that the author did make some effort to align the illustrations with his larger project. Rogers' sketches of Lindau's mutilation are thus of particular interest. The first depicts March and Fulkerson's initial encounter with the veteran at an Italian restaurant (figure 1). March is shaking Lindau's hand, and Fulkerson stands in the background lighting a cigarette. Lindau and March's dissimilar postures are revealing. The white-bearded Lindau stands in a rigid, upright position and



Figure 1. *Harper's Weekly*, 18 May 1889, p. 385.

is attired in a coat that could be Union issue. He holds up his mutilation as if offering it to March. In contrast, March leans toward Lindau, his feet staggered and his hat off. The illustration captures March's discomfort with Lindau and with his missing hand in particular. Lindau tells him, "I wanted to gife you the other handt too, but I gafe it to your gountry a goodt while ago" (80). It is a comment that leads March to offer a stuttering rebuttal. He is, in speech and illustration, off-balance in Lindau's presence.

In his coat, long beard, prominent mutilation, and arched back, Lindau appears as a near caricature of an aging and distinguished Civil War soldier. In discussing the representation of veterans during the Gilded Age, Marten notes, "the extent to which they were remembered solely for what they did for a few years in their youth was the extent to which they became both more and less than real men."<sup>20</sup> Rogers' illustration demonstrates this biographical reduction. More than two decades after Appomattox, Lindau still appears in a soldier-like pose and high-collared Union coat. He is more than a man in that he is consecrated as a "living statue" and testament to the "blood sacrifice" of the Civil War. March, as in Rogers' illustration, holds him in permanent stasis in this historical past. Yet Lindau is also less than a man in that he cannot inhabit the fictional space of national myths and memorial parades. Framed between Lindau and March at the center of the illustration, the mutilation refutes the myth-work that reflects a desire for national rehabilitation. Lindau's missing hand and his suggestion that he sacrificed it to a deceitful nation complicate the image of the honorable, taciturn Civil War soldier. His presence disrupts the precarious epistemological cornerstones of the Gilded Age, rendering him a source of anxiety and the subject of sacrifice. As Mizruchi notes, "certain groups are consistently seen as victims, while others nearly always appear as beneficiaries of sacrificial rites."<sup>21</sup> Mutilated veterans had to fulfill the former role so that the beneficiaries of the postbellum market could remain comfortable with their success, as the just deserts of their resourcefulness.

But in his next appearance in Rogers' illustrations, Lindau looks altogether different, no longer the Civil War relic of the first. Rogers depicts Lindau in bed during March's trip to see him on Mott Street (figure 2). His hair is long and unkempt under a skullcap<sup>22</sup> and his missing hand just out of sight beneath a nightshirt and coat. March is seated beside his bed, and Lindau shakes his fist at him, criticizing capitalists' treatment of the working class. Jonathan Bauch underscores the exoticized aspects of this depiction, aspects that make Lindau appear "as something wild and even threatening."<sup>23</sup> This illustration is, no doubt, a radical departure from Lindau's appearance in the restaurant. His foreignness is unmistakable and his posture almost belligerent. But this exotic Lindau is not more but less

“threatening” to March. He is far more containable in the context of the “foreign” tenement than in that of the domestic Civil War. In contrast to the restaurant illustration, this March appears upright and confident, meeting Lindau’s gaze straight on. It is as if his posture changes in direct response to that of his old friend’s. When Lindau is dressed in his Union attire and his stump held out, March is uncomfortable and off-balance. When Lindau is in his tenement-house bed looking agitated, his missing hand just out of sight, March appears at ease and in control. Immigrants are among the most regular targets of sacrifice. In Kaplan’s terms, tenement residents must be relegated to the background, “framing [them] within the secure lines of the ‘picturesque,’” in order to make the unreal city manageable.<sup>24</sup> Once March is able to reframe Lindau in the same setting as the “shabby-genteel” ballad-seller, the sacrificial enterprise becomes far easier, almost automatic. He is no longer the soldier who “helped to save us and keep us possible” but a remote culturalist object of interest and unassimilable difference.

March appears upright in his seat beside Lindau’s bed in part because of the placement of his hand; it is as if he is reaching for the folded papers tucked into his coat pocket. The papers are not noted in the text but, considering that March is on Mott Street to offer Lindau a translating job,

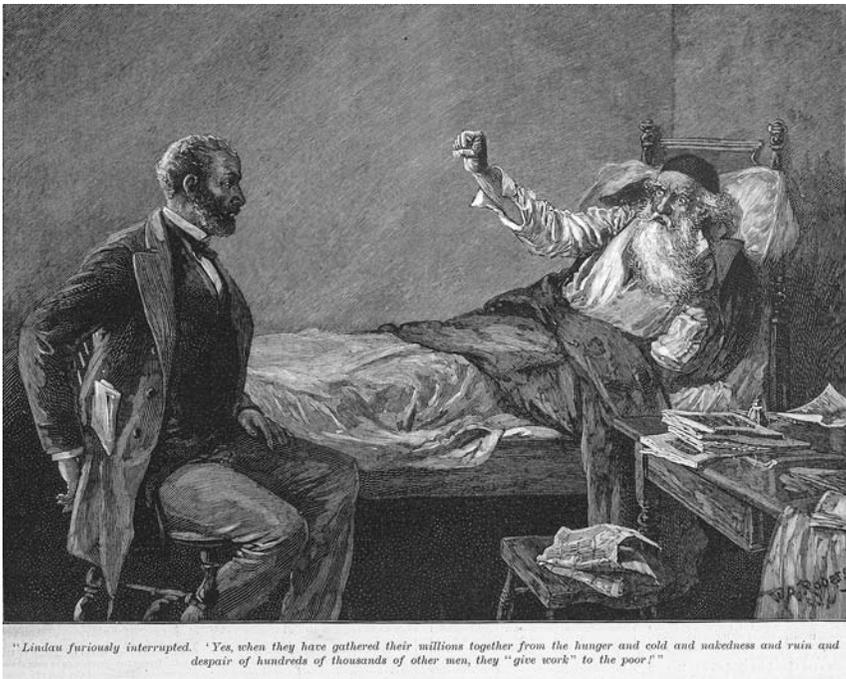


Figure 2. *Harper's Weekly*, 29 June 1889, p. 517.

it could be a contract or some other legal form to authorize Lindau's hire at *Every Other Week*. This illustration seems to emphasize March's posture. Remuneration is among the chief strategies he uses to placate his sense of guilt and anxiety at the sight of Lindau's disfigurement. This is, in fact, his first imagined act of atonement after encountering Lindau in the restaurant with Fulkerson: "he resolved to make him accept a handsome sum of money—more than he could spare, something that he would feel the loss of" (84). March's aim reflects a desire to reclaim a sense of Victorian manliness. He does not just aspire to assist Lindau. He aims to feel the pinch, to perform an act of self-restraint in the fulfillment of his penance. There is a tangle of sacrificial tropes in this scenario. Sacrifice itself becomes a method for masking larger sacrifices—the total erasure of Lindau's corporeal presence—in order to maintain a coherent social realm. Yet Lindau's socialist commitments continue to obstruct March's attempts at financial sacrifice. When Lindau mocks capitalists for offering work to immigrants as if it is a charitable gift, it is clear that he is speaking as much to March's job offer as to the uncompromising streetcar companies. Lindau asks, "Do you think I knowingly gave my hand to save this oligarchy of traders and tricksters, this aristocracy of railroad wreckers and stock gamblers and mine slave drivers and mill serf owners?" (171). Unlike the nameless dead soldier Whitman calls the "last-needed proof of democracy," Lindau still maintains some control of the meaning of his sacrifice. In listing the true economic beneficiaries of the Civil War, he refutes the exceptionalism of Whitman's declaration and the misdirected atonement of March's offer. *Hazard* thus stages the sacrificial enterprise of the Gilded Age at the same time that it interrogates its limits.

This struggle to contain Lindau's threat to bourgeois order continues into March's homelife. Isabel March, like her husband, seeks to honor Lindau's missing hand. She asks that her daughter, Bella, sit next to Lindau at meals and help him cut his meat. She reasons that his dismemberment must not be ignored; instead, it "must be kept in mind as a monument of his sacrifice" (264). But she is also less than comfortable with Lindau's socialism and its potential effect on Bella and her son, Tom:

As for Mrs. March herself, the thought of his mutilation made her a little faint; she was not without a bewildered resentment of its presence as a kind of oppression. . . . But what she really could not reconcile herself to was the violence of Lindau's sentiments concerning the whole political and social fabric. She did not feel sure that he should be allowed to say such things before the children, who had been nurtured in the faith of Bunker Hill and Appomattox as the beginning and the end of all possible progress in human rights. (265)

Isabel's attitude concerning Lindau's mutilation is, like Basil's, an inconsistent one. She promotes the recognition of the veteran's sacrifice to the nation as "a monument," but she also finds it to be a personal "oppression." Whereas Whitman pronounces dead soldiers' bodies to be testaments to a "grand common stock" and "prophetic of the future," she cannot abstract Lindau's mutilation into metaphor due to his immediate presence and dissenting opinions. Lindau is what Priscilla Wald refers to as "uncannily American": his presence does not conform to official national stories and therefore threatens to undermine the construction of a common national personhood.<sup>25</sup> Isabel's desire to treat Lindau's missing hand as a monument is an attempt to interpret his mutilation according to this logic of a classless and egalitarian United States; his is a sacrifice to the benefit of all. Yet Lindau's presence disrupts and haunts this nationalist principle: "It shocked her to be told that rich and poor were not equal before the law" (265). Her efforts to monumentalize Lindau's dismemberment indicate a desire to sacrifice his corporeal presence and, in doing so, regain her faith in the official national stories that lend coherence to her life.

Isabel's protection of "the whole political and social fabric" speaks to the realist project of social construction that Kaplan and others theorize. If realism stages the search for a manageable social sphere and, through this, confronts difference and social change,<sup>26</sup> then Isabel's discomfort with Lindau epitomizes this struggle. The "social fabric" that she defends is the product of—alongside particular class and nationalist ideologies—her construction of a recognizable real amidst an emerging and incomprehensible modern U.S. culture. In *Hazard*, Lindau's mutilation represents the central threat to this construction. It recalls the unreal conflict from which this incomprehensibility is thought to arise and, as a figure of labor, it represents a noticeable absence from this social fabric: the uncannily American, immigrant and working-class subjects. As Mizruchi points out, sacrificial thinking centers on the figure of "the stranger," a central threat to national coherence as the ostensible cause of modern change.<sup>27</sup> Howells stages Isabel's attempt to sacrifice Lindau. But he also highlights the fretful negotiations that surround the performance of sacrificial rites, the cultural anxiety of social construction.

Yet Isabel is just as concerned about protecting her children from "the violence of Lindau's sentiments" as she is with demarcating a habitable social sphere for herself. She notes that Bella and Tom "had been nurtured in the faith of Bunker Hill and Appomattox," presenting this in sharp contrast to Lindau's socialism. The use of the term "faith" points to the ideological bent of this education, prioritizing stories of nationalist sacrifice and union

over Lindau's account of persistent racial and economic oppression. The illogical notion that Bunker Hill and Appomattox represent, for Bella and Tom, "the beginning and the end of all possible progress in human rights" indicates a structuring of historical time that functions to naturalize the nation-form. The nation, Jenny Edkins notes, "must appear to have come down from time immemorial—not to have been born out the traumatic violence of revolutions or wars."<sup>28</sup> Bella and Tom's belief in the nation as an ordering structure relies on the strategic disremembering of the traumas that its founding and continuation entail. Bunker Hill and Appomattox thus mark the total realization of human rights, though this realization is characterized as an immemorial condition. But bodies in pain and mutilation disrupt this irrational faith on which exceptionalist nationalism depends. Lindau's dismemberment recalls the trauma of the Civil War—a conflict that Lindau himself criticizes—and thus contests the sacrificial enterprise that masks and manipulates it. Howells ironizes Isabel's desire to sustain her and her children's ideological coherence, instead of opening them up to the realities of "the other half."

Hence *Hazard* dramatizes the bidirectional performance of rehabilitation. The project of rehabilitation, Long points out, is just as much about stories as it is about bodies: "fixed bodies could ensure definite stories, and rehabilitative Civil War texts offered the promise of the converse as well: fixed stories might produce definite bodies."<sup>29</sup> For the editors and publishers of *Every Other Week*, the latter becomes the principal tactic for reconciling Lindau's missing hand. There is no hope for the literal rehabilitation of his mutilation, but the prospect of rehabilitation through narration remains; a "fixed" account of the conflict might offer meaning to its distressing corporeal outcome.

In one of the most conspicuous scenes in *Hazard*, Dryfoos, the financier of *Every Other Week*, hosts a business dinner for the magazine's staff. The guest list includes March, Fulkerson, Lindau, and Colonel Woodburn, a former Confederate officer and contributor to the magazine. During the dinner, Dryfoos reflects on the past and proposes a toast to Lindau and "those old times":

"Here's to your empty sleeve, Mr. Lindau. God bless it! No offense to you, Colonel Woodburn," said Dryfoos turning to him before he drank.

"Not at all, sir, not at all," said the Colonel. "I will drink with you if you will permit me."

"We'll all drink—standing," cried Fulkerson. . . . "Now then, hurrah for Lindau!"

The scene stages an act of reunification through the consecration of Lindau's mutilated arm. North and South unite in honoring his "empty

sleeve,” a sacrifice to which Dryfoos attributes “the country we’ve got now” (302). Coming from a *nouveau riche* millionaire, it is a revealing and accurate conclusion. He, Fulkerson, and March did not enlist—Dryfoos mentions that his substitute died after Appomattox—and it is unclear whether Woodburn’s colonelcy is an official or titular designation. But Dryfoos, Fulkerson, and March are the clear beneficiaries of the postbellum market. In the North, as Marten points out, more than half of eligible men did not enlist in the Union Army, “ensuring that northerners could perceive multiple paths to fulfilling a citizen’s duty.”<sup>30</sup> In the burgeoning modern market of the postbellum era, the civilians of the Civil War generation often had a leg up on their veteran counterparts. Dryfoos became a rich man and then a millionaire after 1865. Yet he points to his role in recruiting as essential to the Union effort. The toast is thus not for Lindau per se. Rather, it attempts to reconcile Lindau, to offer a coherent account of his mutilation. It is a rehabilitation that takes place in the minds of the beneficiaries of modern capitalism.

In addition to the rhetorical rehabilitation of Lindau, the dinner guests discuss the production of what Long calls “rehabilitative Civil War texts.”<sup>31</sup> After the toast, Fulkerson asks March, “what sort of an idea would it be to have a good war story—might be a serial—in the magazine? The war has never fully panned out in fiction yet. It was used a good deal just after it was over, and then it was dropped. I think it’s time to take it up again. I believe it would be a card” (303). It is an ironic proposal considering the “fiction” that Fulkerson himself just spun in toasting Lindau’s mutilation. But he does not define what constitutes, in his mind, a “good” Civil War story. There are, in fact, stories being told in 1889, stories like Whitman’s that cast the conflict in the golden light of American exceptionalism. It is this genre of fiction that the sales-conscious Fulkerson seems to be proposing, a “card” that “would make a lot of talk.” Yet his perception of a gap in the market—a subject that “has never fully panned out in fiction”—also speaks to the commercial constraints that prohibit the publication of particular accounts of the Civil War. *Every Other Week*, not unlike *Harper’s Weekly*, courts a bourgeois readership. What pans out or gets dropped depends on the tastes of middle-class readers, like the Marches, looking to fill leisure time. The absence of a “good war story” is less the result of a lack of stories than it is a lack of receptive readers. The reproduction of the social depends upon the proliferation of rehabilitative texts and, at the same time, the suppression of unreal ones.

Yet in telling and proposing stories about the Civil War, there is no discussion of what soldiers did after the conflict, including the ex-soldier dining with them. In fact, throughout *Hazard*, Lindau’s life since 1865

remains unaccounted for. The consecrating toast does not just romanticize a horrendous war; it altogether erases Lindau's postwar life. The Union and Confederate armies represented a literate group of men, the authors of countless letters and diaries. But little documentation of their postbellum responsibilities and accomplishments remains.<sup>32</sup> Veterans continued to record memories of particular battles and marches, but almost none spoke of life after Appomattox. When Fulkerson notes, in reference to Civil War fiction, "it's time to take it up again," he identifies a certain nostalgic longing. Nostalgia is, according to Linda Hutcheon, not about the past at all but rather a screen to the present; as she underscores, "the ideal that is *not* being lived now is projected into the past."<sup>33</sup> The Civil War is far enough in the past by 1889 to facilitate fanciful reimaginings, as Fulkerson recognizes, and can thus offer a nostalgic screen for the unrehabilitated present. It is easier to talk of Lindau's role in "those old times" than it is to address his ongoing struggles as a poor, pensionless member of this greatest generation. Nostalgic histories are communal products. Dryfoos, Woodburn, and Fulkerson create a fiction together that masks its corporeal antithesis: Lindau's missing hand and the epistemological impossibilities it conjures.

It is fitting, then, that one of Lindau's regular occupations is as a head model, an assignment that omits his mutilation and necessitates his silence. Alma Leighton, an illustrator for *Every Other Week*, is taking a class from the obstinate art instructor Mr. Wetmore for whom Lindau models. Of Lindau, Alma tells her mother, "He's got the most beautiful head; just like the old masters' things. He used to be Humphrey Williams' model for his biblical pieces. . . . Mr. Wetmore says there isn't anybody in the Bible that William didn't paint him as. He's the Law and the Prophets in all his Old Testament pictures, and he's Joseph, Peter, Judas Iscariot, and the Scribes and Pharisees in the New." In response, her mother reasons, "It's a good thing people don't know how artists work, or some of the most sacred pictures would have no influence" (96). Lindau, appearing in Alma's account as a nameless model, is an object of aesthetic manipulation. He can be "the Law and the Prophets" during one sitting and "the Scribes and Pharisees" during the next. In all cases, he is situated in the distant past among "the old masters' things." Alma thus articulates Lindau as a relic. He is of a foreign and premodern generation. Not unlike March's culturalist approach to difference, Williams, Wetmore, and Alma distance Lindau from their social realm through aesthetic appraisal. The ex-soldier is posited as a model of static and permanent difference, relegated to Biblical Jerusalem or premodern Europe.

The artists' treatment of Lindau mirrors his oscillating construal in relation to exceptionalist nationalism. American exceptionalism, Pease contends, is a durable ideological code because it is mutable; it is reconfigured according to the changing historical context.<sup>34</sup> Lindau can therefore epitomize U.S. nationalism one moment and represent its antithesis a scene later. It is no surprise that his character appears most malleable and interpretable when silent and out of sight. Mizruchi notes that late-nineteenth century realist fiction offered resonant examples to historical and scientific accounts of Gilded Age cultural difference.<sup>35</sup> But *Hazard* does not just offer characters to be contemplated as models of authentic difference; it interrogates the process of modeling itself. When Alma's mother notes that the creation of "sacred pictures" is a process best kept behind closed doors, she speaks to the threat of a denaturalized social realm. The sacred pictures of the Bible and of the U.S. nation-state—the "living statues" of the Civil War—assist in the production of manageable foregrounds and unreal backgrounds, a sacrificial enterprise that must be concealed in order to endure.

Lindau's third and final appearance in Rogers' illustrations represents the clearest demonstration of representational sacrifice in *Hazard*. Lindau rests in a hospital bed after being beaten at the streetcar strike and losing still more of his disfigured arm to amputation (figure 3). Socialite-turned-nun Margaret Vance kneels beside him. He is dressed in all white and she in all black. The picture is from March's standpoint as he enters from behind a "white canvas screen which in such places forms the death chamber of the poor and friendless" (401). From this angle, Lindau is facing out and his mutilation is altogether out of sight. As Lindau dies, there is an abrupt lift in tone: "Lindau's grand, patriarchal head . . . lay white upon the pillow, and his broad white beard flowed out over the sheet, which heaved with those long last breaths. Beside his bed Margaret Vance was kneeling; her veil was thrown back, and her face was lifted; she had clasped between her hands the hand of the dying man; she moved her lips inaudibly" (402).

The illustration makes apparent that to which the text alludes. Lindau's "grand, patriarchal head" is set in the foreground, whereas his Civil War mutilation is set outside of the frame. The death scene replicates Lindau's role as a model. His head, lending itself to countless interpretations, is the center of attention. But Lindau is silent and his disfigurement left out of the sketch. Drew Gilpin Faust stresses the importance of Civil War deaths to postbellum culture at large. Undignified or unaccounted for deaths, she notes, represented traumas not just for Union and Confederate soldiers but for all Americans.<sup>36</sup> *Hazard* stages Lindau's death as a moment of rehabilitation through representational sacrifice. Enacting an honorable death,



Figure 3. *Harper's Weekly*, 19 October 1889, p. 829.

emphasizing his head and the pure whiteness of his beard and surroundings, sustains the safe social realm of the bourgeois characters' construction.

Margaret's presence beside Lindau's deathbed stabilizes a death capable of undermining nationalist understandings of the historical past and modern present. It is in part, Long suggests, the "bodily vagaries" that make the Civil War so indefinable and, at the same time, rouse desires to reclaim it.<sup>37</sup> In order to understand the conflict, one must rehabilitate its disfigured bodies. Margaret introduces a funeral-like aspect to the deathbed scene as a stand-in for the heartbroken soldier's wife, and she hides his remaining hand—a reminder of his mutilation and a figure of working-class labor—behind her own. The charitable upper-class Miss Vance thus screens out Lindau's missing hand and the complications it incites for the Gilded Age subject. Howells does not altogether replicate the grand military funeral of March's imagination. But it is not far off. Whereas Lindau, in life, contests the sacrificial enterprise that attempts to rehabilitate him through nationalism, spiritualism, and reparation, his death facilitates closure for the middle- and upper-class characters. It is this final and literal corporeal sacrifice that enables the rehabilitation of the social. Lindau must be "given up" in order to reproduce it.

## Conclusion: Multiculturalism and Sacrifice in the Gilded Age

In considering Howells' fiction, it is difficult to ignore his prolific output as a critic. Among his most recognized nonfiction works is "The Man of Letters as a Man of Business" (1893), in which he discusses the place of artists, "the makers of literature," in the shifting landscape of late-century publishing. Howells suggests that the man of letters is homeless, caught between the "classes" and the "masses."<sup>38</sup> He profits from the patronage of the upper class, but he is not of the upper class. His subsistence depends, like a wageworker, on "doing or making a thing," but the wageworker does not recognize this affiliation. "The prospect," he concludes, "is not brilliant for any artist now living, but perhaps the artist of the future will see in the flesh the accomplishment of that human equality of which the instinct has been divinely planted in the human soul."<sup>39</sup> His conclusion reflects a desire to do more than dramatize social change. He aims, as a writer, to produce it. Yet his construction of the middle-class artist as homeless—not of the classes or the masses—distances him from the categories of difference that he articulates. It is an understanding of difference that appears in *A Hazard of New Fortunes* and one that, as Mizruchi and Elliott suggest of postbellum culture, anticipates what is recognized decades later as U.S. multiculturalism.

The term multiculturalism was, of course, not coined until the mid-twentieth century and is used most often to describe the post-civil rights era. But Mizruchi and Elliott make compelling arguments for the post-Civil War origin of the multicultural concept manifest in the literature of the period. Elliott points to non-teleological Boasian culturalism as a forerunner to twentieth-century multiculturalism; like multiculturalism, he contends, cultural realists—working in tandem with the social scientists of the time—aimed to represent cultural difference as distinct and meaningful in order to construct common ground and encourage peaceful cohabitation.<sup>40</sup> Realists, as Howells implies in "The Man of Letters," aimed to incite and mediate social change. This proto-multiculturalism, Mizruchi notes, emerged during the Gilded Age as immigrant populations entered an accelerating laissez-faire marketplace. Hence cultural producers, authors among them, made difference a central part of the emerging entertainment industries. "The pursuit of markets," Mizruchi states, "implicated the pursuer, as a matter of course, in class and cultural analysis. American novelists were helping to shape attitudes toward cultural others, and they were aware of this fact."<sup>41</sup> Authors represented and appealed to cultural others in part because the

market demanded it and in part because cultural others represented a source of interest and anxiety for bourgeois readers.

Yet in contrast to Elliott and Mizruchi, I would like to underscore the pernicious effects of late-nineteenth century multiculturalism, effects that mirror its current influence on attitudes about cultural difference. Critics of multiculturalism remind us that its logic depends on the construction of static racial blocs, representing distinct cultural formations with more or less impermeable boundaries.<sup>42</sup> Crucial to the issue of Gilded Age proto-multiculturalism, this production of racial categories is carried out through and in deference to an “unmarked” white culture that is not subject to ethnographic analysis. As Mizruchi emphasizes, multiculturalism facilitates the entrance of once-effaced cultural life into the mainstream commercial market. But this cultural life enters the marketplace first and foremost as authentic documentation of alien culture cast as inferior to a white culture unlocatable in this schema. It is telling, then, that Howells sees the middle-class (white) artist as remote from categories of difference. He is instead the unmarked spectator and translator of multicultural difference. Multiculturalism, in 1889 as in 2014, alters the institutional organization of difference, but it masks rather than eliminates racial hierarchies. The result is a rerouting of sacrificial rites. The multicultural codification of difference streamlines the process of sacrifice, authorizing the erasure of alien bodies.

The character of Berthold Lindau illustrates a proto-multicultural arrangement of difference and its sacrificial outcomes. In *Hazard*, he represents a funnel for cultural otherness as the only character marked as ethnic, disabled, poor, and “un-American” in his political sentiments. Despite residing for decades in the United States, his dialect and recurrent references to Schiller, Goethe, and Uhland caricaturize him as an eccentric German immigrant. He is altogether incapable of assimilation. To cite just one example, in discussing the streetcar strike, Fulkerson notes, “It must make old Lindau feel like he was back behind those barricades at Berlin” (373). Although Lindau later fought in the Civil War, Fulkerson connects his role in the strike to the March Revolution of 1848. His assumption is that, no matter his citizenship, Lindau’s frame of reference is a German one. The strikes must remind him of Berlin because in order to understand the U.S. he has to, in effect, translate it into German. Fulkerson’s comment bears the mark of American exceptionalism: the strike must be a product of foreign rabble-rousing, he assumes, because there is no reason for class conflict in the classless United States. Lindau is thus appreciable as a German-American but not as an American. Fulkerson sees Lindau in terms of static difference, a multicultural understanding that is less accom-

modating than sacrificial. He assuages the threat of, in Barrett Wendell's words, becoming "something not ourselves" through a belief in impermeable racial boundaries.

If bodies are, as Long contends, "universal signifiers," Gilded Age subjects attempted to reconstruct a coherent social through the elimination of illegible bodies: the unrehabilitated bodies of the Civil War that destabilized the process of reunification and the production of reassuring national myths. In Howells' *A Hazard of New Fortunes*, Berthold Lindau's mutilation represents the principal target of sacrificial rites because of the distressing memory-work it performs. But this sacrificial enterprise is not limited to Civil War bodies. The proto-multiculturalism of the Gilded Age gestures to a larger project of corporeal erasure that is still central to our understanding of difference today. *Hazard* stages the negotiation of otherness through the production of multicultural space. There is room for the "shabby-genteel" ballad-seller and the eccentric German immigrant. But it is background space, the unreal, the unrehabilitated, and the "un-American" outside and apart from the social.

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### Notes

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1. Amy Kaplan, *The Social Construction of American Realism* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 53–54.

2. See, for example, Sarah B. Daugherty, "A Hazard of New Fortunes: Howells and the Trial of Pragmatism," *American Literary Realism*, 36 (Winter 2004), 166–79; Gib Prettyman, "'The Next Best Thing': Business and Commercial Inspiration in *A Hazard of New Fortunes*," *American Literary Realism*, 35 (Winter 2003), 95–119; Sophia Forster, "Americanist Literary Realism: Howells, Historicism, and American Exceptionalism," *Modern Fiction Studies*, 55 (Summer 2009), 216–41; Christopher Raczkowski, "The Sublime Train of Sight in *A Hazard of New Fortunes*," *Studies in the Novel*, 40 (Fall 2008), 285–307; and Cynthia Stretch, "Illusions of a Public, Locations of Conflict: Feeling Like Populace in William Dean Howells' *A Hazard of New Fortunes*," *American Literary Realism*, 35 (Spring 2003), 233–46. Daugherty and Prettyman argue that the construction of this social line identifies Howells' idealism at the same time that it does his pragmatism. Forster suggests that *Hazard* points to its author's simultaneous resistance to American exceptionalism and implicit belief in it. Raczkowski and Stretch meanwhile contend that *Hazard* epitomizes the realist project but also marks its failures and limitations.

3. Mizruchi, *The Science of Sacrifice: American Literature and Modern Social Theory* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1998), p. 23.

4. Whitman, *Specimen Days & Collect* (Philadelphia: McKay, 1882), p. 217.

5. Pease, *The New American Exceptionalism* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2009), p. 11.

6. Jackson Lears notes that the decline in sectional partisanship depended on a shared appreciation of the suffering of (white) soldiers in this “theater of the sublime,” a mourning process cast as nobler than and apart from politics (*Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877–1920* [New York: HarperCollins, 2009], p. 26).

7. Long, *Rehabilitating Bodies: Health, History, and the American Civil War* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p. 25.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

9. Marten, *Sing Not War: The Lives of Union and Confederate Veterans in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2011), p. 19.

10. Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1997), p. 82.

11. To highlight just a small subset, see Kate Chopin’s “A Wizard from Gettysburg” (1894), Ambrose Bierce’s “A Resumed Identity” (1908), Elizabeth Stuart Phelps’ *The Story of Avis* (1877), Stephen Crane’s “The Veteran” (1896), Sarah Orne Jewett’s “Decoration Day” (1892), Louisa May Alcott’s “My Red Cap” (1882), Willa Cather’s “The Sculptor’s Funeral” (1905), and Howells’ *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885).

12. Kaplan, p. 10.

13. Mizruchi, *Science of Sacrifice*, p. 12.

14. Howells, *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (1889; rpt. New York: Penguin, 2001), p. 134. Subsequent citations indicated parenthetically.

15. Long, p. 15.

16. Elliott, *The Cultural Concept: Writing and Difference in the Age of Realism* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2002), p. xxi. Elliott points out that realism ran parallel to the “culturalist” anthropological work of Franz Boas (xiii). In contrast to social Darwinian universalism, Boas formed a non-teleological approach to culture, emphasizing the distinct practices of particular groups that can be understood through observation and documentation. This method, Elliott argues, brought about a shift in the “narrative organization” of difference, as can be seen in contemporaneous realist fiction (xxiii).

17. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

18. Rogers, *A World Worth While: A Record of “Auld Acquaintance”* (New York: Harper, 1922), p. 40.

19. Gib Prettyman, “The Serial Illustrations of *A Hazard of New Fortunes*,” *Resources for American Literary Study*, 27, ii (2001), 185.

20. Marten, p. 29.

21. Mizruchi, *Science of Sacrifice*, p. 16.

22. In a reading of this illustration, Jonathan Bauch makes the argument that Lindau is an unidentified Jewish character, pointing to the skullcap’s resemblance to a kippah (“Public German, Private Jew: The Secret Identity of Berthold Lindau in Howells’ *A Hazard of New Fortunes*,” *American Literary Realism*, 41 [Fall 2008], 25).

23. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

24. Kaplan, p. 49.

25. Wald, *Constituting Americans: Cultural Anxiety and Narrative Form* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1995), p. 10.

26. Kaplan, p. 9.

27. Mizruchi, *Science of Sacrifice*, p. 7.

28. Edkins, *Trauma and the Memory of Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003), p. 229.

29. Long, p. 7.

30. Marten, p. 20.

31. Long, p. 7.

32. Marten, p. 10.

33. Hutcheon, “Irony, Nostalgia, and the Postmodern,” in *Methods for the Study of*

*Literature as Cultural Memory*, ed. Raymond Vervliet and Annemarie Estor (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), p. 195.

34. Pease, p. 9.

35. Mizruchi, *Science of Sacrifice*, p. 10.

36. Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage, 2008), p. 268.

37. Long, p. 15.

38. Howells, "The Man of Letters as a Man of Business," *Scribner's*, 14 (October 1893), 445.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Elliott, p. xxiv.

41. Mizruchi, *Multicultural America: Economy and Print Culture* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2008), pp. 4, 6.

42. For a review of this literature, see Vijay Prashad, "Ethnic Studies Inside Out," *Journal of Asian American Studies*, 9 (June 2006), 161–62.