

**FIGHTING QUAKERS:
A JET BLACK WHITENESS**

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They are fighting Quakers; they are Quakers with a
vengeance. Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick; or, The Whale*¹

*I*n October of 1862, an indignant Quaker wrote a letter to the editors of *The Friend* on “Fighting Quakers.” Baffled and insulted by the expression’s very existence, the author fumed:

This is a phrase, which has gained place with some—perhaps many, but it is in fact an absurdity—a wild contradiction of terms. As well might we talk of a blunt sharpness, a jet black whiteness, or a sinful godliness. If a man is a fighting one, he has not the remotest claim to be a Quaker in principle.²

This eloquent Friend spoke to the rising popularity of the imagined “fighting Quaker”—who, during the long years of the United States Civil War, became an object of persistent examination and fantasy in the American cultural imagination. Despite—and, as we will find—*because of* the “wild contradiction” embedded in this trope, the fighting Quaker became a popular

and compliant interpretive tool for Northerners struggling to articulate a response to the violence of the Civil War.

Though relatively few Friends risked disownment for military offenses during either the American Revolution or the United States Civil War, that number seized the imaginations of mid-century illustrators, exhibitors, writers, and readers.³ Fighting Quakers, who opposed their meeting's precepts in the face of discipline and disownment, were imagined to embody an admirable democratic ideal. They were peace-loving, but patriotic. They were holy and temperate, but undeniably ready to fight. During the Civil War era, imagined fighting Friends in both Revolutionary and Civil War settings enabled a consuming public to refashion and comprehend a religious group opposed to slavery but unwilling to bear arms against the entangled offenses of slavery and disunion. More important, however, the figure of the "patriotic" fighting Quaker provided a broader sanction for civil violence. If these holy people—pacifists in imitation of a Christian savior—will make war when provoked, purveyors of popular culture must have supposed, why should we not? Quaker pacifism was recast as the fond but realistic love of peace residing in the hearts of all true Americans. Quaker meeting discipline was represented as a weak hedge against the mounting tide of patriotism. Deep and disquieting public anxiety about civil violence could be soothed by the evidently widespread willingness of fighting Friends. The trope of the fighting Quaker became a cornerstone in the unsteady altar imploring divine blessing on the war itself.

In this article, I will examine fighting Quakers featured in a variety of Civil War era cultural contexts: jokes and tales from *Harper's Weekly*, the proliferation of the widely-publicized "Quaker gun," and printed patriotic envelopes upending the Quaker peace witness. I also will analyze Revolutionary Friends from novels published during the Civil War era, in particular Ned Buntline's 1858 thriller *Saul Sabberday*.⁴ I choose these motley cultural artifacts to demonstrate both the wide influence of the fighting Quaker trope during those years and the myriad ways that image was circulated. Jokes published in *Harper's* and accounts of "Quaker guns" bridged and refashioned oral and print culture. Printed envelopes featuring "patriotic" Quakers, meant to be mailed and shared, drew the rhetoric of a broken pacifism into the more intimate (and yet still public) arena of private correspondence. Of all these representations, fighting Quakers in popular novels provided the broadest context for interpretation. Since such Quakers only appear in novels with real, historical war settings, the characters assume an existence that seems even closer to authenticity.

In the nineteenth century popular imagination, most Quaker women were confined to the space circumscribed by their bonnet's lovely, domestic shadow. Quaker men were liberated from the rule-bound, communal discipline of the meeting and imagined to fight, alone, on behalf of their families and their country. During the years surrounding the Civil War, popular writers, illustrators, and photographers were captivated with this fictional fighting Quaker. As the conflict descended, fighting Quakers were widely resurrected in the cultural imagination, and they remained popular characters into the twentieth century.

I. Quaker Pacifism in the United States

Fighting Quakers owe their ironic resonance in popular culture to the well-known history of pacifism in the Religious Society of Friends.⁵ From the earliest decades of the Society in England, Friends heard the Spirit prompting them individually to pacifism; George Fox advocated avoiding "any carnall sword" in a letter to Oliver Cromwell as early as 1654.⁶ The peace testimony was rising among scattered English Friends when both Fox and his future wife Margaret Fell issued clear statements encouraging nonresistance in 1660.⁷ Nonresistance continued to be a crucial component of Quaker witness in the American colonies, and what troubles Friends faced were often prompted by fighting over peace. The Quaker-dominated Assembly of Pennsylvania was mired in conflicts over the peace testimony throughout the 1740s and 50s; dissent with "war" Friends and pressure from without prompted the eventual erosion of Quaker political supremacy.⁸

In the next decade, the Friends who took up arms against the Paxton rebels marching on Philadelphia in 1764 became the most infamous early examples of real fighting Quakers.⁹ Holed up in the meeting-house, these young Quakers intended to defend themselves against the advancing "Paxton boys," who had murdered a group of Conestoga Indians in December 1763. The Paxton boys were incensed with Philadelphia Friends—not only for their attempts at fair dealings with the surrounding Indian tribes (by way of Israel Pemberton and Anthony Benezet's "Friendly Association for Gaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Means") but also their refusal to supply arms for frontier defense. About two hundred young Quakers took up arms to defend themselves. "It was matter of sorrowful observation to behold so many under our name," wrote Friend James Pemberton, "acting so contrary

to the ancient and well-grounded principle of our profession . . . [their defense] furnished our adversaries with a subject of rejoicing."¹⁰ As Quaker historian Margaret Hirst points out, many of these young dissidents fought again nine years later.¹¹

Despite internal dissent and occasional disownment, most Quakers maintained the peace testimony throughout both the Revolutionary War and the antebellum nineteenth century. But Friends' intensifying theological quietism, near total retreat from politics, and preoccupation with the Hicksite controversies during the 1820s and beyond made them the least vocal in an increasingly diverse assembly of antebellum pacifist societies.¹² Confident in the ever rising progress of humanity, many non-Quaker perfectionist reformers took up the banner of pacifism; they formed passionate and occasionally volatile peace groups like the Massachusetts and American Peace Societies and William Lloyd Garrison's infamous New England Non-Resistance Society.¹³

Friends' long witness against the violences of slavery and warfare provided crucial inspiration for these new groups. The pacifist societies were consistently perplexed, however, by American Quakers' reluctance to join wholeheartedly in their noisy campaigns for peace.¹⁴ Skeptical of the wide latitudes these groups permitted in belief and action, most Friends declined or even penalized involvement in nondenominational peace societies.¹⁵ As Peter Brock explains, "Friends' testimony for peace in the period . . . often lacked the vital spark. It was . . . traditional, conservative, hostile to new ideas and to new strategies for peace."¹⁶ When Civil War broke out, joke tellers, illustrators, and authors sought colorful, converted pacifists to prove the inevitability of the Union cause. But they rarely combed the ranks of the well-known and more outspoken pacifist reformers. Instead, they chose Quakers.

Despite widespread appreciation for the figure of the fighting Quaker during the Civil War years, the vast majority of Friends retained their practical and ideological pacifism throughout the period, along with their well-known antislavery principles. But as historian Rufus Jones observed of the antislavery crusade, "Friends, and especially the younger members of the Society, had for more than a generation been champions of the freedom of the slaves. They had gradually come to feel that *this* cause of freedom was the supreme cause of their age."¹⁷ Though every branch of the splintered Society maintained its stance in favor of pacifism, many Friends still struggled with and staggered under the pressure of open violence.¹⁸ North and South, male Friends were subject either to conscription into military service or the equally problematic options of

paying fines or securing substitutes.¹⁹ As with other testimonies, internal divisions within the Society of Friends reechoed in controversies over the acceptability of serving in military hospitals and providing care for those affected by combat.²⁰ All the U.S. Quaker Yearly Meetings, however, were unified on their discipline and disownment of those who fought. And although many Quakers (particularly those in the South) wavered on the “hard line” of avoiding all financial and aid entanglements in warfare, those who took up arms and faced the discipline of the meeting comprised a substantial minority.²¹

Those Quakers who refused *all* military service and disbursement were often arrested and abused. The diary of Friend Cyrus Pringle of Vermont recalls distressing violence after he was impressed into noncombatant duty and required by his commander to clean a gun:

I replied to him that I could not comply with military requisitions, and felt resigned to the consequences. ‘I do not ask about your feelings; I want to know if you are going to clean that gun.’ ‘I cannot do it,’ was my answer. . . . Two sergeants soon called for me and . . . bid me lie down on my back, and stretching my limbs apart tied cords to my wrists and ankles, and to these four stakes driven into the ground, somewhat in the form of an X. . . . I wept, not so much from my own suffering, as from sorrow that such things should be in our own country, where Justice and Freedom and Liberty of Conscience have been the annual boast of Fourth-of-July orators for many years.²²

The Union cause, ringing all around Pringle, urged men to fight. He records that his own colonel reckoned that “a man who would not fight for his country did not deserve to live.”²³ And yet, for Pringle and other nonresistant Quakers, patriotism possessed meanings distinct from the conformity required by military service: “Justice and Freedom and Liberty of Conscience.” As Rufus Jones points out, resistant Friends like Pringle exhibited “supreme bravery”—not in answering the call to military service but in resisting it.²⁴ The stories of these consistent pacifists are reverently retold in nineteenth- and twentieth-century histories of Quakerism.²⁵ But it was not the Cyrus Pringles who captured the imaginations of Civil War era commentators from outside the tradition. Rather, those Quakers who did compromise to combat were enlisted—not only for their willingness to serve in the military, but for their colorful propagandic appeal and their comforting, sacralized reassurance that the fight was right.

II. More than a Joke

While multitudes suffered, the editors of *Harper's Weekly Journal of Civilization* worked to lift their readers' spirits throughout the days of the Civil War. They kept their popular columns—"Humors of the Day" and "The Lounger"—filled with pointed jokes and harebrained wordplay. Warfare pressed heavily on even these diversions, however, and often cast a little pall over the comedy. A joke from the "Lounger" in the April 27, 1861 issue evidences the strain just days into the conflict: "We laugh at the story of the Quaker who told his opponent, 'Friend, I will not kill thee, but I will hold thy head under water until the breath departs from thy body.'"²⁶ Jokes do not always live long, but this gallows humor is still easily accessible for readers of today. The Friend in this anecdote is a fighting Quaker. Though his plain speech and preemptive justifications make his sectarian commitment to pacifism clear, this invented Friend easily sheds his peace principles in the face of incomprehensible total war.

Jokes like this one asserted obvious expectations for Quakers during war. Such jokes suggest that pacifism, while admirable during times of peace, was an impossible (not to mention spineless) alternative to violence on behalf of home and republic. The "Lounger" goes on to interpret thus the anecdote of the Friend who cleverly drowned his enemy:

And yet the story covers more than a joke. 'Friend,' the Quaker says, 'I will not lose my temper, nor hurt thee vindictively; but I will take good care that thou shalt do no more mischief.' If the doctrine of peace were literally interpreted as pure non-resistance, human experience seems to prove that civilization would not advance very rapidly.²⁷

The Lounger places a plain spoken justification in the mouth of the martial Quaker. His interpretation suggests that the "thee" of plain speech is a Friendly habit more consistent than pacifism; moreover, he applauds this Quaker's willingness to lay pacifism aside when sufficiently provoked. "It is so natural to believe in peace," the Lounger sighs in the same article, "to suppose that state affairs can be arranged as placidly as the spring work of the garden or the family details of the household." Refusing to bear arms is, for this commentator, a hopeless and domestic daydream. Pacifism implies that political affairs are as simple as the work of keeping house. Reality requires a violent response.

Many Americans coped with the anxieties and horrors of the Civil War through the distance created by wartime jokes and comic stories like this one. The anecdote above was published in the first issue of *Harper's* acknowledging that open war had begun.²⁸ This story cleverly contains both the unexpected twist and the gallows-humor of a typical wartime joke. But the wit (and the point) of the joke lies in its double incongruity. The humorous conflict between the Quaker's words and his actions is evident, and might be understood by a reader or a hearer unaware of the Society of Friends. The deeper disconnect lies in the difference between the aggressor's actions and the well-known peace testimony of his religious group. The Lounger himself acknowledges that this tale, like so many funny stories, is "more than a joke," and his explanation is clearly meant to guide the reader's own laughter. This and other war-era jokes about fighting Quakers play on the contradictions embodied in violent nonresistants. Moreover, these little stories assert a firm boundary for religious pacifism, and explore the provocations considered too great for a peace testimony—in George Fox's words, a "witness against all violence"—to bear.²⁹

Civil War-era fighting Quaker jokes speak to the tensions surrounding at least three social phenomena: pacifism, the statistically marginal and distinctive Society of Friends, and the horror of the war itself. These incongruities, when paired in opposition, are the source of the jokes' comedy. As Peter Berger suggests, "the essence of the comic is discrepancy."³⁰ Such discrepancies are particularly useful when comedy is used to comprehend and defuse the tragedy of violent conflict. Humor theorist Elliot Oring hypothesizes that jokes dealing with disasters (like conflict) are particularly effective because they "conjoin an unspeakable, and hence incongruous, universe of discourse to a speakable one."³¹ War comedy could translate the horrific as well as point out the preposterous. Civil War historian Alice Fahs writes that humor at the expense of the war effort and its principle players "made the simple but profoundly subversive point that war was ridiculous."³² The fighting Quaker jokes I will examine here betray a complex array of anxieties surrounding the Civil War and the pacifist's role in that conflict.

Humor at the expense of religious people is a badly neglected lens on the interpretation of religion. Jokes at the expense of religious people tend to lend credibility to the widely-debated assertion that jokes provide a release prompted by hostility.³³ But *fighting* Quaker jokes differ from the wry needle against the Friendly broadbrim hat. From 1860 through 1865, *Harper's Weekly* cartoons and jokes remarking on the surface distinctives of Friends

were joined by jokes focusing on the admirable but ultimately accommodating peace testimony of Quakers, under assault from a hostile attacker close at hand.

Between *Harper's* first issues in 1857 and December of 1859, nine Quaker jokes appeared in the humor columns of the magazine. Of these, only one (appearing July 18, 1857) lays the scene in an antagonistic exchange—but violent conflict is averted by the witty counter of a Quaker:

A day or two ago a Quaker and a hot-headed youth were quarreling in the street. The broad-brimmed friend kept his temper most equably, which seemed but to increase the anger of the other. "Fellow," said the latter, "I don't know a bigger fool than you are," finishing the sentence with an oath. "Stop, friend," replied the Quaker, "thee forgettest thyself."³⁴

This Quaker defuses a mounting conflict with plain-spoken but gentle cleverness in a joke that is still funny today. His forbearance was not celebrated for long.

As open war drew closer, Quakers who yielded in violence to provocation crept steadily into *Harper's* "Humors of the Day" column. Between 1860 and Appomattox, fifteen Quaker jokes appeared in *Harper's*; of these, five found their punch line in the violent response of a Friend. On February 11 of 1860, the following joke appeared:

A genuine bully called upon a "Friend" avowedly to thrash him. "Friend," remonstrated the Quaker, knocking down the visitor's fists, "before thou proceedest to chastise me, wilt thou not take some dinner?" The bully was a glutton, and at once consented, washing down the solids with libations of strong ale. He rose up again to fulfill his original errand. "Friend," said the Quaker, "wilt thou not first take some punch?" and he supplied abundance of punch. The bully, now staggering, attempted to thrash his entertainer, but quoth the Quaker, "Friend, wilt thou not take a pipe?" This hospitable offer was accepted, and the bully, utterly weak, staggered across the room to chastise the Quaker. The latter, opening the window, and pulling him toward it, thus addressed him: "Friend, thou camest hither not to be pacified. I gave thee a meat-offering, but that did not assuage thy rage; I gave thee a drink-offering, still thou wert beside thyself; I gave

thee a burnt-offering, neither did that suffice; and now will I try thee with a heave-offering;" and with that he tossed him out of the window. That sufficed him.³⁵

The Quaker in this tale is styled as a clever protagonist, pitted against a "genuine bully," a "glutton" intent on whipping him for no stated cause. The Quaker maintains both his plain speech and his composure, as he cunningly plies his opponent with dinner, drink, and pipe in the well-known tradition of Friendly hospitality. As in many fighting Quaker jokes, he consistently addresses his antagonist as "Friend," honoring the Quaker practice of substituting this egalitarian handle for honorific titles. The joke's nod to this tradition introduces its first layer of incongruity—the Quaker is engaged in combat with a "friend," a near companion.

The tale's punch line verbally links the Quaker's conciliatory measures with Old Testament "offerings," and then fetches the joke: a "heave-offering," pitching the bully out the window. This joke's deepest level of humor and meaning lies in the Quaker as protagonist; the triumph in the Quaker's "heave-offering" would be muted or lost altogether on a Methodist or Presbyterian hero. Humor theorist Ted Cohen observes that "you need your audience to know something *in advance of the joke*, and you need them to know it without your telling them."³⁶ In this case, that context knowledge is pacifism—but pacifism conceived as a changeable custom. The Quaker has borne much, but his pacifism finds its limit, the joke supposes, in a bully who will not be "pacified."

When the Quaker strikes back, he is presumably accompanied by the laughter and cheers of his new ally: the reader. Oring suggests that a "joke is not a recounting of what happened to certain fictional characters. A joke is something that is *happening* to the hearer at the moment of telling."³⁷ In this case, as with any good story, the hearer (or reader, in this case) experiences the joke from the perspective of the protagonist. Bewildered by a crisis that cannot be averted, the reader experiences the comic *relief* of a clever and violent response.

The "Humors of the Day" for September 22 of the same year revisits the War of 1812 for a forbearing Quaker who finally, comically, succumbs to violence too.

During the last war a Quaker was on board an American ship engaged in close combat with an enemy. He preserved his peace principles calmly until he saw a stout Briton coming up the vessel by a rope that

hung overboard. Seizing a hatchet, the Quaker looked over the side of the ship, and remarked, "Friend, if thee wants that rope, thee may have it!" When, suiting the action to the words, he cut the rope, and down went the poor fellow to a deep and watery grave.³⁸

Like the Quaker who hefted his bully out the window, this Quaker's defensive actions are rendered funny by both the disconnect between the Friend and his "Friend" as well as his clever defensive wordplay. In both jokes, the Quakers retain their "peace principles calmly" until the danger is clearly too great to be avoided. In both, the antagonists take a tumble through the efforts of the Quakers. The violence effected is not quite at their hands; rather, it lies at the end of a rope or in the shrubbery outside a window. In the wartime joke, however, the fall possesses fatal consequences, casting the soldier to a colorfully worded "deep and watery grave."

Once open civil war had begun, fighting Quaker jokes in the pages of *Harper's* became considerably bloodier. In the first days of the war, the Lounger's Quaker had neatly drowned his aggressive opponent by holding his head under water; seven months later, another Friend responded to a violent attack in the November 11 "Humors of the Day":

There was an old Quaker who had an unfortunate reputation of non-resistance. It was said that any one could jostle him, tread on his toes, or tweak his nose with impunity; until one market-day a blustering fellow, being told that yonder was a man who, if he was smitten on one cheek would turn the other also, thought it would be sport to try him. Stepping up to the sturdy, good-natured Friend, he slapped his face. The old man looked at him sorrowfully for a moment, then slowly turned his other cheek, and received another buffet. Upon that he coolly pulled off his coat. "I have cleared the law," said he, "and now thee must take it." And he gave the cowardly fellow a tremendous thrashing.

This joke explicitly describes religious pacifism as "unfortunate" but (fortunately for this hearty Quaker) bound only by the literal directive to turn the other cheek found in Matthew 5:39.³⁹ His ultimate response is a "tremendous thrashing." Another Quaker appearing in the same column for July 30, 1864 is even more violent than the ones before: A Quaker said to a gunner, "Friend, I counsel no blood-shed; but if it be thy design to hit the little man in the blue jacket, point thine engine three inches lower."⁴⁰ His verbal

nod to pacifism, like the joke itself, is clipped and perfunctory; his unsolicited advice guides a firearm to a fatal shot. For the first time, too, the uniform places the action of the joke in the Civil War—and the Quaker on the wrong side.

What do the shifts and eddies within these *Harper's* jokes over time indicate about Northern perceptions of the war—and of Quakers—during the period? In every story, Quakerly speech and pacifist *rhetoric* remains consistent. In every story, too, the Quaker protagonist lashes out at a clear and aggressive enemy. For the most part, the fighting Quakers in these jokes employ defensive violence, during a period in which Northern readers and humorists alike would have sought a holy justification for violent warfare against a near but rebellious aggressor. The Quaker serves as symbol for the perceived traditional and profoundly American love of peace; his use of the term “Friend” in addressing his enemy gives away both his sectarian affiliation and underscores the intimate relationship between North and South. These jokes lampoon the age-old disconnect between what people say and what they do, but they betray more serious fears. The Lounger saw in the fighting Quaker joke a critique of pacifism—which it certainly was. But the rhetoric of the fighting Quakers in these jokes betrayed deep desires to justify striking back against a “friend” turned foe.

The Quaker himself is hero in most of these jokes, but his peace testimony shifts from innocently inconsistent to potentially menacing. The jokes follow a noticeable trajectory over the course of the war: the Quakers in them initially employ reluctant self-defense, but they end by advocating violent combat. The final fighting Quaker joke published during the war situates the Friend *against* the Union; he no longer stands for a beleaguered North, striking back under duress. Why the change? One reason may be the well-publicized petitions of Friends to gain conscientious objector status en masse. The Lounger wrote disdainfully of those efforts in 1862 even as he stressed the patriotism of “many” brave Quakers:

The law in regard to the exemption of Quakers is of no great importance in itself, because they are not a large class, and because many of them practically disregard it, and are as gallant soldiers as any in the field. But the principle of the law is very important. It favors one sect. It discriminates between equal citizens.⁴¹

Another commentator in the *New York Herald* voiced a similar complaint that same year, sounding the alarm for the draft dodger:

Why are the religious sects known as Quakers and Shakers exempt from military duty and the draft? Why should they be exempted any more than the Catholic, the Methodist, the Presbyterian or the Mormon? . . . an outside shaker may be come a Quaker, and vice versa, to escape the chance of being called to shoulder a musket, and thus not only the country, but the Shakers and the Quakers, may be seriously defrauded by artful dodgers.⁴²

As we have seen, despite the Lounger's approbation, most Quakers did maintain the peace testimony—often at great cost. Moreover, derisively named “war-Quakers,” or Quakers who joined a meeting during the conflict (who probably would have fallen, for most observers, into the “artful dodgers” category) rarely found themselves better off than before, particularly in the Confederacy.⁴³ A commentator in *The Friend* the same year noticed these “unkind efforts of some editors to create an issue between the people at large, and the Society of Friends, with regard to the performance of military duties.”⁴⁴ But those efforts, if the joke is any measure, were at least somewhat successful.

After the war, fighting Quaker jokes all but disappeared from the pages of *Harper's*. Though the “heave-offering” joke was reprinted in 1874 and the other cheek joke in 1874 and 1877, respectively, no new violent jokes appeared in the twelve years after the war. Quaker jokes returned to witty wordplay garbed in plain speech, like this one appearing on April 20, 1867:

During a great storm on the Pacific Ocean a vessel was once wrecked, and a Quaker, tossing to and fro on a plank, exclaimed, over the crest of a wave, to another who was drifting by on a barrel, “Friend, dost thou call this ‘Pacific?’”⁴⁵

Even this joke suggests, in plain speech, a sinister undertone to the power of nonresistance—suggested by the ocean's misnomer compared with its actual violence. But the fighting Quaker himself has disappeared. As this little joke shows, plain speech persisted throughout Quaker jokes, even up through the 1870s, when swelling numbers of evangelical Friends had come to abandon “thee” and “thou,” questioning their implications and their relevance. But unlike the calcified plain speech, the fortunes of the peace testimony shifted according to the needs and anxieties of the joker. As Oring suggests, “witticisms . . . can speak to the character of an individual, the concerns of a community, or the worldview of a society.”⁴⁶ In these jokes,

Quaker peace principles were refashioned as mutable and occasionally commendable—just like the peace principles of every other American in times of concord. After the war, the threat of pacifism receded and the need for fighting Quakers eased. Two months after Appomattox, Friends had receded once again into harmlessness:

A Friend in Need.—A Quaker out at elbows.⁴⁷

III. The New Quaker Bonnet: Pictorial Envelopes

Like jokes, stationery became a popular way to collect, proclaim and disperse patriotic messages through a simultaneously public and private arena. During the Civil War, printed envelopes in particular became a popular and collectible means for communicating national pride. Decorated with engravings of mottoes, state seals, memorials, cartoons, and aggressive parodies, these envelopes—like funny stories—provided almost all citizens with still another inexpensive way to comprehend and comment on the well-known figures and shared feelings surrounding the war. Fighting Quakers sprang up here as well.

Envelopes provided a new, clean, inexpensive, and mobile surface (already often used by antebellum advertisers) for patriotic sentiments, and were printed North and South from the earliest weeks of the war.⁴⁸ North and South, envelopes and their mobility also asserted the continuity of the much-praised antebellum mails despite their fractured republic.⁴⁹ Patriotic envelopes were sometimes exceptionally utilitarian. Some envelopes were pre-marked for addressing to fighting men, with specific camp and regiment information and blanks left for the name. Some were not useful at all—a few purely decorative series featured two- and four-color engravings covering the whole face of the envelope, leaving no space for an address.⁵⁰ As Fahs points out, “within months patriotic envelopes had accrued an additional meaning as ‘collectibles.’”⁵¹ Series of four, five or as many as ten left the viewer in Burma Shave style suspense for the next—one 1861 series entitled “Champion Prize Envelope Lincoln & Davis in 5 Rounds” depicted the presidents battling hand-to-hand in a boxing ring.⁵² Attractive and cheap, the envelopes were printed in huge numbers; one journalist remembered that “enthusiasm over the fad ran so high that it is said more than 4,000 different kinds of envelopes were issued in three weeks.”⁵³ Low estimates for the total variety of envelopes printed range between 5,000 and 6,000.⁵⁴

Common decorative motifs for patriotic envelopes on both sides of the conflict included flags, shields, eagles, a floating head of Washington (or Washington's tomb), clasped hands, a modestly attired Columbia, and the devil. Religious mottoes were widespread, and often figured the conflict in cosmic terms. One Union envelope decorated with a bestarred and striped shield pointedly quoted Genesis 15:1: "Fear not Abraham, for I am thy shield and thine exceeding great reward.—*Genesis*." ⁵⁵ Another depicted a robed minister at the pulpit with the devil at his back: "AN EMINENT SOUTHERN CLERGYMAN, During an eloquent discourse, is wonderfully assisted in finding scriptural authority for Secession and Treason, and the divine ordination of Slavery." ⁵⁶

Friends appeared on these patriotic envelopes as a religious group with particular interest in the fighting. One envelope series published by Philadelphia stationer and bookseller James L. Magee featured woodcuts of fighting Quakers answering the Union call. One of the most prolific producers of Civil War envelopes, Magee favored caricatures with explanatory captions. ⁵⁷ Unlike many patriotic envelopes depicting a simple noble eagle or a starry flag, an image was insufficient here to communicate the uplifting message. The fighting Quaker woodcuts were all accompanied by dialogue making plain the Friends' religious identity and carefully explaining their resolution to join in the fight. On one of these Magee envelopes, a Quaker maid converses with a short-coated musketeer; he appears to be a typical Union soldier, except for his ridiculously outsized broadbrim hat. In the background, a group of soldiers stand in training (Fig. 1). Their play runs thus:

Friend Susan—Why, Friend Broadbrim, what is thee a doing with a musket and soldier clothes on!

Friend Broadbrim—I am going to the Friends' Meeting.

Friend Susan—Well, if thee does go, I hope the spirit will move thee to do something. ⁵⁸

This exchange winks at the Friendly expectation that "the spirit will move" during the worship, and sets up the comic disconnect of a soldier going to Friends' Meeting. Friend Susan's meaning is somewhat obscured—will the spirit move Broadbrim to recruit others? Or speak a concern to the meeting while showing off his firearm and new short coat? But her gentle surprise quickly gives way to approbation, and her words are meant to reflect

FIGHTING QUAKERS

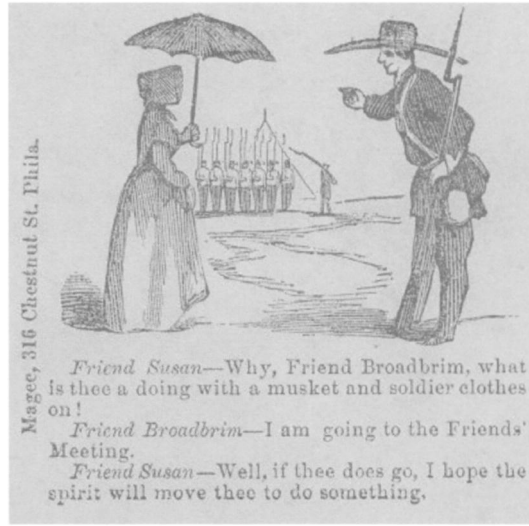


FIGURE 1: James L. Magee Patriotic Cover, Philadelphia. Courtesy of the Earl G. Harrison, Jr. Quaker Rare Book Collection at Sidwell Friends School.

and direct the responses of the reader. A similar but more frank Magee envelope in the same series features another pair of Friends in conversation. Plainly dressed Quaker Jane holds out a rifle and a soldier's cap to a broadbrimmed, long-coated Quaker man leaning on a walking stick. "Friend Jane" boldly speaks her purpose: "I have brought thee a Staff and a Hat, which I hope will prove serviceable in these times."⁵⁹ *These* times, she suggests, require that the Quaker lay aside his walking stick and broadbrim, along with his pacifism.

Jefferson Davis coming to a bad end was yet another favorite theme for Union envelopes.⁶⁰ He appears at the end of a noose on another Magee envelope, where a plainly dressed male Friend surveys and addresses him (Fig. 2):

Union Quaker.—Well, Friend Davis, I hope thee is satisfied, now that thee is raised to the highest position in the gift of the people.⁶¹

The signal of the Quaker's plain dress (indicated by long coat and outsize hat) contrasts with his designation as a "Union Quaker" and his tranquil enjoyment of the gruesome scene, which the artist has attempted to render comic through Davis's surprised expression and lolling tongue. All the Magee fighting Quaker envelopes, including this one, suggest a clear consensus



FIGURE 2: James L. Magee Patriotic Cover, Philadelphia. Courtesy of the Earl G. Harrison, Jr. Quaker Rare Book Collection at Sidwell Friends School.

among Quakers to fight for and revel in the victories of the Union. Their punch, like those of the fighting Quaker jokes, derives from the unexpectedness—and, more important, the *rightness*—of seeing “Friend Broadbrim” march off to war.

One of the simplest and most attractive fighting Quaker envelopes was printed in at least two versions, created in 1861. Marked with the motto “The New Quaker Bonnet, 1861” the envelope is printed with an engraving of a plain, deep-brimmed bonnet in modest Quaker fashion (Fig. 3). The envelope was reprinted the same year with a variant on the same slogan: “The New Quaker Bonnet, (Stars and Stripes Pattern.) 1861.” The bonnet itself is unchanged in both designs, and features no superfluous flounces, flowers, or decoration—except for the bright red and white stripes on the brim and ties, and the starry field of blue on the crown.⁶²

Quaker bonnets were among the most recognizable mid-century features of women’s plain dress. The “new” starred and striped Quaker bonnet imagined by this illustrator simply and elegantly communicates a host of assertions about Quaker patriotism at the start of the Civil War. Like the shed peace principles in Quaker jokes, this illustration implies that the constraints

FIGHTING QUAKERS



FIGURE 3: "The New Quaker Bonnet, 1861." Courtesy of the Earl G. Harrison, Jr. Quaker Rare Book Collection at Sidwell Friends School.

of plain dress are easily altered to suit the patriotism and violence of the times. The "new" bonnet suggests that the transformation is complete.

IV. Quaker Guns

Fighting Quakers took a different and more obscure turn as the war intensified. As Southern supplies ran short, one of the great curiosities of the war gained an eager audience throughout the North: the "Quaker gun." The term designates an artificial firearm of any kind, and today is well-known only by Civil War and military historians. During the Civil War, "Quaker gun" was applied mainly to dummy cannons—logs painted or charred black on the "firing" end, and mounted on wheels. These logs, interspersed with live cannons, were used to suggest to the opposing force a vast battery of firepower. As the war dragged on, Northern interest in this dual marker of Southern deception and demoralization flourished in song, photography, newspaper articles, and traveling exhibits. Curious travelers today can still see a "Quaker gun" on exhibit at the preserved Mayfield forts in Manassas, Virginia.⁶³

The *Oxford English Dictionary* finds the earliest mention of the term in Washington Irving's (Diedrich Knickerbocker's) 1809 *History of New York, from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty*.⁶⁴ There is an earlier use of the term in Nathaniel Fanning's privately published 1806 *Narrative of the Adventures of an American Navy Officer, Who Served During Part of the American Revolution under the Command of Com. John Paul Jones, Esq.* Unlike Irving, Fanning defined the term in his narrative, suggesting that it was not widely recognized. He wrote of boarding a captured British ship, observing that "she was pierced for eighteen guns, but carrying at the time only eight carriage guns, and ten wooden (or Quaker) guns."⁶⁵ In 1862, amateur wordsmith Richard Manning Chipman added the term to the margins of his copy of John Russell Bartlett's *Dictionary of Americanisms*, defining it thus and quoting a newspaper source:

Quaker, Quaker-gun. A fictitious cannon; a wooden gun; a dummy. "The fancied impregnability of the position turns out to be a sham . . . some of the forts have maple logs painted to resemble guns. . . . Some of our soldiers cried when they found out that "quakers" were mounted on the Rebel breastworks . . . ' New York *Tribune*, March 13, 1862.⁶⁶

The term first came into wide use during the Civil War. As Chipman's definition demonstrates, the term was often shortened simply to "quaker;" it inspired both fear and fierce shame among duped soldiers, as evidenced by the poignant news report of their weeping. "Quaker" and "Quaker gun" became peculiar phrases signaling incongruity, ineffectiveness, violence, and artifice. The term deserves further examination here because of its unlikely etymological marriage and because of the strong reaction it roused from Union observers.

Quaker guns made one of their earliest appearances at Manassas and Centreville early in the war, in the Spring of 1862. Stung after a crushing defeat at Manassas in 1861, Union troops under the command of George McClellan avoided combat again there until August of 1862. But in March of that year, General Joseph E. Johnston's Confederate troops (encamped at Centreville for the winter) fell back to Fredericksburg under threat of attack from McClellan. When General McClellan's Union troops arrived in Centreville March 10, they found Quaker guns throughout the fortifications; reports and photographs of the logs followed in a flurry to the Northern press.

In the weeks that followed, it became clear that Union troops had dodged a relatively small retreating Confederate force at Centreville—and that the Confederates probably had been rendered more menacing by an impressive stash of Quaker guns. The *New York Herald*, desperate for good news—any news—of McClellan’s hesitant campaign—reported on March 17 that

Upon examining the place and its defences the Prince De Joinville remarked that in Europe, to have compelled an enemy to evacuate such a stronghold without the loss of a man, or even without firing a gun, would have been considered the most brilliant achievement of the whole campaign.

The story of the Quaker guns turns out to be entirely a joke of our own troops.

Among the earliest in entering the works at Centerville and Manassas were Colonel E. H. Wright and Colonel J. J. Astor, of General McClellan staff. These officers rode all through the works soon after they had been entered by the advanced guard of the federal army, and they state most positively that there were neither Quaker guns nor painted logs, nor logs of any kind, in the embrasures at that time.⁶⁷

As this dishonest denial makes plain, Quaker guns carried mixed meanings during the opening years of the war. They clearly made a good story; the *Herald* reported on April 12 that last month there “was then such a clamour about ‘Quaker guns,’ and a mere handful of rebel troops at Manassas and Centreville, that nobody would believe the figures.”⁶⁸ The discovery of Quaker guns at Centreville provided evidence that the South was faltering and duplicitous—but they also served as a reminder that Union troops could be fooled.⁶⁹ These mingled implications undoubtedly had an effect on the term itself. As the war continued, reports of “Quaker guns” were consistently more derisive and even dismissive, as the words came to suggest Southern failure, deceit, and artifice.⁷⁰

If the *Herald*’s vehement denials were not enough to confirm the existence of Quaker guns at Centreville, the substantial photographic evidence of these “cannons” would. Several photographs taken of Quaker guns at Centreville remain extant. Though it is difficult to imagine less compelling subjects for wartime photographs than logs, the battlefield setting at Manassas—as well

as the name, “Quaker guns”—lent these logs a peculiar charm for Northern observers. George N. Barnard, a well-known professional photographer, took several photographs of Quaker guns at Centreville. Barnard’s taste and flair for staging action (where there truly was none) is evident in these photographs. As Barnard himself asserted, “How much does the **multiplication** of pictures tend to enlighten and unite the Human family! Read and understood by the infant and the aged; scattered from the hovel of the poor to the palace of the great, it extends a humanizing influence wherever it goes.”⁷¹ These images, however, require the help of a Friendly caption to interpret the logs.⁷²

One of Barnard’s photographs appeared as No. 305 in Brady’s Album Gallery series of collectible cartes-de-visite in 1862; it was also reproduced as a stereograph. The card is printed “Quaker Gun, Centreville” on the reverse with the accompanying guarantee below: “The Photographs of this series were taken directly from nature, at considerable cost.” The image features the log itself, half painted black where it was visible outside the fortification, and fitted with a wooden ring where the muzzle swell would be.⁷⁴

The log is propped up on a platform, with an unidentified Union soldier crouched and pretending to ‘light’ the ‘cannon’ at a safe distance. Alan Trachtenberg has observed of Civil War era photographs that “staging of scenes . . . suggests the photographer’s desire to satisfy a need (his own and his audience’s) for order, even that of theatricality.”⁷⁵ The broad staging of *this* scene is obvious, and appears almost comic to today’s sensibilities.

The other three artillerymen needed to load any cannon are missing from the Quaker gun photograph, as are, of course, the hooked lanyard and other apparatus needed to fire the log. Another photograph of the same log, also published as a stereograph, lacks the soldier—but his “lighting stick” remains behind on the ground. Another image features a landscape with the logs in profile, with only the whittled and chopped “butts” visible behind the fortification. This wide view intimates Barnard’s later fascination with wartime picturesque.⁷⁶ But the staged “firing” scene betrays serious anxieties. Trachtenberg writes that “staged compositions enact unstated ideologies and betray unconscious wishes; their motifs often clash with countervailing details.”⁷⁷ The posed scene depicts a Union soldier—posing as a Confederate soldier—and “firing” a defused gun. He, like his “Quaker gun”, is imagined as clearly duplicitous but ultimately harmless, despite the threatening stick he holds to a nonexistent fuse.

Photographic evidence and mingled interpretations of Quaker guns prompted Northern curiosity to see the guns in person. In April of 1862, the Old "Press" Office at 417 Chestnut Street in Philadelphia proudly exhibited a captured Quaker gun for all comers. Local printers Ringwalt & Brown developed an eye-catching bill advertising the event:

THE QUAKER GUN, Now on exhibition, was brought from the REBEL WORKS AT MANASSAS, And wishing the public to witness the Artillery used by the aforesaid Rebels, it WILL BE EXHIBITED FOR A FEW DAYS ONLY, AT THE OLD "PRESS" OFFICE, 417 CHESTNUT STREET, Between 4th and 5th Sts. Admission, 1 Dime. Hours, from 9 A.M. to 8 P.M.⁷⁸

The long hours and the high price of admission (admission to Barnum's American Museum cost 25 cents in 1861) indicate an exhibitor deeply confident in the Philadelphia public's curiosity to see a log.⁷⁹ But then, this relic of war provided a three-dimensional alternative to Brady's photographic war galleries. Though the conflict lived on in image and even in reconstructed tableaux for decades after the end of the war,⁸⁰ 1862's Quaker gun provided the Northern public an immediate, meaningful, and defused symbol of the fight. It was the perfect wartime curiosity—educational,⁸¹ inexpensive, portable, and sanitized for public display—suitable for all to see, and open to myriad interpretations.

Once they had seen it in person or in photographs, Union faithful also memorialized the Quaker gun in song. The lyrical broadside of "The Battle of the Stoves-Pipes," an undated Civil War era tune, tells the tale of a Union commander searching for a new rallying cry to cheer his weary troops. He surveys his men, remarking on the nearness of friend and enemy: "Here are my countrymen, and there my foes, / On cod fish these were reared, and corn-fed those." Hitting upon an ideal cheer, he encourages the troops to cry, "No more Bulls-run" in remembrance of the Union rout at Manassas. But the Union troops mount Munson's hill near Centreville in Virginia to find a surprise:

Up the steep hillside, over ditch and mound,
The summit gained, they breathe, and look around,
Decamped—sold,—humbug'd,—worse than a Bull-run,
STRAW, STOVE-PIPE CANNON, AND A QUAKER GUN.⁸²

This otherwise comic ditty characterizes the Quaker guns' deception at Centreville as *worse* than the crushing defeat at "Bull-run" a year before, widely acknowledged as one of the most humiliating Union losses of the war.⁸³ In this song (clearly published after the exposure at Centreville in the spring of 1862), Quaker guns have begun their transformation from appealing curiosities to souvenirs of folly.

The Quaker gun fiasco at Centreville and Manassas was remembered for years after. Henry Moford's 1864 *Red-Tape and Pigeon-Hole Generals*, a series of fictionalized military reminiscences, featured Quaker guns as an emblem of duplicity in a conversation between a Christian lieutenant and his sergeant.⁸⁴ Urging his sergeant to fight the Confederate forces in earnest, rather than "firing at a respectful distance, doing no damage," the lieutenant declares that the imminent press reports of their cautious efforts will be a sham.

Now this humbugging an earnest people is unfair, unworthy of a great commander, and if he be humbugged himself again as with the Quaker guns at Manassas, the sooner the country knows it the better for its credit and safety.⁸⁵

A similar usage appeared the same year in Edmund Kirke's (a pseudonym for James Roberts Gilmore) *Down in Tennessee, and Back by Way of Richmond*. Borne of a "desire to study the undercurrents of popular sentiment at the South," Gilmore's 'expose' tracks his experience traveling throughout the South during the war.⁸⁶ In one chapter, he references the recent unofficial (and apparently double-dealing) peace efforts of Southerners C.C. Clay, Jacob Thompson, J.P. Holcombe, and G.N. Sanders at Niagara in July of 1864. Gilmore defends the innocence of Jefferson Davis, "the *great* Rebel," in their duplicity:

If this were true, and were proven to be true—if the *great* Rebel should reiterate this declaration in the presence of a trustworthy witness, at the very time when the *small* Rebels were opening their Quaker guns on the country—would not the Niagara negotiators be stripped of their false colors, and their low schemes be exposed to the scorn of all honest men, North and South?⁸⁷

Ten years later, Alice Hatch's 1874 romance *Under the Cedars* vividly recalled the Quaker guns at Manassas. In a long-awaited letter from her brother, the heroine reads:

We have moved, at last, far enough to verify the evacuation of Manassas, and examine the insignificant earth-works mounted with 'Quaker guns,' made of wood, which have kept the national army at bay so long. Till we face more dangerous weapons, you need have no fears that your brother's services will be needed in this vicinity.⁸⁸

The lapsed decade meant that Hatch had to explain the term, but the sting of the Quaker guns' pretense was still fresh.

"Quaker guns" were charged with meaning, if not with gunpowder. Union responses to Quaker guns varied wildly, ranging from curiosity to denial, shame, and disdain. During the years of open warfare and beyond, the reinterpretation of the logs at Centreville and Manassas continued; "Quaker guns" were finally equated with humbuggery, "low schemes" devised to make an "insignificant earth-works" appear menacing. The term itself marks a space where cultural expectations for Quaker military service collide with an acknowledgement of Quaker pacifism, implicit in the dummy arm. But compare the term with an example better known to readers of today—Quaker Oats. These cereal grains have been transformed by their association with the "Quaker" adjective. And yet, more important, the cultural understanding of the religious people known as Quakers has been altered, in turn, by the oats sold in their name. Quaker guns, too, no doubt had an impact on the way in which Quakers were understood during the war. Quaker jokes and envelopes show that Quaker nonresistance was both admirable and easily reversed for the sake of the cause. If the implications observed in the examples above follow, the objects known as Quaker guns or "quakers" were understood during the first part of the war as curiosities—later as follies, and still later as deceptive and treacherous. Did the public's response to Friends themselves echo this trajectory? It is, of course, impossible to trace the way these conceptions of the term were reflected in observers' conceptions of Quakers themselves. But the term certainly commandeered Friendly identity, and could never be as 'neutral' as the weapons themselves.

V. Fiction

As the shadow of deception, disunion, and open warfare fell, observers looked back on a war that time and tradition had polished to an unambiguous radi-

ance: the American Revolution. Only two weeks after shots were fired at Fort Sumter, the Lounger reflected in *Harper's*:

How few of us who studied about the Deerfield massacre, and the Schenectady slaughter, or later, of the battles of Lexington and Saratoga, or still later, of the battles of North Point and the British march on Washington, supposed that in our day we should see or hear any thing to remind us of those scenes?⁸⁹

Fictional representations of Friends just prior to and after the Civil War reflect this longing. They evidence a clear desire to situate fighting Quakers in the more distant and comprehensible landscape of the Revolution. The sheer number of novels with fighting Quaker protagonists published during this period is striking. 1858 saw the publication of John Richter Jones's *The Quaker Soldier* and Ned Buntline's *Saul Sabberday*. (In 1865, Augustus Jones and Edward S. Ellis each published dime novels related to the theme, entitled respectively *Sly Sam, the Quaker Spy* and *The Fugitives; or, The Quaker Scout of Wyoming. A Tale of the Massacre of 1778*.) Augustine Duganne's *The Fighting Quakers* followed in 1866, and Edward H. Williamson's *The Quaker Partisans* in 1869.⁹⁰ These novels stood in the bloody tradition of the Quaker hero in Robert Montgomery Bird's 1837 *Nick of the Woods; or, The Jibbenainosay*, and their theme resonated throughout the century into the best-loved Revolutionary fighting Quaker novel of all: S. Weir Mitchell's *Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker* (first published in *The Century* in 1897).⁹¹ Before considering the themes and implications of a representative Civil War era fighting Quaker novel—*Saul Sabberday*—it will be useful to reflect on the cultural resilience of remembered fighting Quakers from the Revolutionary period.

When the Civil War began, American Major General Nathanael Greene was probably the best-known early recipient of the “fighting Quaker” nickname. This premier soldier and strategist was memorialized in at least five biographies during the nineteenth century, and continues to generate lively interest among historians and students of the American Revolution.⁹² “Even in an army filled with inexperienced officers and citizen soldiers,” begins Terry Golway's celebratory 2005 biography, “Nathanael Greene was an unlikely warrior.”⁹³ Greene drifted away from the East Greenwich meeting in his youth and was disowned in 1773 for attending military exercises.⁹⁴ But in his martial career, he was in the company of only a tiny fraction—6

percent—of male Friends disowned for military offenses during the Revolutionary period in all of New England.⁹⁵

The abundant representations of Revolutionary-era fighting Quakers are centered around those very real but very few Friends who dissented from official statements of neutrality issued by the January 1775 Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings and the September 1776 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. As war with Britain had come to seem inevitable, Friends faced a bewildering array of impossible choices. Drink smuggled tea or English tea? Accept Continental paper money or British pounds (both used to sponsor war efforts)? Observe the new-minted Independence holiday or continue business as usual? Actively oppose British rule or remain impassive?⁹⁶ The most critical choice, however, was whether or not to fight. Though the overwhelming majority of colonial Friends maintained the peace testimony, some Quakers risked the disapproval of the meeting to make war.

Friends in Greene's New England escaped widespread meeting disownments for Revolutionary military offenses, but Pennsylvania Friends faced greater pressure. Quaker historian Arthur Mekeel estimates that in Pennsylvania, 19 percent of male Friends were disowned for war-related offenses over the course of the conflict. Fifty-four percent of those were disowned for military offenses, while the remainder were disciplined for consenting to war taxes or pledges of allegiance, or some combination of these lapses in the peace testimony.⁹⁷ "Fitting out an armed vessel which may prove the cause of shedding human blood," read the cause of one such disownment; "making weapons of war for the destruction of his fellow-men," read another.⁹⁸ Mekeel suggests that these fighting Quakers typically fit one of two patterns. Some, like Greene, were birthright Friends with only tenuous social or familial connections to meeting; some had drifted away gradually prior to the crisis, and later supported the Revolutionary cause. Others were Friends in close association with their meetings sincerely torn between pacifism and partisanship—and who eventually chose the latter.⁹⁹

When violent conflict broke out, some disowned Philadelphia Quakers organized into like-minded groups. The "Quaker Blues" organized their own regiment, approvingly remembered almost one hundred years later in Williamson's *The Quaker Partisans*: "Whether they were drilled in 'plain' language, or whether their drill-master ever indulged himself in swearing at them while they remained an 'awkward squad,' as drill-masters have a

bad habit of doing, I am not able to say.”¹⁰⁰ As the war drew to a close, some martial Friends gathered for spiritual support as well, assembling as the Religious Society of Friends (or Free Quakers) in a meeting-house at Fifth and Arch Streets—a group with fewer than one hundred members.¹⁰¹ Betsey (Ross) Claypoole and Samuel Wetherill, Jr. were among the Free Quakers’ most eminent adherents. Although the society had ceased to meet by 1836, it lived on in philanthropic and publication efforts into the twentieth century. Charles Wetherill’s 1894 history of the Society explains that

they held, contrary to the discipline of Friends, that a man, might forcibly resist any bodily violence offered to himself or to any one to whom he owed the duty of protection. While their views as to warfare and resistance were precisely the same as that of nearly all Christians, they were in such striking contrast to the well-settled doctrines of the Friends that they were commonly known, and are still sometimes spoken of, as “*fighting*” Quakers.¹⁰²

Even the great Quaker historian Rufus Jones sympathetically acknowledged the dilemma of the Revolutionary era fighting Quaker: “now,” he writes, “the Quaker testimony came into violent collision with the fundamental instinct of patriotism.”¹⁰³ Patriotism and pacifism had ceased to be reconcilable.

Remembered accounts of fighting Quakers, decades later, reinforced this ideological divide—though Quakers themselves attempted to counter it. When a Free Quaker recruiter scouts the neighborhood for troops in *The Quaker Partisans*, he finds a gently surprised but ultimately eager audience. “Well, father, what’s thee think?” asks one willing potential soldier. His father replies without hesitation:

‘A Quaker troop of horse, with a Quaker captain. Well, I never!’ said the old man. ‘What do I think? Why, I think the cause that has made that sort of fightin’ men is a good one, and *must* succeed.’¹⁰⁴

Friends did their best to counter this comforting and sanguinary cultural memory from within the fold. Beginning in Twelfth Month 1860, the Orthodox *Friend* ran a series entitled “On the Sufferings of Friends in the Revolutionary War,” which continued—through the next four numbers—to

the eve of the Civil War itself. The articles were expressly intended to revive those distressing scenes before the eyes of Friends, in anticipation of the coming conflict:

It is a long time since Friends in this country have had to undergo much loss of property, or personal restraint on account of their testimony against war, and all military demands or proceedings; but circumstances may speedily change, and the sincerity of our profession be tested in a manner we little anticipate.¹⁰⁵

While others focused on the Revolution's fighting Quakers, Friends self-consciously examined their pacifist witness through the lens of that war, and saw an example rendered even more valuable for its coming reiteration.

Several literary historians have already noticed *The Quaker Partisans* and other fighting Quakers in nineteenth-century literature, although they restrict their interpretation of these Friends to the context offered by the novel.¹⁰⁶ Most recently, James Ryan has written specifically on the hero of *Hugh Wynne* as a character against the grain of typical depictions of Quakers; he suggests that "in nearly every important respect, [Wynne] diverges from the qualities that had long been associated with Quakerism: piety, thrift, selfless benevolence, and refusal of worldly activities."¹⁰⁷ Ryan's and other analyses of these fighting Quakers have marked them as anomalous figures in the vast landscape of represented Friends. Ryan writes of fictional Friends in general that "these quaint figures appear to embody and to manifest the whole range of social virtues promoted by other evangelical Christian groups—charity without condescension, complete egalitarianism, unshakable pacifism."¹⁰⁸ And yet, fighting Quakers' imagined responses to the Revolution are consistently combative, ready, natural, and welcome. Moreover, these fighting Friends cluster markedly around the Civil War era. They no more existed in isolation than did their flesh and blood counterparts, and their Revolutionary exploits signal clear expectations for pacifists of the mid-nineteenth century—and an anxious desire to comprehend and justify the new fight.

At first glance, dime novelist, adventurer, and ardent nationalist Ned Buntline (Edward Zane Carroll Judson) seems an unlikely voice to interrogate the combative path leading up to the Civil War. From his early childhood in Philadelphia, Buntline was steeped in the cultural memory surrounding the American Revolution. His combative loyalty to the United States and his

disdain for the British led him to provoke a riot against British actor William Charles McCready on May 7, 1849 (whose *Macbeth* played opposite that of American Edwin Forrest on the same night). But Buntline's nationalism soured further into nativism, and he became a ringleader among the Know-Nothings (where he gained credit for coining the name). Like most of his comrades, he opposed the abolitionism rising during the years before war descended. But he finally volunteered to serve in the Union Army, at the age of 39, in September of 1862.¹⁰⁹

Just before the war, Buntline penned his 1858 *Saul Sabberday; or, The Idiot Spy* (republished in 1869 as *Quaker Saul, the Idiot Spy; or, Luliona, the Seminole*). One of over 400 Buntline shilling shockers and dime novels, *Saul Sabberday* unfolds in a Revolutionary setting, one of the author's favorite themes. *Saul Sabberday* tells the tale of the pitiful young "idiot" Quaker Saul Sabberday, who longs to fight the British alongside his brothers and against the wishes of his marginally reluctant mother. He finally does so, as readers might have guessed from the title. In the meantime, "golden-haired, blue-eyed, fairy-formed Ruth, the loveliest maiden in the town" and Saul's sister, is kidnapped by (who else?) the traitor Benedict Arnold.¹¹⁰ She falls in company with a local friend, Lizzie, and Luliona, a Seminole maid; the three violently defend their honor through a series of misadventures. Saul Sabberday's military service not only mends his faculties but wins him the love of the Seminole princess. He ends, in the words of his brother, "still eccentric, but he is sagacious, devoted, patriotic," one of the many heroes who had ensured that "America was free and triumphant."¹¹¹

Saul Sabberday features the most important common denominators of Civil War era fighting Quaker novels: adulation of Washington, excoriation of traitors, thrilling battle scenes, and the immediate and ready willingness of Quakers to fight in the Revolutionary cause. No fictional fighting Quaker ever evidences any reluctance to resort to violence, and the Sabberdays are no exception. The voice of peace, usually depicted as mere prudent caution peppered with "thees" and "thous," is often left to female relatives. In this novel, the widow Sabberday is easily persuaded to allow all three of her sons to enter battle. And when she sees her eldest sons off—the biblically and alliteratively named Seth and Simeon—she does not petition a peaceable divinity: "When they were gone, that good widow and mother knelt, and prayed to the God of battles, that He would spare her sons, and not take them from her."¹¹²

Although fighting Quakers are typically male, *Saul Sabberday* features two female Friends willing to defend their lives and their virginity with violence. The widow Sabberday is consistent in her abhorrence of violence—and in her willingness to employ it. “‘War is a dreadful thing!’” observes Mrs. Sabberday to her son. “‘Woe to the tyrant who has forced this thing upon a peaceable and God-fearing people!’”¹¹³ Later in the novel, when her daughter’s honor appears to be in immediate danger, she violently and readily responds to the dastardly and one-dimensional Benedict Arnold:

‘Never while I live!’ cried the undaunted mother of Ruth, seizing a heavy oaken chair, and raising as if it was a feather, she whirled it around her head, and added, ‘if thee advances one step, I will brain the[e] on the spot!’¹¹⁴

Ruth, in her subsequent adventures, shows a similar willingness to combat. Surprised in the project of stealing a boat for her escape, she deals cruelly with the boat’s poor black owner:

Seeing that he was discovered, he scrambled out, knife in hand, but in a second two pistols were levelled at his head, and he came too on all fours, rather suddenly, as Ruth said in a clear, calm voice:
 ‘If thee moves another inch, thee dies!’
 ‘Oh, Gor amighty—don’t shoot old nigger!’ said the black, shaking with terror.
 ‘Cast that knife overboard!’ said the Quakeress.¹¹⁵

The Quakers in *Saul Sabberday*, male and female, consistently celebrate *peace* as an ideal, but Buntline ensures readers realize that *pacifism* is ultimately unworkable. Other war-era texts drew similar conclusions. As Charles Hazlewood (the enigmatic hero of 1858’s *The Quaker Soldier*) remarked after he “dealt a heavy left-hander on the pit of his opponent’s stomach”: “We Friends are not strikers; but sometimes the flesh gets the better, and we hold people very hard:—even strike occasionally.”¹¹⁶ Williamson’s 1869 *The Quaker Partisans* does contain a helpful explanation of the Free Quaker Society—in all other texts, fictional fighting Quakers are assumed to be representative Friends. Williamson still only pays passing tribute to peace. Indeed, the preface explains that

Members of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia, still claiming to be 'Friends,' actually withdrew themselves from the great body of the Society, and organized troops, composed of their own members, to assist in the great struggle. In all respects, except taking up 'carnal weapons,'—and making good and vigorous use of them too,—I believe they maintained all the religious usages of the Society.¹¹⁷

Fictional fighting Quakers, no matter how sanguinary, keep their caps and broadbrims, and retain unmarred the bond of community with their fellow Quakers. Friends' impractical and unpatriotic beliefs must, like Saul Sabberday's broken mind, be rehabilitated—but the spiritual consequences for martial Friends are never a stumbling-block. Fictional fighting Friends are never, in short, subject to the judgment of their community or their God for abandoning the pacifist witness. Their valor wins only applause.

VI. Conclusions

The "fighting Quaker" has been a significant personality in the U.S. cultural landscape since before the Revolutionary War, and the nickname persists in the American vernacular. Quakers in public life have occasionally reclaimed the title with a swagger. It was famously adopted in the twentieth century by a campaigning Richard Nixon and by A. Mitchell Palmer, tireless and terrified Attorney-General during the "Red Scare" of the 1920s. Occupying a confused space between peacemaking and team sports, "Fighting Quakers" serve as the mascots of the University of Pennsylvania, Guilford College, and a host of Quaker institutions. A witty and well-known cheer of Earlham and Guilford colleges claims the trope of the fighting Quaker with the peculiar motivation of the Friends' meeting for business: "Fight, fight, inner light! Kill, Quakers, kill! Knock 'em down, beat 'em senseless, do it 'til we reach consensus!"¹¹⁸

Imagined fighting Quakers, far more than a joke, reached their greatest notoriety during the United States Civil War. In the Christmas Eve, 1864 issue of *Harper's Weekly* among the "Interesting Items" is recorded the story of a "venerable Quaker lady" who travelled among wounded Union soldiers, reviving their deathbed faith. The author ends this moving item with a stirring tribute to the benevolence and compliant good sense of the Quakers:

Time will never record the many deeds of Christian love which these good people are constantly performing in their quiet, simple way, but

eternity will show a record as brilliant as the crown they seek. Opposed to both war and oppression, they see that the latter can only be overthrown by the former; and while unwilling to surrender their peculiar views, are heartily with us in the desire that both rebellion and slavery may be overthrown.¹¹⁹

Likewise, in the widely-disseminated material culture of the Civil War, Quaker pacifism ultimately was figured as a “peculiar view,” easily adaptable to a sufficient cause. For Quakers, the agony of the Civil War lay in their deep and immediate commitment to abolition—a devotion they hoped was not incompatible with pacifism. But as Quaker historian Meredith Baldwin Weddle points out, the widespread belief that “the psychological nature of human beings is incompatible with sustained avoidance of fighting and war” means that pacifism is understood by most as a beautiful pipe-dream.¹²⁰ The same was clearly true during the Civil War—so imagined Quakers of the period easily shed their pacifist witness, taking up arms in deft reassurance that their God was on the Union’s side. Jokes, envelopes, and countless fictional characters witnessed to the natural inconsistency assumed inherent in nonresistance; “quakers” loomed from deceptive fortifications, a visible and lexical testimony both to neutrality and to the disloyalty implied by pacifism. Pacifism is no more a live option for most Americans today than it was one hundred and fifty years ago, and it is crucial to consider the ways in which this testimony—like any other religious belief—is altered in representation. Resistant to their represented selves, Friends continued throughout the war to issue plaintive cries against the fighting:

On each side they have publicly offered up prayers to Him whom they profess to be their common Lord and Master; who has solemnly reiterated his command, to love their enemies. . . . What a picture of the last acts and dying emotions of hundreds of professed followers of Him who declared that his kingdom was not of this world and therefore his servants could not fight?¹²¹

NOTES

1. Herman Melville, *Moby Dick, or, The Whale* (1851; New York: Penguin, 2001), 82.
2. “Fighting Quakers,” *The Friend*, 18 October 1862, 2.
3. As Peter Brock and others have pointed out, it is very difficult to assess just how many Friends opposed Meeting Discipline and fought in either the Revolutionary or Civil wars. Peter Brock, *The*

- Quaker Peace Testimony: 1660–1914* (York, England: Sessions Trust, 1990), 144–45, 178. As Thomas D. Hamm makes clear, however, the number of Friends fighting (or paying commutation fees to avoid military service) during the Civil War was large enough to trouble many Quakers: “Throughout the war years Western and Indiana yearly meetings issued minutes deploring widespread failure to uphold the peace testimony . . . Governor Oliver P. Morton of Indiana was quoted as saying that the Quakers had provided more enlistments in proportion to membership than had any other denomination in the state.” Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1988), 68.
4. For an extensive list and deft literary analysis of the Quaker “hero” (who is often martial) see Betty Jean Steele, “Quaker Characters in Selected American Novels, 1823–1899” (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1974).
 5. For more on the early peace testimony in the Religious Society of Friends, see Peter Brock, *The Quaker Peace Testimony*, Margaret E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War* (London: The Swarthmore Press Ltd., 1923), and Meredith Baldwin Weddle, *Walking in the Way of Peace: Quaker Pacifism in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
 6. Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, 45, 532.
 7. Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 25.
 8. Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, 380.
 9. “Philadelphia Quakers had been shocked by the number of Friends who had taken up arms” against the Paxton rebellion, writes Arthur J. Mekeel. “None were ultimately disowned, despite their openly voiced support for the defensive bearing of arms.” *The Quakers and The American Revolution* (York, England: Sessions Book Trust, 1996), 108. Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost report that almost 200 “young Quaker males armed themselves [and] used a meetinghouse as barracks.” *The Quakers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 137.
 10. Quoted in Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, 386.
 11. Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, 386.
 12. Valerie H. Ziegler, *The Advocates of Peace in Antebellum America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 24.
 13. Peter Brock, *Radical Pacifists in Antebellum America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 269–71.
 14. For more on the theological and political conundrums faced by Hicksite Friends responding to these groups, see Thomas D. Hamm, “Hicksite Quakers and the Antebellum Nonresistance Movement,” *Church History* 63, no. 4 (1994): 557–69.
 15. Hamm, “Hicksite Quakers.” Lucretia Mott, however, became deeply and famously engaged with the work of the New England Non-Resistance Society.
 16. Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 164.
 17. Rufus Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, vol. 2 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970), 728–29.
 18. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, vol. 2, 728–29.
 19. For more on the policies of the Davis and Lincoln administrations in regard to conscientious objectors, see Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 166–83.
 20. Brock, *Quaker Peace Testimony*, 171–72.

21. As Peter Brock points out in *Quaker Peace Testimony*, the work of assessing the numbers of those disciplined for military offenses is possible, due to the scrupulous records kept by Friends' meetings, but has not yet been done, 179. Rufus Jones has tallied some numbers of dealings and disownments, and finds that "the 'deviations' from the historical testimony of Friends were more numerous than one would have expected in a conservative body which made the testimony an absolutely essential feature of its faith. But even so, when all the cases are counted, especially when one considers the powerful patriotic appeal and the devotion of Friends to the freedom of the slaves, the total number appears small." *Later Periods of Quakerism*, 737.
22. Quoted in Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, 432.
23. Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, 432. Pringle himself finally faced court-martial and a sentence of execution; he was finally paroled by an order from Abraham Lincoln.
24. Jones, *Later Periods of Quakerism*, 733.
25. For tales of faithful nonresistant Quakers in the South, see Fernando G. Cartland, *Southern Heroes, or, The Friends in War Time* (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: Fernando G. Cartland, 1897). Cartland relates the stories of such Friends as Solomon Frazier of Randolph County, North Carolina, who endured a kind of crucifixion: his soldier captors "tied his arms to a beam fastened to a post, like a cross, and raised him upon it in imitation of the Christ for whom he suffered." Frazier was afterwards armed (under duress) with a gun tied to his limb. Cartland, 203.
26. "The Lounger," *Harper's Weekly*, 27 April 1861, 259.
27. "The Lounger," *Harper's Weekly*, 27 April 1861, 259.
28. *Harper's Weekly* for April 20, 1861 opens with a notice reading: "In view of the momentous events which are impending, and of the possible outbreak of civil war, the proprietors of *Harper's Weekly* beg to draw public attention to the following list of engravings which have been published in this journal within the past few weeks." *Harper's Weekly*, 20 April 1861, 241. The lead story for the following issue on April 27 is "The Bombardment of Fort Sumter." *Harper's Weekly*, 27 April 1861, 257.
29. Quoted in Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, 532.
30. Berger here draws on the work of Henri Bergson and Sigmund Freud. Peter Berger, "Christian Faith and the Social Comedy" in *Holy Laughter: Essays on Religion in the Comic Perspective*, ed. M. Conrad Hyers (New York: Seabury Press, 1969), 123.
31. Elliot Oring, *Jokes and Their Relations* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992), 35. The power of such jokes is evident, to use Oring's example, in the gruesome jokes following the explosion of the Challenger Space Shuttle in 1986. Similar incongruities referencing tragedy or uncertainty are present in jokes referencing the 2001 attacks in the United States or in jokes referencing natural disasters like Hurricane Katrina of 2005.
32. Alice Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861–1865* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 224. Fahs explores the uses of war humor in several Civil War-era publications on both sides of the conflict, including *Phunny Phellow*, *Frank Leslie's Budget of Fun*, *Southern Punch*, and *Bugle Horn of Liberty*.
33. For more on this debate (and Sigmund Freud's role in it), see Oring, *Jokes and their Relations*, 16–28.
34. "Humors of the Day," *Harper's Weekly*, 18 July 1857, 462.
35. "Humors of the Day," *Harper's Weekly*, 11 February 1860, 83.

36. Ted Cohen, *Jokes: Philosophical Thoughts on Joking Matters* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 27–28.
37. Oring, *Jokes and their Relations*, 92.
38. “Humors of the Day,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 22 September 1860, 595.
39. “But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.” Matt. 5:39, King James Version.
40. “Humors of the Day,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 30 July 1864, 491.
41. “The Lounger,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 13 September 1862, 579.
42. “The Quakers and Shakers,” *The New York Herald*, 18 August 1862. *Accessible Archives* (19 September 2005).
43. Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, 440.
44. *The Friend*, 4 October 1862, 38.
45. *Harper’s Weekly*, 20 April 1867, 247.
46. Oring, *Engaging Humor*, 145.
47. “Humors of the Day,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 10 June 1865, 359.
48. Michael Kernan, “Pushing the Envelope,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, October 1997 http://www.smithsonianmag.si.edu/smithsonian/issues97/oct97/mall_oct97.html (19 September 2005). The patent envelope had only been introduced in 1853. For more on Union envelopes, see Steven R. Boyd and Elaine Prange Turney, “Union Civil War Patriotic Covers: An Overview,” *Journal of American Culture* (Fall 1998) Vol. 21: 3, 1–12. For more on Union and Confederate covers generally, see Stephen Berry, “The Lithographers’ War: Union and Confederate Patriotic Covers,” *North & South* 8, no. 3 (May 2005): 12–18.
49. For more on the role of the mails in American life, see Richard R. John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995).
50. Fahs, *Imagined Civil War*, 43.
51. Fahs, *Imagined Civil War*, 43.
52. This and other envelopes are visible in The University of North Carolina’s fine collection of unused Civil War covers. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (#3409). (“Collected specimens of unused envelopes, decorated with Union and Confederate patriotic and polemic sentiments, mottos, cartoons, and emblems, mounted in an album. There are 350 Union items, 215 Confederate. The spine of the album is imprinted ‘Envelopes of the Great Rebellion, 1861–1865.’”)
 53. “The War-Time Envelopes of 1864 that Preceded Cartoons of Today,” *The Sun*, Baltimore, Sunday Morning, 8 October 1916.
 54. Michel Fabre, “La Representation du Noir sur les Enveloppes de Propagande Patriotique pendant La Guerre de Secession,” *Revue Francaise d’Etudes Americaines* 4, no. 7 (1979): 9.
 55. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (#3409).
 56. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (#3409).
 57. Philatelist Robert W. Grant writes that “Magee was prolific indeed! He produced a large variety of covers [envelopes] ranging from caricatures to regimental insignatures. The quality of his printing varies from fine to mediocre. He issued more cartoons and caricatures than any other publisher.” *The*

- Handbook of Civil War Patriotic Envelopes and Postal History: Volume I.* (Published by the author, 1977), 26.
58. Courtesy of the Earl G. Harrison, Jr. Quaker Rare Book Collection at Sidwell Friends School.
 59. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (#3409).
 60. One fancy envelope depicts "Jeff Davis" hung from a palm, and read: "SOUTHERN EAGLE. JEFF. DAVIS IN SUSPENSE. LONG MAY HE WAVE." Another, entitled "A Warm Reception for Jeff. Davis" portrays Davis in hell being roasted by the devil on a long flat grill. An African American peers over the edge of the abyss and smiles, "De Debil Claims His Own." Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (#3409). Michel Fabre has also noted this trend, observing that the envelopes' themes vary "from stickiest sentiment to bitter vituperation. . . . It takes only one step further to reach real outrage and satire with 'The Fate of Traitors' illustrated by Jefferson Davis hanging from a limb." "Popular Civil War Propaganda: The Case of Patriotic Covers," *Journal of American Culture* 3, no. 2 (1980): 225.
 61. Courtesy of the Earl G. Harrison, Jr. Quaker Rare Book Collection at Sidwell Friends School.
 62. "The New Quaker Bonnet, 1861." Courtesy of the Earl G. Harrison, Jr. Quaker Rare Book Collection at Sidwell Friends School.
 63. Historic Manassas, Inc., Museums and Attractions: "At the recently restored Mayfield Fort, Civil War history comes alive along the fort's walking trails with interpretative markers, reproduction cannons and 'Quaker Gun.'" *Museums and Attractions*, http://www.visitmanassas.org/museums_attraction.htm (18 September 2005).
 64. *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 2005, <http://dictionary.oed.com/entrance.dtl> (18 September 2005). Knickerbocker uses the term at least twice, once in this glorious opening description of Peter Stuyvesant: "Nor did he stop here, but made a hideous rout among the ingenious inventions and expedients of his learned predecessor—demolishing his flagstuffs and wind-mills, which like mighty giants, guarded the ramparts of New Amsterdam—pitching to the duyvel whole batteries of quaker guns—rooting up his patent gallows, where caitiff vagabonds were suspended by the breech, and in a word, turning topsy-turvy the whole philosophic, economic and wind-mill system of the immortal sage of Saardam." Washington Irving, *Washington, A History of New York, from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty*, Volume 2, By Diedrich Knickerbocker [pseud] (1809). *Early American Fiction Full-Text Database* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia 2000), 12 (19 September 2005).
 65. Nathaniel Fanning, *Narrative of the Adventures of an American Navy officer, Who Served During Part of the American Revolution under the Command of Com. John Paul Jones, Esq. Copy-right secured.* (1806), 142–143, *Early American Imprints*, 2nd series, no. 10385 (filmed).
 66. Louis T. Milic. "Chipman: A Little-Known Student of Americanisms." *American Speech* 25:3 (October 1950), 179.
 67. "Our Army at Manassas," *New York Herald*, 18 March 1862, *Accessible Archives* (19 September 2005).
 68. "The Numbers of the Insurgents in Arms and Preparing for the Field," *New York Herald*, 12 April 1862, *Accessible Archives* (19 September 2005).
 69. Only a few weeks later, Union troops were fooled again at Richmond. As historian Richard Wheeler explains, the Confederate camps "had been skillfully scattered so as to present an illusion of

- strength." *Sword Over Richmond: An Eyewitness History of McClellan's Peninsula Campaign* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), 119.
70. Later mentions of Quaker guns appear: "Latest Reports," *Harper's Weekly*, 5 April 1862, 221. "Port Hudson," *Harper's Weekly*, 8 August 1863, 497–98. "General Sherman," *Harper's Weekly*, 17 September 1864, 594. "Major-General George H. Pendleton B. McClellan," *Harper's Weekly*, 1 October 1864, 626. "General McClellan," *Harper's Weekly*, 17 October 1868, 658.
 71. Quoted in Timothy Sweet, *Traces of War: Poetry, Photography, and the Crisis of the Union* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 141.
 72. For more on the significance of ordering and captions as significant in the interpretation of Civil War era images, see Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), 99–111.
 73. Barnard, George N., ca. 1862. "Quaker Guns, Centreville [stereograph]." In Civil War Stereographs, New York Historical Society. Available from [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?cwnyhs:6:./temp/~ammem_mCdE::@@@mdb](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?cwnyhs:6:./temp/~ammem_mCdE::@@@mdb;DigitalIDnhnycw/adad30026); Digital ID nhnycw/ad ad30026 [19 September 2005].
 74. Barnard, George N. 1 July 1862. "Yorktown, Va. Confederate naval gun; in background is Nelson Church, used as a hospital." [1 negative: glass, stereograph, wet collodion.] In *Selected Civil War photographs, 1861–1865* (Library of Congress). Available from <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cwpb.00184>; Digital ID cwpb 00184 [20 September 2005].
 75. Trachtenberg, *Reading*, 83.
 76. For more on Barnard's depiction of the picturesque on Sherman's march, see Sweet, 138–64.
 77. Trachtenberg, *Reading*, 84.
 78. "The Quaker Gun." Philadelphia, 1862. Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division. Printed Ephemera Collection; Portfolio 157, Folder 30. Available from: <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.rbc/rbpe.15703000>; Digital ID: rbpe 15703000 [20 September 2005].
 79. "Barnum's American Museum. THE LIVING HIPPOPOTAMUS, or RIVER HORSE, from the RIVER NILE IN EGYPT, now at the Museum. . . . He is the First and only Real Hippopotamus ever seen in America, is engaged at an immense cost, for a short time only, and should be seen by every man, woman, and child. For fuller description, and other curiosities, see Daily Papers and Small Bills. Admission to all, 25 cents. Children under 10, 15 cents." *Harper's Weekly*, 7 September 1861, 576.
 80. Andrea Stulman Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful: The Dime Museum in America* (New York: NYUP, 1997). Dennett writes that "depictions of the Civil War were found in museums throughout the remainder of the century. In the Eden Musee's American Gallery, for example, just to the left of the entrance hall, there were several Civil War-related groupings." Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful*, 55.
 81. As Dennett observes, "To lure patrons who otherwise would not partake in such 'popular' amusements, managers promoted the educational value of their dime museums." Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful*, 41.
 82. "The Battle of the Stoves-Pipes." n.p., n.d. In Civil War Song Sheets, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress. Available from: <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amsshtml/amsshome.html>; Digital ID cw200190 [20 September 2005].

83. As Andrew Coopsmith points out, "as a military event, the Battle of Manassas was far less monumental or death-dealing than others that would come later in the war. Psychologically, however, it was tremendous in its consequences." *Fighting Words: An Illustrated History of Newspaper Accounts of the Civil War* (New York: The New Press, 2004), 83.
84. A Citizen Soldier [Henry Moford], *Red-Tape and Pigeon-Hole Generals: As Seen from the Ranks during a Campaign in the Army of the Potomac*. (New York: Carleton, 1864), 3.
85. *Red-Tape and Pigeon-Hole Generals*, 102–103.
86. Edmund Kirke [James Roberts Gilmore], *Down in Tennessee, and Back by Way of Richmond* (New York: Carleton, 1864), 9.
87. Kirke, *Down in Tennessee*, 250.
88. Alice J. Hatch, *Under the Cedars, or, What the Years Brought* (Boston, Lee and Shepard, 1872), 212.
89. "The Lounger," *Harper's Weekly*, 27 April 1861, 259.
90. John Richter Jones, *The Quaker Soldier; or, the British in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson and Brothers, 1858); Ned Buntline, *Saul Sabberday; or, the Idiot Spy* (New York: F.A. Brady, 1858); L. Augustus Jones, *Sly Sam, the Quaker Spy* (New York: G. Munro, 1865); Edward S. Ellis, *The Fugitives, or the Quaker Scout of Wyoming. A Tale of the Massacre of 1778* (New York: Beadle, 1865); Augustine Duganne, *The Fighting Quakers, a True Story of the War for Our Union* (New York, J.P. Robens, 1866); Edward H. Williamson, *The Quaker Partisans, A Story of the Revolution* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1869).
91. Robert Montgomery Bird, *Nick of the Woods, or, The Jibbenainosay* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1837); S. Weir Mitchell, *Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker* (New York: Century Co., 1897). *Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker* was the runner-up best seller for the year 1898; as Frank Luther Mott observes, "Dr. Mitchell's masterpiece was perhaps the best of the novels of its type in the period, and for a two-volume book it had a remarkable sale." *Golden Multitudes: The Story of Best Sellers in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), 211, 324.
92. A few examples of the many biographies of Greene include: Charles Caldwell, *Memoirs of the Life and Campaigns of the Honorable Nathaniel Greene* (Philadelphia: Robert Desilver and Thomas Desilver, 1819); Francis Vinton Greene, *General Greene* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1893); George Washington Greene, *The Life of Nathanael Greene, Major-General in the Army of the Revolution* (New York: G.P. Putnam and Son, 1867–1871); William Johnson, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene: Major General of the Armies of the United States, in the War of the Revolution* (Charleston: Printed for the author, by A.E. Miller, 1822); William Gilmore Simms, *The Life of Nathanael Greene, Major-General in the Army of the Revolution* (New York: George F. Cooledge and Brother, 1849). Greene remained a well-known figure throughout the century. Buntline, following in a long tradition, quotes Greene's mother as having responded to his enlistment thus: "I like not thy going into battle, to shed the blood of thy fellow men, Nathaniel; but, if thee thinks it is thy duty, go, and if thee is wounded, come not home to me with a wound in thy back!" Buntline, *Saul Sabberday*, 3. Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, 393.
93. Terry Golway, *Washington's General: Nathanael Greene and the Triumph of the American Revolution* (Henry Holt and Company, New York), 1. Despite his acknowledgement of Greene's peculiar history, Golway readily accepts Greene's characterization of pacifist misconduct. "The pacifist Quakers," he

- writes, "clinging to the dogma that had stunted his intellectual development and deprived him of the education he so sorely missed, especially infuriated him." Golway, 136.
94. Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, 393.
 95. Mekeel, *Quakers*, 274.
 96. For more on the conflicts facing Revolutionary-era Friends, see Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 137–51.
 97. Mekeel, *Quakers*, 229–230.
 98. Quoted in Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, 401.
 99. Mekeel, *Quakers*, 231.
 100. Williamson, *The Quaker Partisans*, 37. The provenance of the "Quaker Blues" remains somewhat uncertain; Barbour and Frost list the group in the context of "patriotic Quakers," but Steele claims that their existence is unsubstantiated. Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 141; Steele, "Quaker Characters," 29.
 101. Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 144.
 102. Charles Wetherill, *History of the Religious Society of Friends, Called by Some the Free Quakers, in the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Printed for the Society, 1894), 23.
 103. Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, 150.
 104. Williamson, *The Quaker Partisans*, 30.
 105. "On the Sufferings of Friends in the Revolutionary War," *The Friend*, 29 December 1860, 135–36.
 106. Betty Jean Steele devotes a chapter to "The Quaker as Hero," and specifically notices *The Quaker Partisans*, Free Quakers, and other martial Friends. Steele perceives the conflict between fighting and pacifism as "the dilemma of a Quaker hero facing the conflicts of his Society and those of his heart." Steele, "Quaker Characters," 51. Thomas Kimber also writes on the Quaker character in American fiction. Kimber, too, sees the fighting Quaker in the context presented by the novels of the period, seeing in the conflict "the inevitable clash of loyalties involved in the two opposing groups—one the traditional conservative and non-resistant body of Friends, who in their desire to follow to the limit their spiritual loyalties frowned upon any hint of revolution; the other the resurgent group of liberal thinkers who were ready to fling off old bonds in a passionate desire for freedom, political and moral, and who felt it incumbent on them to defend the colonies against the tyranny of the mother country." Thomas Kimber, "The Treatment of the Quaker as a Character in American Fiction, 1825–1925" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1953), 70.
 107. James Emmett Ryan, "Imaginary Friends: Representing Quakers in Early American Fiction," *Studies in American Fiction* (September 2003), 208.
 108. Ryan, "Imaginary Friends," 212.
 109. For more on the life of Ned Buntline, see Jay Monaghan, *The Great Rascal: The Life and Adventures of Ned Buntline* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1951).
 110. Buntline, *Saul Sabberday*, 3.
 111. Buntline, *Saul Sabberday*, 92.
 112. Buntline, *Saul Sabberday*, 4.
 113. Buntline, *Saul Sabberday*, 9.
 114. Buntline, *Saul Sabberday*, 35.
 115. Buntline, *Saul Sabberday*, 42.
 116. John Richter Jones, *Quaker Soldier*, 53, 57.

FIGHTING QUAKERS

117. Williamson, *Quaker Partisans*, iii.
118. The first verse of this cheer appears on the commemorative (glow-in-the-dark) Guilford College Homecoming Weekend cup for October 29–31, 1999. Thomas Hamm notes that Earlham's first cheer was the equally witty 1892 couplet: "Rah-rah-rah-ri-ro-rem/E-A-R-L-H-A-M Thee Thou Rah!" Thomas Hamm; *Earlham College: A History, 1847–1997* (Blomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1997), 59.
119. "Interesting Items," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 December 1864, 823.
120. Weddle, *Walking in the Way of Peace*, 232.
121. *The Friend*, 1 March 1862, 206.