NONVIOLENCE IN AMERICA

A Documentary History

Third Edition

Edited by

Staughton Lynd and Alice Lynd

ORBIS BOOKS
www.orbisbooks.com
Founded in 1970, Orbis Books endeavors to publish works that enlighten the mind, nourish the spirit, and challenge the conscience. The publishing arm of the Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers, Orbis seeks to explore the global dimensions of the Christian faith and mission, to invite dialogue with diverse cultures and religious traditions, and to serve the cause of reconciliation and peace. The books published reflect the views of their authors and do not represent the official position of the Maryknoll Society. To learn more about Maryknoll and Orbis Books, please visit our website at www.maryknollsociety.org.

Copyright © 2018 by Staughton Lynd and Alice Lynd

Published by Orbis Books, Box 302, Maryknoll, NY 10545-0302.

All rights reserved.

This is a revised and expanded edition of Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History, revised edition, published by Orbis Books in 1995. The original edition was published in 1966 by The Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc.

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

Queries regarding rights and permissions should be addressed to: Orbis Books, P.O. Box 302, Maryknoll, NY 10545-0302.

Manufactured in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Lynd, Staughton, editor. | Lynd, Alice, editor.
Title: Nonviolence in America: A documentary history / edited by Staughton Lynd and Alice Lynd.
Identifiers: LCCN 2018014536 | ISBN 9781626982918 (pbk.)
Classification: LCC HM1281.N6523 2018 | DDC 303.6/1—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018014536
CONTENTS

Introduction ix

I. Beginnings 3

Quakers 3
1. William Penn, First Letter to the Delaware Indians 3
2. John Woolman, Journal 4

Abolitionists 9
3. William Lloyd Garrison, Declaration of Sentiments, 1838 9
5. Henry David Thoreau, Civil Disobedience 17

Anarchists and Progressives 29
7. Emma Goldman, Anarchism: What It Really Stands For 29
8. William James, The Moral Equivalent of War 32
9. Clarence Darrow, Crime and Punishment 37
10. Suffragettes, Letters from Prison, 1917 44

Conscientious Objectors, World War I 52
11. Jane Addams, Personal Reactions during War 52
12. Roger Baldwin and Others, Statements of Conscientious Objection, 1917–1918 60
13. Ammon Hennacy, Atlanta Prison—1917 64
14. J. George Ewert, Christ or Country? 79
15. Stephen M. Kohn, The Fort Leavenworth General Strike 83

II. Practicing Nonviolence 91

The Labor Movement between the Wars 91
16. A. J. Muste, The Lawrence Strike of 1919 91
17. Joel Seidman, Sit-Down 103
18. John Sargent, A Union without a Contract 118

Conscientious Objectors, World War II 122
19. Donald Benedict and Others, Why We Refused to Register 122
20. William Stafford, The Battle of Anapamu Creek 124
22. David Dellinger, From Yale to Jail 133
Contents

Direct Action for Peace, Post–World War II 137
23. Maurice McCrackin, Pilgrimage of a Conscience 137
24. Albert Bigelow, Why I Am Sailing into the Pacific Bomb-Test Area 139
25. Wilmer Young, Visible Witness 144
26. Barbara Deming, Southern Peace Walk: Two Issues or One? 152

Direct Action for Civil Rights, Post–World War II 163
27. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Statements of Principle 163
   A. CORE Rules for Action 163
   B. SNCC Statement of Purpose 164
28. Thomas Gaither, Jailed-In 165
29. William Mahoney, In Pursuit of Freedom 176
30. Voter Registration, Mississippi and Georgia 185
   A. Mississippi Violence vs. Human Rights 185
   B. A Statement from the Burgland High School Students 187
   C. Robert Moses, Message from Jail 187
   D. Statement by a High School Student 188
   E. [.J.Jack] Chatfield, Lee County Report 189
31. Birmingham, Alabama 193
   A. Birmingham Manifesto, 1963 193
   B. Martin Luther King, Jr., Letter from Birmingham City Jail 195

The New Catholicism 209
32. Dorothy Day 209
   A. Peter Maurin 210
   B. Letter to the Unemployed 215
   C. Protesting Civil Disobedience 216
33. Thomas Merton, Letter to James Forest 224
34. Shelley Douglass, A World Where Abortion Is Unthinkable 225
35. Helen Prejean, Dead Man Walking 232

III. New Times, New Ideas 253

Nonviolent Revolution 253
36. David Dellinger, The Future of Nonviolence 253
37. Vincent Harding, Beyond Vietnam 260
38. Barbara Deming, On Revolution and Equilibrium 274
39. Jim Sessions and Fran Ansley, Singing across Dark Spaces: The Union/Community Takeover of the Pittston Coal Company’s Moss 3 Coal Preparation Plant 297

We Won’t Go 320
40. Declaration of Conscience against the War in Vietnam 320
41. Leaflet, McComb, Mississippi 321
## Contents

42. Marjorie Swann, *Noncooperation* 322
43. *The Pentagon: October 1967*
   A. Maris Cakars and Others, *The Siege of the Pentagon* 326
   B. Gregory Nevala Calvert, *Democracy from the Heart* 332
44. Daniel Berrigan, Philip Berrigan, and Others, *Statement of the Catonsville Nine* 337

### Soldiers against War

46. *The Presidio* 345
47. *Statements Refusing Military Service*
   A. Lynda Reiser, MD, *An Inexcusable Reason to Sacrifice a Life* 352
   B. Jeff Paterson, *Public Statement* 355
   C. Erik Glen Larsen, *Statement of Refusal to Participate in Interventionist Wars* 357
49. *Operation Dewey Canyon III* 362
50. Brian Willson, *The Tracks* 366

### My Country Is the World

51. Sharon Hostetler, *Witness for Peace* 382
52. *Jewish Covenant of Sanctuary* 385
53. Howard Zinn, *Just and Unjust Wars* 386
54. *Letters to The Wall*
   A. Ken Barger, *Dear Comrades with Whom I Served* 397
   B. Michael Uhl, *I Knew Two of the Men* 399
   E. Vicki Ryder, *Is the War Over Now?* 403
   F. Roger Ehrlich, *Letter to the Vietnam Wall* 404
   G. Scott Camil, *On April 18th of 2016* 404

### Healing Global Wounds

55. *Seabrook*
   A. *Declaration of Nuclear Resistance* 406
   B. Cathy Wolff, *Reflection on the Seabrook Occupation* 408
56. *Standing Rock*
   A. Veterans For Peace, *VFP Statement in Support of the Pipeline Resistance at Standing Rock* 410
   B. Kevin Basl, *Why I Answered the Call for Veterans to Go to Standing Rock* 411
   C. *Statement by Wesley Clark Jr.* 412

Index 415