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American Quaker Activism: Emerging Leadership, Evolving Faith, and Extraordinary Change

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The College of Wooster

American Quaker Activism:
Emerging Leadership, Evolving Faith, and Extraordinary Change

by

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Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements of Senior Independent Study

Supervised by
Katherine Holt
Department of History

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INTRODUCTION

For many Americans, the term “Quaker” brings to mind breakfast food. They picture the iconic white-haired man wearing a blue hat and smiling on a box of oatmeal. While the man pictured is meant to be a Quaker, the company itself has no historic ties to the religious community. In fact, according to their website, the company’s founders selected the name and image in 1877 simply because they believed it to be a symbol of “good quality and honest value.”¹ If one ignores the blatant commercialization of a religion for profit, this decision reveals quite a bit about how society viewed Quakers during the nineteenth century. They were generally respected and known for their positive attributes. Still, the history of the Quaker religion and its adherents is far more interesting than the simplistic branding of Quaker Oats suggests.

The Quaker religion first emerged in England during the seventeenth century with George Fox, an ordinary man from a Puritan family, as its founder. As a young man, Fox expressed concerns about the failures of the Protestant Reformation and the future of the Christian Church. He was frustrated by the glorification of religious institutions, sacraments, and clergy and believed that Christians were actually distancing themselves from God.² In an attempt to develop a deeper understanding of his faith, Fox began to travel about the English countryside in the 1640s. Along the way, he encountered others with similar frustrations, and he began to share his thoughts in public settings. Many of his ideas, such as the concept of the “Inner Light”—an element of God within each individual that provides guidance and direction—resonated deeply with the men and

¹ “Quaker History,” *Quaker Oats*, accessed February 19, 2013, <http://www.quakeroats.com/about-quaker-oats/content/quaker-history.aspx>.

² Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 4.

women he met, and he quickly gained a considerable following.³ In fact, by 1660, Fox had more than 50,000 followers in England and nearby Wales.⁴ Those who witnessed the new religious community quickly nicknamed its adherents “Quakers,” referencing the way they would “fall into quaking fits” while worshipping.⁵ Despite the new religion’s popularity, not everyone was pleased with the Quakers. The powerful Church of England considered the Quakers’ teachings blasphemous, and many Quakers experienced persecution and/or served prison sentences prior to Parliament’s Act of Toleration in 1689.⁶ This open discrimination and lack of acceptance was one reason for the eventual emigration of many Quakers to the New World.

Elizabeth Harris, known as the first Quaker to emigrate to North America, had other motivations for moving in 1655. Harris and her immediate followers crossed the ocean to obtain religious converts in New England. They were moderately successful; however, they continuously found themselves in competition with the Puritans—who responded to their evangelism with severe persecution. Two of the more serious cases of this abuse included a local official attempting to sell some Quaker children into indentured servitude for their beliefs and the hanging of four Quaker men.⁷ On the contrary, Quakers who left England simply to escape persecution typically settled in other regions, such as Rhode Island and New York, where they were largely left alone. In 1681, the Quakers’ presence in the colonies changed dramatically with the arrival of William Penn and his establishment of a colony that became known as Pennsylvania.

³ Michael L. Birkel, *Silent Witness: The Quaker Tradition* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2004), 22.

⁴ Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 5.

⁵ Thomas D. Hamm, *The Quakers in America* (Columbia University Press, 2006), 19.

⁶ Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 51-52.

Established as a sort of Quaker utopia and model for the rest of the world, Pennsylvania was created with Quaker principles in mind and attracted over three-thousand Quakers in its first two years.⁸ Descendants of the Quakers from this region would later provide important leadership to countless social justice movements.

In order to understand the Quaker religion, it is necessary to know more than just a basic history. Instead, it is important to have an understanding of some basic Quaker beliefs. To begin, it is important to recognize the religion's ties to Christianity. George Fox was a devout Christian from a Puritan family; he wanted to improve the existing religion—not start a new one. Consequently, most Quakers consider themselves Christians and accept many Christian teachings as truth. Still, as is typical between different denominations, there are several beliefs that distinguish the Quakers from other Christians. For example, George Fox preached about the existence of an “Inner Light” within every human being.

While this concept has been interpreted in several different ways, most Quakers accept the “Inner Light” as a person's connection to God or God's guiding presence within every individual. The Quakers' belief in an “Inner Light” has influenced their faith in two major ways. First of all, it eliminates the need for church leaders since it presumes that everyone's connection to God is equally powerful. Secondly, it affects how Quakers view and value human life. Because they believe God is present within everyone, any act of violence against another is an act against God and therefore wrong. This “Inner Light” concept is powerfully reiterated by “The Richmond Declaration.” Written in 1887 by Indiana Quakers, the document was meant to help American Quakers

⁸ Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 28–29.

focus on their similarities rather than their differences. One of the similarities that it focuses on in great detail is the importance of nonviolence—stating that a person cannot both be faithful and wage a war.⁹ While Quaker beliefs have evolved considerably over the past several hundred years, most of the changes have been caused by new applications of the fundamental “Inner Light” concept to new social concerns.

An understanding of the distinctions between different forms of Quaker worship is also critical. First of all, there are both programmed and unprogrammed Quaker meetings, or religious communities similar to congregations. In programmed meetings, which occur among Pastoral Friends, there is typically some type of formal presiding leadership. These services are often similar to those of other Protestant denominations and may include hymns, scripture readings, and a sermon. In unprogrammed meetings, which are much more common in the United States, Quakers will sometimes sing hymns while they gather; however, the services consist of silent reflection, prayer, discernment, and an occasional reflection shared by a member of the congregation. In unprogrammed meetings, formal leadership is limited. Typically, there is only a clerk—a Quaker elected by the meeting to serve as a chairperson. He or she determines when to conclude the service and often makes announcements afterwards.

Just as the style of worship varies, Quaker beliefs can differ from meeting to meeting. In the United States, Quakerism has four main branches—orthodox, liberal, evangelical, and conservative—with divisions that are based on belief. Orthodox Quakers emphasize the importance of the Bible and tend to practice programmed worship. Because of their focus on Jesus, they are regularly compared to other Protestant

⁹ “The Richmond Declaration” (Gurneyite Friends, 1887).

denominations. In contrast, Liberal Quakers focus more on the Inner Light and tend to practice unprogrammed worship; they are especially active in social justice movements. While Conservative Quakers also practice unprogrammed worship, they take their commitment to traditional Quaker values one step further—emphasizing both a simplistic lifestyle and faith. Evangelical Quakers practice programmed worship and recognize the importance of sharing their faith and going on mission trips. The current distribution of American Quakers is historically-based with noticeable concentrations in certain geographic regions. Along the East Coast, where the Quakers first arrived, there is a far greater concentration of unprogrammed meetings today. In contrast, there are more Pastoral and Evangelical Quakers in the Midwest. Conservative Quakers, the smallest branch, are also concentrated along the East Coast.¹⁰

The Religious Society of Friends' unique founding and internal diversity are just two minor elements of the Quakers' impressive history. Dedicated to living by their faith and speaking out against injustice and evil, the Quakers have a long history of providing leadership to social justice and activism movements. This involvement began with the brave and outspoken criticism of slavery by William Edmundson, George Keith, Ralph Sandiford, and Benjamin Lay. It continued years later with the Quakers who left the United States for Costa Rica in 1950, rather than compromise their values. By the Vietnam War, a majority of Quakers nationwide supported the anti-war movement and participated in diverse forms of activism and civil disobedience. It is clear that, historically, the Quakers have been more than just present; they have been influential.

¹⁰ Western Quarterly Meeting, "The Breadth, Depth and Stretch of Quakers in North America," accessed February 10, 2013, <http://web.archive.org/web/20080113143946/http://www.localquakers.org/QuakerNA.html>.

Though not always immediately, their action, voices, organizational skills, and persistence have a long history of impressive accomplishments.

When one considers the important roles that they have played in countless historical events, it comes as no surprise that a great deal has been written about the Quakers. While there are many helpful secondary sources on the subject, *Silence and Witness: The Quaker Tradition* by Michael L. Birkel, a professor at Earlham School of Religion in Indiana, is particularly helpful.¹¹ In this text, Birkel examines both the religious practices and spiritual beliefs of American Quakers. Since Quakers have historically been motivated by their faith, a thorough understanding of their belief system is critical to understanding their actions. Birkel succeeds in providing a comprehensive explanation of what Quakers believe while also providing historical context and references to influential individuals. While he fails to devote much space to the Quakers' historic involvement in social justice movements, this absence is understandable, if not to be expected, when one considers the surprising lack of scholarly research focused on the topic.

For a basic understanding of Quaker history, there is no better scholarly resource than *The Quakers in America* by Thomas D. Hamm, a history professor also at Earlham College. Hamm's research focuses primarily on the United States between 1789 and 1920, intellectual and religious history, and American Quakers. As such, he is well-versed in both the historical events shaping the lives of Quakers in the United States and the ways in which Quakers helped to influence their neighbors, communities, and government. In particular, Hamm's chapters on the importance of education within

¹¹ Quakers founded Earlham College in 1847. To this day, the Quaker heritage is very influential. The school has an impressive collection of historic Quaker writings, and several of the school's professors have written books about the religious community.

Quaker communities and the influence of gender equality on the leadership roles available to women are particularly striking. After all, these elements, which are often overlooked or underappreciated by historians, have significantly influenced Quaker participation in social justice movements. As Hamm points out, historically, American Quakers have typically been educated individuals—well-read, politically/socially aware, prolific writers, and articulate speakers. These qualities advance their possessors to positions of leaders and facilitate networking, raising awareness, and persuasion. In the same regard, the Quakers’ recognition of women as equals doubled their potential for leadership and empowered half of their population. Hamm’s inclusion of these topics demonstrates his thorough understanding of both the historic events and community values.

While a great deal of scholarly research has been conducted about the general history of the Quakers in the United States, most historians only briefly mention the Quakers’ historic participation in social justice movements.¹² My goal is to combine the research of existing scholarship with the information available in primary source documents to create a more comprehensive history and obtain a deeper understanding of the Quakers’ motivations and reactions. Furthermore, by exploring their approaches and techniques, I hope to discover how the Quakers, relatively small in number and lacking a national organization, established themselves as social justice leaders—capable of successfully raising awareness about a variety of issues, organizing both religious and secular communities, and utilizing issue-appropriate forms of activism. It is my hope that better understanding the Quakers’ historic participation, impressive reputation, and

¹² Scholarly work examining the Quakers’ participation in the U.S. abolitionist movement is one exception to this trend; several historians, including Ryan P. Jordan, have written books exclusively about this topic.

success will provide insight to modern social justice movements. At the same time, I realize my research is somewhat limited in scope—focusing on just three case studies when the Quakers have been involved in dozens of campaigns and movements. It is my hope that modern social justice events, such as the Occupy Movement, will encourage historians to further examine successful movements of the past, such as those by the Quakers.

Because the Quakers were such prolific writers and deliberate record keepers, a wide variety of primary source documents exist to help answer these questions. Consequently, as evidence, I am able to provide information from journals/diaries, court documents, written reflections, newspaper articles, letters, pamphlets, speeches, essays, interviews, public poll data, records from different meetings, memoirs, and legislation. The documents, which are often both informative and inspiring, succeed in answering countless questions about the Quakers' priorities, values, and reasoning; however, at the same time, they never fail to bring to light uncovered angles and new questions.

In each of my three case studies, which I will discuss in greater detail later on, different primary source documents proved critical to my research. Because I was focusing on the contributions of individual Quakers to the abolitionist movement in the first case study, many of my primary source documents were letters, publications (essays or pamphlets), and editorials. These documents succeed in expressing the personal convictions of the author while often also acknowledging the contrasting views of the opposition—demonstrating the courage of those willing to speak out against injustices before they were widely acknowledged as such. In particular, the prolific writings of Sarah and Angelina Grimké were extraordinarily helpful. Empowered despite their

gender and brave enough to voice an unpopular view, these sisters wrote hundreds of letters and journal entries over the course of their lives. Today, the documents that they created provide incredible insight into their personal struggles for racial, gender, and economic equality.

My second case study incorporates an equally diverse collection of primary source documents, including legislation, a letter, court records, a newspaper article, memoirs, and reflections; however, unlike the first case study, a number of these documents are from the same umbrella source. In 2001, a small group of Quakers published the *Monteverde Jubilee Family Album*—a rich collection of photographs, letters, reflections, journal/diary entries, court documents, drawings, and newspaper articles. These documents provide readers with an unparalleled look at the day-to-day thoughts, activities, joys, and concerns of a Quaker community that is understandably wary of outsiders. It is a comprehensive social history that contains sufficient material to inspire several shelves of books.

Though my third case study incorporates an impressive mix of primary sources, ranging from political legislation to religious documents, one text stood out from the others for personal reasons. While conducting my research, I was astonished to discover that Norman Morrison, an (in)famous Quaker, graduated from The College of Wooster in 1956. Additional research led me to discover *Held in the Light: Norman Morrison's Sacrifice for Peace and His Family's Journey of Healing*, a memoir by Anne Morrison Welsh, Morrison's wife. In this incredibly powerful text, Welsh describes her relationship with her husband, the events leading up to his death, the letter that he wrote to her, and how her family survived such a tragedy. Throughout the text, she regularly

references her husband's Quaker faith and its influence on his decision. All and all, the text contains an incredibly personal look at one man's intense form of activism. Though not representative of the majority of Quakers, it certainly demonstrates the intense concern of Quakers about social justice issues.

Utilizing both existing scholarly research and information present in the primary sources, I argue that the American Quakers' involvement in social justice movements has simultaneously been defined by their faith and helped to define their faith—making the Quakers somewhat unique among Christian denominations. Specifically, I analyze how this dialectical evolution of faith and action has occurred during three distinct moments of Quaker activism and what factors influenced the outcomes of each. In making these claims, I do not mean to discount the social justice contributions of other Christian denominations; instead, I wish to establish the Quakers as a unique case from which others might learn.

As mentioned earlier, this paper is divided into three chapters—each of which examines a distinct case study. In the first chapter, I examine the participation of American Quakers in the movement to abolish slavery during the nineteenth century. By noting the heroic struggles of the Quaker individuals who provided early leadership to the abolitionism movement, I demonstrate the Quakers' initial lack of widespread support for social concerns. Then, as Quaker leaders began to make persuasive arguments regarding faith and social responsibility, there was an increase in support for abolitionism among Quakers. I argue that as people made connections between their faith and their behavior, their actions changed. At the same time, their faith evolved to focus on social justice concerns.

In the second chapter, I study the lives of a small group of Alabama Quakers who moved to Costa Rica in 1950 to avoid participating in the draft, financially supporting violence with their taxes, and the overall increasing militarization of the United States. In their minds, these men and women found themselves facing a society whose behavior conflicted with their faith and demanded unethical action of them. Rather than compromise their beliefs, they left. I argue that this decision, which demonstrates both the Quakers' emphasis on living faithfully as well as their commitment to pacifism, is an example of how their beliefs encouraged behavior that later advanced a social justice faith perspective. While this group of Quakers is sometimes criticized for their failure to stay in the United States and take a stand, I believe that their highly-publicized departure was actually a powerful, though somewhat unusual, form of activism. Additionally, their eventual leadership in efforts to create nature reserves in Costa Rica further reveals this commitment to a faithful lifestyle and the evolution of their beliefs to incorporate responsibility for nature.

In the third chapter, my attention returns to the United States, where I focus on the American Quakers' participation in and early leadership of the anti-war movement of the Vietnam War. Specifically, I discuss the American Quakers' overwhelming support of the anti-war movement and their many forms of participation. By dedicating considerable space to their more radical forms of activism, which included helping American men to avoid the draft and providing medical aid to civilians of both North and South Vietnam, I demonstrate the Quakers' continued commitment to social justice causes despite controversy and the government's disapproval. Ultimately, I argue that, by this point, social justice and activism are defining components of the Quaker faith that

strongly influence the behavior of its adherents. Though there were certainly exceptions, such as Richard Nixon and Elton Trueblood, most Quakers were committed to nonviolently creating a more peaceful and just world.

While the history of how the Quaker religion began is interesting all on its own, the evolution of the American Quakers' beliefs and application of them to social justice issues is absolutely inspiring. Though they are somewhat small in numbers compared to many other Christian denominations, the American Quakers have worked hard to make their voices heard. Over the past several hundred years, their faith has inspired them to participate in many social justice movements—which have, in turn, greatly influenced their faith. Their story is a fascinating one, full of both notable struggles and impressive accomplishments, and far from over.

CHAPTER ONE

Quakers in the United States are often championed as leaders of the antebellum abolitionist movement. Historians herald them as “the first group to take a stand on slavery”¹ and as “pioneers and pacemakers in the national drive against the slave trade.”² They are remembered for their “tireless and gentle” abolitionist work and for choosing “principle over profit.”³ While these assessments are not completely unfounded, the history of Quakers and abolitionism is actually much more complicated. Individual Quakers were among the first to voice their concerns about slavery; however, early critics were often viewed as radicals, and their communities initially rejected their opinions. Even after abolitionist views became more popular among Quakers, different interpretations existed regarding the appropriate way to respond. Some communities preferred a gradualist approach while others supported immediatism. Other abolitionists considered colonization efforts, though advocates disagreed over whether the programs ought to serve as an “alternative to emancipation” or simply an option for after it.⁴ Additionally, the Quaker abolitionist movement was, in many ways, shaped by external influences. The group’s eventual anti-slavery stance attracted members from other Protestant denominations, many of whom became prominent leaders within the movement. Similarly, many Quakers rose to leadership in secular abolitionist organizations whose views and activism were more radical. Without a doubt, Quakers

¹ Louis Filler, *Crusade Against Slavery: Friends, Foes, and Reforms, 1820-1860*, 2nd ed. (Algonac, Michigan: Reference Publications, 1986), 29.

² James Walvin, *The Quakers: Money and Morals* (London: University Press, 1997), 127.

³ Max J. Skidmore, *Ideologies: Politics in Action*, 2nd ed. (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1993), 290.

⁴ “Colonization: The African-American Mosaic (Library of Congress Exhibition),” *The Library of Congress Exhibitions*, <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/african/afam002.html>.

contributed a tremendous amount to the abolitionist movement; however, their involvement was far more complicated than is generally acknowledged.

Many historians, including James Walvin, Hugh Barbour, J. William Frost, Thomas D. Hamm, and David Yount, have written about the history of Quakers in the United States; many others, including Stanley Harrold and Paul Goodman, have written about the equally broad history of abolitionism prior to and during the Civil War. While each of these historians provides a unique interpretation of the people, places, laws, and events that they examine, surprisingly few focus their research on the participation and influence of the American Quakers in the Abolitionist Movement. Instead, they mention either the Quakers or their participation in passing—providing a helpful but incomplete portrayal of their involvement.

To fill in some of the blanks, it is helpful to look to Louis Filler's "Crusade Against Slavery: Friends, Foes, and Reforms 1820-1860" (1986) and Ryan P. Jordan's "Slavery and the Meetinghouse" (2007). In his book, Filler discusses the history of abolitionism in the United States and emphasizes the Quakers' early participation. His inclusion of detailed stories about specific Quaker leaders, such as Benjamin Lay, as well as his mention of countless primary sources, such as Ralph Sanford's "A Brief Examination of the Practice of Our Times," Lay's "All Slavekeepers that Keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates," and John Woolman's "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes" are extraordinarily helpful. However, at the same time, Filler does not shy away from the mention of non-Quakers' involvement and leadership—providing a relatively balanced perspective. Unfortunately, as the title suggests, the book is somewhat limited in the years that it covers (1820-1860). In contrast, Jordan focuses

primarily on the early disparities in Quaker opinion about abolitionism and how to best resolve slavery; he argues that the Quaker's stance on slavery was controversial, messy, and, at times, failed to represent the views of the larger community. Though his meandering writing style is somewhat frustrating at times, Jordan succeeds in presenting helpful new ideas and information. However, while the acute focus of Filler and Jordan are helpful in researching this topic, the broader histories are necessary as well.

Historians debate which Quaker was the first to speak out against slavery. According to James Walvin, Society of Friends' founder George Fox was disturbed by the practice and opposed to the institution.⁵ Walvin argues that a trip through the Caribbean opened Fox's eyes to the cruel realities of slavery and shaped his views on the matter. Additionally, he reiterates Fox's belief that within every individual (including Africans) was an "Inner Light."⁶ However, other historians argue that Fox did not object to slavery but insisted upon "humane treatment" and "religious instruction" for slaves.⁷ Those who agree with this historical interpretation generally consider four men from Pennsylvania to be the first documented Quaker critics of slavery. In 1688, they wrote a letter to their local meeting in which they denounced the purchase of African slaves—citing concerns about the violent nature of their capture.⁸ Around this same time, William Edmundson, a Quaker minister from Ireland, mailed an undated letter to Rhode Island Quakers regarding their opposition to enslaving Native Americans but not Africans. His question was simple, "And many of you count it unlawful to make slaves

⁵ Walvin, *The Quakers: Money and Morals*, 126.

⁶ Ryan P. Jordan, *Slavery and the Meetinghouse* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 2.

⁷ Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 120.

⁸ David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 126.

of Indians, and if so, then why blacks.”⁹ While it is possible that Edmundson was referring to formal legislation—Rhode Island abolished African slavery in 1652—it is much more likely that the law he references is faith-based, because the recipients of his letter opposed the sale of natives for religious reasons. While Edmundson’s concern is both reasonable and admirable, it is important to recognize that he was likely less concerned with abolitionism and more concerned about pacifism. After all, like the Quakers from Pennsylvania, many early Quaker abolitionists rejected the practice of slavery simply because they were concerned about the resulting violence (in both Africa and the colonies).¹⁰ Conversely, unlike many early abolitionists, Edmundson’s letter demonstrates that he was not simply against the trade; instead, he found the whole practice to be immoral.

Subsequent Quaker advocates of abolitionism, including George Keith, Ralph Sandiford, and Benjamin Lay, were even more outspoken and controversial. In 1693, Keith, a Scottish-born Philadelphian, published “An Exhortation and Caution to Friends Concerning the Buying or Keeping of Negroes.” In his address, Keith harshly criticizes the institution of slavery using faith-based objections. For example, he argues,

“Because Christ commanded, saying, ‘All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.’ Therefore as we and our children would not be kept in perpetual bondage and slavery against our consent, neither should we keep them in perpetual bondage and slavery against their consent, it being such intolerable punishment to their bodies and minds, that none but notorious criminal offenders deserve the same. But these have done us no harm; therefore how inhumane is it in us so grievously to oppress them and their children from one generation to another.”¹¹

⁹ William Edmundson; personal letter: undated. As found in: Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 120.

¹⁰ Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 120.

¹¹ George Keith, address.

The address was not well-received by slave-owning Quakers who, like many Christians, were accustomed to biblical support of slavery. Fortunately, the negative overall response did not discourage later abolitionists from voicing their concerns. Sandiford's 1729 publication of "A Brief Examination of the Practice of Our Times," also faith-based, was even more methodical and critical. In his piece, Sandiford—another Pennsylvanian—rebutts the connection between Ham's descendents and Africans, articulates the many ways in which the institution of slavery conflicts with the expectations and responsibilities of Christians, and emphasizes the sinful nature of the practice. Ultimately, he argues,

“And what greater injustice can be acted, than to rob a man of his liberty, which is more valuable than his life, and especially after such a manner as this, to take a man from his native country, his parents and brethren, and other natural enjoyments, and that by stealth, or by way of purchase from them that have no right to sell them, whereby thou receiveth the theft, which is as bad.”¹²

The piece elicited an incredibly negative response from Quakers, many of whom turned their backs on the author rather than the institution. For instance, Sandiford's local Quaker meeting refused him entry as a result of his abolitionist views.¹³

Benjamin Lay, a former slave owner from Pennsylvania with a taste for theatrics, continued Sandiford's efforts after his death in 1733. Lay was something of a radical and often used direct action to prove his point. For example, he once kidnapped some neighboring Quaker children to make a point about the cruel nature of slavery.¹⁴ Another time, Lay interrupted a local meeting to condemn slavery and splattered fake blood on the

¹² Ralph Sandiford, "A Brief Examination of the Practice of Our Times," 1729.

¹³ Filler, *Crusade Against Slavery*, 29.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

participants to illustrate his point.¹⁵ Needless to say, he was no more successful than Sandiford in obtaining converts—instead gaining the disdain of his neighbors. The strong opinions of Keith, Sandiford, and Lay illustrate the early presence of Quakers in the abolitionism movement but also the attitudes and response of the larger community; their abolitionist views were not representative of typical Quaker ideology nor were they popular early on.

Quaker popular opinion on abolitionism finally began to change in the 1740s and 50s under the leadership of John Woolman and Anthony Benezet. John Woolman was a successful businessman from New Jersey who first took a public stance on slavery when he refused to participate in sales that involved slaves.¹⁶ He secured his role as a movement leader with the publication of “Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes” in 1754. Woolman was an articulate writer whose gentle religious imagery cushioned the severity of his message. His writing, which earned him fame in both the colonies and England, is credited with obtaining the support of countless Quakers for abolitionism.¹⁷ In “Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes,” Woolman states,

“When we remember that all nations are of one blood, that in this world we are but sojourners, that we are subject to the like afflictions and infirmities of body, the like disorders and frailties in mind, the like temptations, the same death, and the same judgment, and that the all-wise Being is Judge and Lord over us all, it seems to raise an idea of general brotherhood, and a disposition easy to be touched with a feeling of each other’s afflictions: but when we forget those things, and look chiefly at our outward circumstances, in this and some ages past, constantly retaining in our minds the distinction between us and them, with respect to our knowledge and improvement in things Divine, natural and artificial, our breasts being apt to be filled with fond notions of superiority, there is danger of erring in our conduct toward them.”¹⁸

¹⁵ Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 122.

¹⁶ Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 203.

¹⁷ Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 133.

¹⁸ John Woolman, “Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes,” 1754.

In perhaps the longest sentence ever written, Woolman skillfully acknowledges wrongdoing of slave owners without placing the blame on anyone in particular. This approach allowed him to communicate his ideas without causing people to respond defensively. Anthony Benezet, a French-born Philadelphian abolitionist of the same period, was an educator who worked tirelessly to provide black children with quality educations and improved opportunities.¹⁹ His stance on education was something many Quaker agreed with—at least to some extent. After all, many Quakers considered it a moral obligation to provide slaves with at least a religious education. Ultimately, Woolman and Benezet were able to get through to their fellow Quakers in a way their predecessors were not.

In many ways, the success of Woolman and Benezet can be attributed to their extensive travels. After all, for more than thirty years, the pair spoke throughout the colonies, encouraging Quaker meetings to officially support abolitionism. Though their undertaking was ambitious, their victories were impressive. Woolman and Benezet gained the support of the Philadelphia Meeting in 1758, and Maryland (1768), New England (1770), and New York (1774) soon followed.²⁰ The decision to support abolitionism was made by the participants of the regional Yearly Meetings—annual events that brought together Friends from numerous local meetings for worship and discussions of business.

Due to laws restricting manumissions and a greater dependence on slave labor, Meetings in the South were slower in their responses. That being said, after the Virginia

¹⁹ Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 146.

²⁰ Stanley Harrold, *American Abolitionists*, 1st ed. (New York: Longman, 2001), 17.

Yearly Meeting decided to formally support abolitionism in 1784, there very few slaveholding Quakers.²¹ Unfortunately, despite these advances, racism and inequality persisted within the abolitionist movement. It was several years before American Quakers allowed African Americans to join their meetings, and even then, worship was typically segregated.²² Because these attitudes were not conducive to a positive worship experience, many blacks formed their own non-Quaker religious communities.²³ As such, the Quaker history of exclusion is one explanation for the lack of diversity within Quaker meetings in the United States today.²⁴ Naturally, there were Friends who disagreed with the discrimination. Well-known abolitionists Sarah and Angelina Grimké often sat with their black friends during meetings rather than on the “white” side of the room.²⁵ Unfortunately, the behavior of these women was far from typical. In fact, abolitionist leader William Lloyd Garrison, about whose own faith little is known, once declared the Quakers one of the “most corrupt sects of the age” for their inconsistency on racial equality.²⁶

After American Quakers agreed on the importance of abolitionism and freed their own slaves, they still needed to decide how they would respond to the broader issue of slavery in the United States. There were many opinions about what the next step should be—demonstrating the inconsistency mentioned by Garrison. Some Quakers supported separatism, the belief that their faith was personal and unrelated to the world around

²¹ Jordan, *Slavery and the Meetinghouse*, 4.

²² Paul Goodman, *Of One Blood: Abolitionism and the Origins of Racial Equality*, 1st ed. (Berkeley, California: The Regents of the University of California, 1998), 7.

²³ It is important to note, Quakers were not alone in their racism. Many different Christian denominations supported slavery long after the Quakers and maintained similar views on segregation.

²⁴ Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 169.

²⁵ Goodman, *Of One Blood*, 185.

²⁶ Despite the negativity of this statement, Garrison was a friend of many Quakers and worked closely with them to free the slaves. *Ibid.*, 191.

them; they argued that they had already done their part by freeing their slaves. Others supported gradualism, the belief that ending slavery was a worthy goal that would simply take a considerable amount of time, or immediatism, the desire to end slavery as quickly as possible.

Still other Quakers supported the American Colonization Society (ACS), an interdenominational organization founded in 1816, and the plan to send former-slaves to Africa, Haiti, Texas, Ohio, or Canada. The ACS worked within the political system to suspend the slave trade and relocate former-slaves. It was their hope that this form of abolitionism would appease white slave-owners and be an opportunity to use former slaves as Christian missionaries in Africa.²⁷ The organization certainly held appeal; at one point, there were one thousand and fifteen chapters of the ACS in the United States.²⁸ Even the United States government supported the ACS and provided them with \$100,000 to advance their efforts.²⁹ However, despite their best attempts, the actual success of the ACS was limited. Over the course of fifty years, they only relocated 13,000 black men and women.³⁰ To put that number in perspective, there were approximately two million slaves in the United States in 1830 and four million by 1860.³¹ There are many explanations for why the organization failed; some historians blame the cotton boom and the subsequent increase in slave prices, while others note the controversial nature of the ACS. Regardless, the organization played a pertinent part of the Quaker response to

²⁷ Harrold, *American Abolitionists*, 26.

²⁸ Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 195.

²⁹ Filler, *Crusade Against Slavery*, 37.

³⁰ “Colonization: The African-American Mosaic (Library of Congress Exhibition).”

³¹ Harrold, *American Abolitionists*, 15.

abolitionism and represents one of the many diverse Quaker responses to the question of slavery.

Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker abolitionist nicknamed the “morning star of Liberty,” served as a key leader of the abolitionist movement as it moved through the 1820s.³² He was a gradual emancipationist and supporter of the ACS who believed that colonization was the best way to end slavery peacefully while assisting former slaves. In fact, he helped to move a group of several thousand freed slaves from North Carolina to Haiti in 1825.³³ Lundy was also a prolific writer who is best remembered for his 1821-1839 publication of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Each newsletter contained a variety of articles that discussed different elements of slavery and abolitionism—ranging from history and statistics to boycotts and petitions. Despite Lundy’s own support of colonization, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation* occasionally addressed the debate surrounding the movement and even printed letters criticizing relocation efforts. The newsletter itself had a tremendous impact on the abolitionist movement, and a number of future leaders were influenced by Lundy’s work. Regardless, the next generation of abolitionists preferred immediacy to gradualism, marking the end of an era.

One of the many individuals influenced by Lundy was abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. Though not a Quaker himself, Garrison worked closely with Friends throughout his career and had a noteworthy impact on Quaker abolitionism. Garrison’s reputation as the “greatest American abolitionist” was hard-earned.³⁴ He first made a name for himself working with Lundy on *The Genius of Universal Emancipation* in 1829.

³² Stanley Harrold, *The Abolitionists and the South, 1831-1861* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 12.

³³ Filler, *Crusade Against Slavery*, 43.

³⁴ Stanley Harrold, *The Rise of Aggressive Abolitionism: Addresses to the Slaves*, 1st Edition (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 17.

Initially, Garrison shared Lundy's support for both colonization and gradualism. However, over the course of just a few months, Garrison's entire perspective changed. He began to see the need for a more immediate solution, and the men parted ways in 1831. There are many explanations for Garrison's move to immediatism. Some historians, such as Paul Goodman, believe the former slaves that Garrison met in Baltimore influenced him,³⁵ while others, such as Stanley Harrold, argue Garrison's own imprisonment for libel made him more sympathetic toward those without freedom.³⁶ Regardless, Garrison's 1832 essay entitled "Thoughts on African Colonization" made his views on the matter quite clear. He states, "I am constrained to declare, with the utmost sincerity, that I look upon the colonization scheme as inadequate in its design, injurious in its operation, and contrary to sound principle; and the more scrupulously I examine its pretensions, the stronger is my conviction of its sinfulness."³⁷ This assessment demonstrates a complete reversal for the man who once worked closely with Lundy. The term "scheme" calls to mind the unscrupulous nature of the plan; additionally, Garrison goes one step beyond simply portraying the project as a failure—referring to it as detrimental or "injurious in its operation." The presentation of colonization efforts as sinful invites members of religious communities to reexamine their beliefs and application of faith to the world.

In addition to his religious illustrations, Garrison appealed to people's patriotic sensibilities. This is demonstrated by his 1831 "Address to People of Color," which argues that racism and slavery abandon the ideals of the founding fathers:

³⁵ Goodman, *Of One Blood*, 42.

³⁶ Harrold, *American Abolitionists*, 32.

³⁷ William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization* (Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1832), 2.

“Is it not a libel upon humanity and justice—a libel upon republicanism—a libel upon the Declaration of Independence—a libel upon christianity? ‘All men are born equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.’ What is the meaning of that declaration? That *all* men possess these rights—whether they are six feet five inches high, or three feet two and a half—whether they weigh three hundred or one hundred pounds—whether they parade in broadcloth or flutter in rags—whether their skins are jet black or lily white—whether their hair is straight or woolly, auburn or red, black or gray—does it not?”³⁸

Despite its shortcomings, such as the failure to uphold the rights of women, Garrison’s writing was incredibly popular. In 1831, he began publishing his own newsletter, “The Liberator,” with the primary objective of promoting an immediatist agenda. Though his early success was limited, the controversial material, which was distributed throughout the colonies, soon gathered the nation’s attention—causing one critic to state, “*The Liberator* was made famous not by its Northern supporters, but by its Southern enemies.”³⁹ *The Liberator* went on to influence quite a few prominent abolitionist Quakers, including the Grimké sisters and James and Lucretia Mott.⁴⁰ As such, though never a Quaker himself, Garrison remains an example of an external influence who had a tremendous impact on Quaker abolitionism; however, he was not a strict pacifist and lost quite a bit of Quaker support several decades later with his support of the Civil War.⁴¹

The Quakers’ collective support of the abolitionist movement is best demonstrated by the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. While regional anti-slavery societies such as the New England Anti-Slavery Society existed prior to this year, the American Anti-Slavery Society’s creation illustrates a phase of greater organization, widespread acceptance of the movement, and recognition of the

³⁸ Ibid., 12.

³⁹ Filler, *Crusade Against Slavery*, 78.

⁴⁰ Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 354.

⁴¹ Skidmore, *Ideologies: Politics in Action*, 291.

importance of collaboration. The society, founded at a conference in Philadelphia, represents a turning point in Quakerism. In that moment, faith became more than personal devotion—it became action. Of those present at the conference, twenty-one of the sixty-two participants were Quakers.⁴² Additionally, it is notable that three of the participants were black men and four were white women; the women were Quakers, the men were not.⁴³

The society's first accomplishment was the creation of a formal "Declaration of Sentiments." The rousing document, written primarily by Garrison but with the support of the conference, is nothing short of incredible.⁴⁴ The document begins with a reference to the nation's founders and the men who served in the Revolutionary War: "At the sound of their trumpet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood; deeming it more glorious to die instantly as freemen, than desirable to live one hour as slaves."⁴⁵ This powerful line expresses ardent patriotism while subtly introducing the troublesome nature of slavery; beyond that, its portrayal of colonization as slavery allows for an antislavery stance to suddenly become patriotic. The document goes on to tie the abolition movement to those same heroes, stating: "In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them."⁴⁶

Next, it describes the plight of African slaves in the United States, stating:

"But those, for whose emancipation we are striving—constituting at present time at least one-sixth of our countrymen, —are recognized by the laws, and treated

⁴² Jordan, *Slavery and the Meetinghouse*, 27.

⁴³ Harrold, *American Abolitionists*, 33.

⁴⁴ That being said, it is interesting to note that the female participants of the conference were not invited to sign the document. Filler, *Crusade Against Slavery*, 86.

⁴⁵ Garrison, William Lloyd: *Declaration of Sentiments*, 1833.

⁴⁶ Garrison, William Lloyd: *Declaration of Sentiments*, 1833.

by their fellow beings, as marketable commodities—as goods and chattels—as brute beasts; --are plundered daily the fruits of their toils without redress; --really enjoy no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages upon their persons; and are ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants; and, for the crime of having a dark complexion, suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, the ignominy of brutal servitude.”⁴⁷

In this moment, the document is clear about the conference’s stance on slavery: it is dehumanizing and unjust, while inspiring cruelty and violence. Furthermore, the influence of Quakers is noticeable in the document’s recognition of human value. Slaves are not “marketable commodities;” instead, they are individuals—each with an “Inner Light.” Finally, it lays out a clear set of desires: “That no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandise—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social, and moral improvement.”⁴⁸ The language in this section is very similar to that of the beloved Declaration of Independence in that both focus on the rights of man. Though the document expresses idealistic hopes for the future, it is also realistic. It acknowledges the sovereignty of states and their right to decide on slavery but also calls on Congress to “suppress the domestic trade between the several states, and to abolish slavery within those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.”⁴⁹ Overall, the “Declaration of Sentiments” is especially extraordinary when one considers its publication occurred twenty-eight years prior to the start of the Civil War and thirty-two years prior to the formal abolition of slavery in the United States.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Garrison, William Lloyd: Declaration of Sentiments, 1833.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

Though the society's creation was meant to bring Quakers and other abolitionists together, not everyone was supportive, receptive, or appreciative. In fact, its efforts were quite controversial among some meetings and forced all Quakers to reconsider how their beliefs ought to be applied to the world around them. That being said, the first schism within the Quaker movement was unrelated to the formation of the American Anti-Slavery society and occurred six years prior to its creation. Elias Hicks, a popular Quaker minister, was responsible for a movement that resulted in one major schism. In the late 1820s, he began making statements that excited some and horrified others. For example, he argued, "Jesus was not *born* the Christ. Instead, he *became* the Christ, the Son of God, because He had been the only human being ever to live in perfect obedience to the Divine Light that was within him."⁵⁰ Views such as these represented an incredibly conservative interpretation of Quakerism at a time when many people's beliefs were evolving. Those who agreed with Hicks' views split apart and became known as the Hicksites; other Quakers, with an understanding of Christ more analogous to that of Protestant denominations, became known as Orthodox Quakers.⁵¹ Slavery was one of the main issues the Hicksites and Orthodox Quakers disagreed on. Hicks encouraged his followers to avoid purchasing slave-grown or made products; however, he was not an abolitionist. Instead, he feared the further fragmentation of the Quakers and avoided divisive issues.⁵² The Orthodox Quakers were much more inclined to participate in the abolitionism movement. It is critical to note that other religious communities experienced similar schisms over the issue of slavery. The Presbyterians (1838), Methodists (1844), Baptists

⁵⁰ Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 40.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 42-43.

⁵² Filler, *Crusade Against Slavery*, 154.

(1845) experienced similar fractures. Like those of the Quakers, these splits occurred along somewhat predictable geographic boundaries; however, unlike those of the Quakers, many remained divided after the Civil War.

Quaker participation in the abolitionist movement was not limited to men; instead, many women filled important leadership roles. Despite the prevalence of sexism and discrimination in society throughout the 19th century, this participation is not surprising. The Quaker belief that God can speak through any person has greatly impacted the status of Quaker women over the years. Since the 1650s, Quaker communities have empowered women—encouraging them to speak freely and recognizing them as equals.⁵³ Consequently, it is not surprising that Quaker women played a critical role in the abolitionist movement and eventually expanded the movement to demand equality for all, regardless of race or gender. As mentioned earlier, four women participated in the conference that founded the American Anti-Slavery Society and published the “Declaration of Sentiments.” Lucretia Mott, a Quaker minister from Philadelphia, was one of these women. A close friend of William Lloyd Garrison, Mott was an active member of the abolitionist movement. In addition to attending the 1833 meeting, Mott traveled to London to participate in the World’s Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840; however, she was unable to participate because of her sex.⁵⁴ On the same trip she befriended Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the woman with whom she would later organize the Seneca Falls Convention. Another friend of Garrison was a Delaware Quaker named Elizabeth Chandler. Chandler, an accomplished poet, regularly wrote a column for the

⁵³ Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 43.

⁵⁴ Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 205.

*Genius of Universal Emancipation*⁵⁵ and is remembered for being a “pioneer feminist” by many historians today.⁵⁶

The most fascinating component of female leadership within the Quaker abolitionist and feminist movement was the Grimké sisters. Born on a plantation near Charleston, South Carolina, Sarah and Angelina independently denounced slavery during the 1820s and moved to Philadelphia. Likewise, each sister renounced her Episcopalian upbringing, experimented with Presbyterianism, and eventually became a Quaker. The sisters’ reasons for changing churches were simple. They were frustrated by the Episcopalian and Presbyterian stances on slavery and women’s rights and inspired by the Quakers and opportunities that they encountered in Philadelphia.

Though they were both passionate about abolitionism and women’s rights, younger sister Angelina was certainly the more radical of the pair. She was an eloquent and inspiring speaker who both presented at the Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1837 and “spoke seventy-nine times in five months to crowds averaging 500;” however, she often angered her fellow activists by presenting to audiences of “mixed race and sex.”⁵⁷ In fact, her meeting eventually denounced Angelina for marrying Theodore Weld, a non-Quaker.⁵⁸

While much can be written about the Grimké sisters, it is best to let them say it themselves; the women were prolific writers—detailing their experiences and opinions in hundreds of essays, letters, and articles. In one particularly compelling letter, Angelina combines her abolitionist and feminist interests, writing:

⁵⁵ Harrold, *American Abolitionists*, 40.

⁵⁶ Filler, *Crusade Against Slavery*, 276.

⁵⁷ Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 323.

⁵⁸ Jordan, *Slavery and the Meetinghouse*, 84.

“Woman has been placed by John Quincy Adams, side by side with the slave, whilst he was contending for the right side of petition. I thank him for ranking us with the oppressed; for I shall not find it difficult to show, that in all ages and countries, not even excepting enlightened republic America, woman has more or less been a means to promote the welfare of man, without due regard to her own happiness, and the glory of God as the end of her creation.”⁵⁹

Without a doubt, Quakers were among some of the greatest abolitionist (and feminist) leaders in the United States’ history. However, the many struggles faced by the early leaders are what make their courage and perseverance so impressive. Early on, many communities were far from receptive to abolitionism. Abolitionists were considered radicals and often ostracized by their communities. To overlook the struggles faced by early leaders is to do them a disservice; they accomplished incredible things while facing equally impressive adversity. Once abolitionism became more widely accepted by Quakers, there were still incredibly different opinions about how to respond. Different meetings supported different methods—including colonization, gradualism, and immediatism. Finally, while the Quakers were certainly influential, one must not forget the external influences on the Quaker abolitionist movement. Many people became Quakers because they appreciated the group’s stance on slavery, and some of these individuals, such as the Grimké sisters, went on to be incredibly influential within the movement. Likewise, many Quakers participated in activism outside of their communities when they felt as though their meetings were not doing enough. It is fair to say that while Quaker abolitionists accomplished some incredible things, their story is much more complicated than typically depicted. Beyond that, their eventual stance on abolitionism marks only the beginning of the American Quakers’ leadership in social justice movements. It was the spark that illuminated a new path—allowing American

⁵⁹ Larry Ceplair, *The Public Years of Sarah and Angelina Grimke*, Reprint ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 209.

Quakers to begin a journey that merged faith, justice, and the needs of the world. This path would challenge the Quakers' faith and action, forcing them to evolve to reflect one another.

CHAPTER TWO

After the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, American Quakers continued to act upon their beliefs with a series of national and international social justice action and advocacy projects that ranged from providing aid to children in Germany and Austria following World War I to assisting Appalachian mining communities in the 1930's.¹ Though the projects varied in size and participation, their sheer quantity quickly solidified the Quakers' reputation as a religious community dedicated to tackling controversial issues and making a tangible difference in the world. It is important to note that different Quaker communities approached issues they considered unethical or unjust in different ways; after all, with the exception of the American Friends Service Committee, a national peace and social justice group, there is no overarching national organization.

The little-known history of the Quakers from Fairhope, Alabama who relocated to Monteverde, Costa Rica in 1950 in response to concerns about U.S. national and international policy demonstrates one community's refusal to compromise their values and the impressive journey that resulted. For many of the participants, the decision to move was not an easy one; few of them had ever visited Latin America, only one spoke Spanish proficiently, and moving meant leaving countless loved ones behind. Yet it was a decision that these Alabama Quakers made with confidence—motivated by their faith and disapproval of the United States' increasingly militaristic values. Though the emigration involved a smaller number of participants than some other examples of Quaker activism and is therefore something of an outlier, it is no less relevant; instead,

¹ "AFSC History," *American Friends Service Committee*, February 8, 2012, <http://afsc.org/afsc-history>.

this case provides a unique perspective on the Quakers, the evolution of their faith, and its increasing focus on social issues. It is important to recognize that, in many ways, the move to Costa Rica replaced old moral dilemmas with new ones. Militarization and war were no longer prominent concerns for these Quakers; however, their new circumstances prompted them to consider how their faith influenced their behavior and environmental impact. Ultimately, the evolution of the Quakers' understanding of and approach to their new natural environment, as well as their eventual participation in the environmental and eco-tourism movements, serve as a fascinating turning point in the history of Quaker activism.

An incredible amount of research has been conducted on Monteverde, Costa Rica; however, only a small portion of it actually examines the influential role of the Quakers or the region's history. Since the Monteverde environmental movement began in the 1980s, thousands of scientists from around the world have flocked to the cloud forest region—writing extensively about the diversity of trees, plants, and wildlife that reside there. Many of these individuals have written journal articles or books about their experiences in Monteverde. Consequently, there are many secondary sources about Monteverde that have been published by non-Quakers. For example, *Monteverde: Ecology and Conservation of a Tropical Cloud Forest*, by Nalini M. Nadkarni and Nathaniel T. Wheelwright, provides an excellent balance of scientific data, Monteverde history, and the role of the Quakers. Full of photographs and interviews, this book is easily the most comprehensive resource of information about the region. Nadkarni and Wheelwright portray the Quakers as a positive influence on the region and argue that they provided important leadership to the ecotourism and environmental movements. They

support this argument by examining both the history and biology of the region. Additionally, there are many other books that provide helpful, though more general, information about the region, including *The Costa Rica Reader* edited by Steven Palmer and Iván Molina and *Cultures and Customs of Costa Rica* by Chalene Helmuth. Though these books only mention the Quakers, they provide helpful basic summaries of the nation's political and social histories. For a purely environmental history, it is helpful to read *The Green Republic: A Conservation History of Costa Rica* by Sterling Evans and *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development: Who Owns Paradise?* by Martha Honey. These books examine the history of environmental issues and ecotourism in Costa Rica.

While these sources are useful, the Quakers themselves are responsible for providing some of the most helpful material. As demonstrated by their involvement in the abolitionism movement, Quakers tend to be both educated and prolific writers. Over the years, they compiled a comprehensive history of the region and community. While countless primary sources exist, the *Monteverde Jubilee Family Album* and *Walking with Wolf* are the most thorough and accurately corroborate information found in other sources. The Quakers published the *Monteverde Jubilee Family Album* in 2001. It contains a wealth of primary sources, such as photographs, letters, reflections, journal/diary entries, court documents, drawings, and newspaper articles, as well as some historical analysis. Though it was created to celebrate Monteverde's fiftieth anniversary, the book spans far more years than that—examining the lives of influential Monteverde Quakers, as well as the more formal history. The book, which is quite difficult to find due to its limited release, is an incredible resource.

Walking with Wolf, co-authored by Kay Chornook and Wolf Guindon, is also helpful and examines many of the environmental issues in closer detail. A gentle combination of memory and historical analysis, *Walking with Wolf* uses the reflections of founding Monteverde member and eventual-environmentalist, Wolf Guindon, to describe the history of the region. Beyond that, it reveals the values and concerns that motivated the Quakers to leave the United States and help make Monteverde their home. The book provides an honest rendering of a flawed but inspiring individual who had a tremendous impact on the environment. At the same time, as with any primary source, one must consider the position, intentions, and perspective of the creator(s).

The American Quakers' decision to leave the United States was not arbitrary or spontaneous. Instead, it was a difficult choice that reflected both the Quakers' values and the socio-political atmosphere of the period. More than that, it was a community's reaction to an environment they considered unbearable. After all, 1948 was an important year in both the United States and around the world. It began with the tragic assassination of Mahatma Gandhi on January 30th—an event that horrified and saddened supporters of nonviolence around the world. A few months later in April, President Harry Truman signed the Marshall Plan, providing much of Europe with financial aid. In many ways, this act provided a genuine conclusion to World War II by allowing for healing and recovery to begin. On June 19th, the United States passed the Selective Service Act of 1948, which states,

“Except as otherwise provided in this title, it shall be the duty of every male citizen of the United States, and every other male person residing in the United States, who, on the day or days fixed for the first or any subsequent registration, is between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six, to present himself for and submit to registration at such time or times and place or places, and in such manner, as shall

be determined by proclamation of the President and by rules and regulations prescribed hereunder.”

This legislation, which exemplifies the United States’ fear of communism at the beginning of the Cold War, modified the Selective Service Act of 1917 by shifting the registration age requirement from men ages 20-45 to 18-26. Soon after the U.S. passed this legislation, there was an increase in global tensions, the start of the Berlin Blockade (June 24th), and the formal issue of a peacetime draft by President Truman (July 20th). Naturally, there were countless other influential events in that year; however, it was a minor event in Fairhope, Alabama that solidified the Quakers’ decision to leave the United States. In December of 1948, four young Quaker men were arrested for their unwillingness to register for the draft.²

Of the three main motivating factors that influenced the Alabama’s Quakers’ decision to leave the United States, the arrest, trial, and sentencing of Wilford Guindon, Howard Rockwell, Leonard Rockwell, and Marvin Rockwell was perhaps the most significant. Though all of these Quaker men were actively involved in anti-military campaigns during their college years, their status as conscientious objectors failed to exempt them from draft registration; instead, the government encouraged them to serve in noncombatant roles.³ On August 26, 1948, Marvin Rockwell wrote to the local draft board to explain his decision:

“Although I registered in the last draft and served as a noncombatant in the Army Medical Department, I cannot do the same again or have any thing to do with the military machine of this or any other nation or cause. I am a member of the Religious Society of Friends which has held a peace testimony for hundreds of years. In the last few years, my religious convictions have deepened to the place where I cannot support or use external or physical force of any kind and still live

² Lucille Guindon, *Monteverde Jubilee Family Album* (Asociación de Amigos de Monteverde, 2001).

³ Marvin Rockwell, “A Brief History of Monteverde” (Unpublished memoir), 2.

the Christian way of life. Jesus Christ taught and exemplified a way of life which removed the causes of wars, and I believe that I must follow His example to the best of my abilities to deserve to be called a Christian.”⁴

This text demonstrates the evolution of Rockwell’s personal theology, as well as the strength of his convictions. Though his feelings were clearly different in the past, he is confident about what his conscience will allow in the present. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that his explanation for why he is unwilling to serve is biblically—based, indicating a strong tie between his religious background and value system. The contents of the letter are reiterated by a statement he made before the judge on October 25, 1949, the day he was sentenced:

“To be a Christian I believe I must live as nearly as I am able the kind of life Christ would live. To do this I ask myself when making a decision, ‘What would Christ do?’ In doing this, in connection with the draft law of 1948, I find I cannot imagine Christ in a military uniform taking training in the art of murder. I do not believe He would give His support to a program which forced the cream of young manhood to learn to take part in war.”⁵

This powerful imagery, which is again rooted deeply in faith, depicts both a controversial form of patriotism and a political awareness. The image of Christ wearing a military uniform is shocking and succeeds in condemning the militaristic nature of the United States. Unfortunately, U.S. District Judge John McDuffie did not agree with Rockwell’s argument. Though he claimed to respect the Quakers’ style of worship and moral convictions, he sentenced each of the men to one year and one day in a minimum security prison with the possibility of early parole.⁶ The men were released after four months and one day; however, the incident impacted the views of many Quakers in the region and solidified the convicted men’s desire to leave. In contrast, other Quaker men throughout

⁴ Marvin Rockwell, “A Brief History of Monteverde” (Unpublished memoir), 1-2.

⁵ Ibid, 3.

⁶ Mendenhall, *Monteverde Jubilee Family Album*, 11 and Marvin Rockwell, “A Brief History of Monteverde” (Unpublished memoir), 3.

the United States experienced similar difficulties; however, rather than leaving the country, they stood as conscientious objectors, occasionally served prison sentences, and remained in the United States, continuing to fight the practices and policies that they considered to be unjust.

The Quakers' second motivation for leaving the United States, concern about how their taxes were being spent, was also related to pacifism and, therefore, their faith. During periods of both war and peace, taxes paid to the federal government help to support the nation's military forces. Because many pacifists' views extend beyond the desire to simply avoid physical combat, this becomes an issue. In particular, American Quakers have a long history of both vocalizing concern about how their taxes are spent and refusing to contribute. As early as 1709, American Quakers issued a formal objection to the House of Representatives of the Province of Nova Cesarea (New Jersey) regarding how their funds might be spent. The official record explains their concerns: "The members of this House being of the people called Quakers have always been and still are for raising of money for the support of her Majesty's government, but to raise money for raising soldiers is against their religious principles and for conscience cannot agree thereto."⁷ Similarly, there were Quakers who refused to pay their taxes during the American Revolution, the Mexican War, and World War II—with varied results.

As such, though the views of the Alabama Quakers likely seemed radical, they were actually in accordance with a long legacy. These views are best exemplified by an exchange between Judge McDuffie and Hubert Mendenhall, a Quaker Clerk of the Fairhope Meeting of Friends. Mendenhall spoke on behalf of his four young neighbors at

⁷David M. Gross, *American Quaker War Tax Resistance* (David M Gross, 2011), 20.

their sentencing. The October 25, 1949 court record documents the following exchange between Mendenhall and the presiding judge:

“Judge McDuffie: ‘Well, some of your church members pay income taxes, don’t they?’

Mr. Mendenhall: ‘Your honor, some of our church members do not take this stand with us. In our church, it is left as an individual matter.’

Judge McDuffie: ‘Your pamphlet says you believe in government so long as it is an instrument of God. That leaves to you, according to your faith, the privilege of saying whether it is an instrument of God. If they use tax money to buy war equipment, you should not pay taxes.’

Mr. Mendenhall: ‘I agree, your honor.’

Judge McDuffie: ‘...this is a government of laws and not of men, and so long as you live here, you should abide by the laws of the land. ...those who oppose the laws of this country and this form of government, even when it goes to war, should get out of this country and stay out.’”⁸

This conversation is important for several reasons. First of all, it establishes the deciding power of individuals within Quaker communities. While certain values, such as pacifism, are widely accepted, Quaker meetings allow each member to interpret how best to apply them to their lives. Second, it demonstrates a lack of tolerance and acceptance by the judge. In his mind, there was no middle ground. The Quakers should either contribute appropriately as required by law or simply leave. Along those same lines, the conversation reveals the Quakers’ lack of options. They could either pay what the government demanded or face the consequences. Stuck in this position, a handful of Alabama Quakers adhered to judge’s sarcastic proposal and created their own option of their own—leave the country.

The third factor affecting the group’s decision to leave the United States was overall increased militarization of the country. Most, if not all, of the Quakers from Fairhope, Alabama who decided to go to Costa Rica shared this sentiment. According to

⁸ Guindon et al., *Monteverde Jubilee Family Album*, 15.

Elva Mendenhall Rockwell, “For us, finding a place where our four young children could grow in a more peaceful environment seemed very important.”⁹ These concerns were echoed and expanded upon by her brother, Hubert Mendenhall, in an article that was published by the *Mobile Register* in October 1950. He stated,

“I am a pacifist by religious belief and it seems to me that our economy here has become so involved with military effort throughout the world that a person can hardly make a living here without being a part of that system. I think we’ve been given the example of the only way to have peace in the world. This example was given by Jesus Christ. I feel that to take human life is morally wrong under any circumstances. I would not be willing to carry a gun at the battlefield and I’ve come to feel that I’m just as responsible if I pay taxes to buy guns or if I accept profits from a war economy. Right now, my first responsibility seems to be my family and since I would not be willing to cooperate with war regulations, I would not be left at home to care for my family. Even if I were, I am doubtful if in the surroundings and atmosphere I would be able to bring up my children as I would like to.”¹⁰

These quotes demonstrate that, though the draft and wartime taxes played a role in the decision to leave, Quakers also had broader concerns about the general atmosphere of the United States and felt uncomfortable raising their families in a country whose values did not match their own. Marvin Rockwell summarized it best, stating, “After the World War II when each country should have been making every effort to establish peace among nations, the United States was becoming one of the most militarized countries in the world...As Quakers we searched and struggled to find an appropriate response to this unacceptable situation.”¹¹ Ultimately, they found their answer in Costa Rica.

Just as the Fairhope, Alabama Quakers did not leave the United States on a whim, their decision to move to Costa Rica was not a fluke; instead, it was the result of careful consideration of the nation’s history, and the opportunities, legislation, and general

⁹ Elva Mendenhall Rockwell, “Reflection,” n.d.

¹⁰ Rockwell, “A Brief History of Monteverde,” 6.

¹¹ Guindon et al., *Monteverde Jubilee Family Album*, 15.

atmosphere present there. Interestingly enough, Costa Rica was recovering from a civil war when the Quakers decided to move there. After what many Costa Ricans believed to be a fraudulent presidential election in 1948, the Constitutional Congress annulled the results.¹² Despite several attempts to resolve the conflict peacefully, it quickly became apparent that the former President Teodoro Picado's nominee, Rafael Angel Calderón Guardia, and the opposition candidate, Otilio Ulate Blanco, were not likely to agree. The situation further escalated when José Figueres Ferrer, an intellectual and political outcast, organized a coup d'état against Picado and his government.¹³ Over the next six weeks, over two thousand people died in the Civil War between the government's small military force and Figueres' army.¹⁴ After succeeding in overthrowing Picado, Figueres established himself as the head of a junta, which remained in power for eighteen months.

The complicated conflict caught the attention of the world. On the one hand, Figueres and his army argued that the Constitutional Congress ignored their nation's democratic system when it annulled their winning candidate. On the other hand, the Former President Teodoro Picado, Presidential Candidate Rafael Angel Calderón Guardia, and Constitutional Congress argued that the election had been "won" by fraudulent means and therefore was not democratic. The situation was ultimately resolved in 1949 with the recognition of Ulate as president.

It was not the conflict that caught the attention of the American Quakers; instead, they were much more impressed with the concessions that came out of it. Many of the

¹² Fabrice Edouard Lehoucq, "Class Conflict, Political Crisis and the Breakdown of Democratic Practices in Costa Rica: Reassessing the Origins of the 1948 Civil War," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 23, no. 1 (February 1, 1991): 37.

¹³ Ibid, 39-40.

¹⁴ Chalene Helmuth, *Culture and Customs of Costa Rica* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2000), 23.

changes, which included abolishing the nation's army and improving social services, were made under the brief rule of Figueres—who passed 834 decrees while first in power.¹⁵ Naturally, the possibility of living in a country without a military greatly appealed to the pacifistic Quakers and influenced why they selected Costa Rica over Canada, Mexico, Australia, or New Zealand.¹⁶

Frustrated by their own nation's policies and confident in their decision to leave, the small group from Fairhope began making the necessary preparations to move from the United States to Costa Rica in 1950. Several months prior to the actual emigration, they sent a small team of representatives to visit the country on an agricultural tour. Those who went were thoroughly impressed by what they found. According to a reflection by Mildred Mendenhall, who was a member of the exploratory trip and later became a founding member of Monteverde, the experience was overwhelmingly positive:

“We were instantly impressed with the friendly, relaxed atmosphere of this tiny democracy. Here an air of contentment prevailed. Happy, smiling children appeared to be healthy and loved. There was a sense of pride and caring evidenced in the appearance of their modest homes and surroundings. The population, predominantly middle class, seemed to be enjoying health and educational standards unsurpassed in any other Central American country. Proudly they told us, ‘Here we have more teachers than soldiers.’”¹⁷

This simple assessment of the country clearly illustrates not only the lifestyle and values that the Quakers admired but also why they believed it was so necessary for them to leave the United States. By highlighting the population's significant middle class, Mendenhall makes it clear that she, like many Quakers, values both equality of wealth and access to resources. Furthermore, her mention of the “modest homes” illustrates her appreciation

¹⁵ Mavis Hiltunen Biesanz, Richard Biesanz, and Karen Zubris Biesanz, *The Ticos: Culture and Social Change in Costa Rica* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), 31.

¹⁶ Rockwell, “A Brief History of Monteverde, 4.”

¹⁷ Guindon et al., *Monteverde Jubilee Family Album*, 13.

for living simply. Finally, given the Quakers long history with pacifism, Mendenhall's excitement about a nation with "more teachers than soldiers" is hardly surprising. A similar atmosphere was simply not available in the United States. As such, upon their return to Fairhope, the delegation invited their friends, family, and neighbors to pack their bags. While the community completed necessary preparations like selling their homes and saying their goodbyes, a second team was sent south to scout out available land. Finally, during the last week of October in 1950, forty-one Fairhope Quakers, ranging in age from one to eighty-one, left for Costa Rica.¹⁸

After an impressive journey, covering over two thousand miles and lasting nearly two months, the first of the Quaker pioneers crossed the border into Costa Rica on December 23, 1950. In more ways than one, their arrival marked the end of one story and the beginning of another. Their struggle against the United States' government over obligatory military service, their taxes being used to pay for violence, and increasing militarization was finally over. While these issues continued to concern the Quakers, they no longer held the same influence over their day to day lives. Similarly, living in Costa Rica meant new challenges for everyone—ranging from allocating land and building homes to determining how to live faithfully in an environment radically different from what they were used to. They began by tackling the more tangible challenges. After all, upon their arrival in Costa Rica, the Quakers had nothing but the little that they brought, 3,000 acres of purchased land, and determination.¹⁹ They quickly divided the land into public spaces, private property, and a nature reserve. The Quakers used the

¹⁸ Nalini M. Nadkarni and Nathaniel T. Wheelwright, *Monteverde: Ecology and Conservation of a Tropical Cloud Forest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 356.

¹⁹ Chalene Helmuth, *Culture and Customs of Costa Rica* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2000), 37.

public spaces to house the meetinghouse, cemetery, landing strip, cheese factory, and school—demonstrating their commitment to sharing space and living in community. Similarly, they allocated the private property to families based on need rather than finances. The reserve was composed of nearly one-thousand acres and demonstrates the Quaker’s desire to protect their water supply.²⁰ After they constructed all the necessary buildings and established a basic infrastructure, the Quakers were able to really examine themselves as a community and what they stood for.

While there are many possible approaches to understanding the values of the Monteverde Quakers, an examination of their evolving relationship with their Tico—a popular term for a native of Costa Rica—neighbors is especially revealing. When the Quakers first purchased land in the area that became known as Monteverde, there were quite a few squatters living illegally on the property—the majority of whom were incredibly poor sustenance farmers. Despite this lack of ownership, the Quakers paid the squatters generously for their “improvements” and to leave the property. According to Cecil Rockwell, “All the people occupying the land were friendly and were quite willing to sell their improvements and either move nearer to more populated areas or start clearing land to start over somewhere else.”²¹ The Quakers’ decision to pay the squatters for the land that they had already purchased demonstrates their recognition of local customs, as well as their respect and concern for the Ticos. Ultimately, this kindness paid off. According to Lucille Guindon, the Quakers benefited greatly from their friendships with Ticos who remained in the area. In a reflection, she recalled,

²⁰ Sterling Evans, *The Green Republic* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), 25.

²¹ Guindon et al., *Monteverde Jubilee Family Album*, 39.

“From our neighbors we learned when to plant different things, not only seasonally but by the time of the moon. We learned which trees were good for firewood and which for fence-posts. We learned the method of milking cows by using the calf to get the mother to let down her milk. Some learned to drive the oxen for hauling loads. Some learned how to harvest, clean, and use the cane to make dulce. We all learned through experience to chop wood for our wood-burning cook stoves. We admired how ticas made their tortillas—with no ready-made MasaRica!—and their tamales which were served at Christmastime and given away to friends. But none of us became too proficient at either, in those early years. Yes, there was much to learn from our neighbors. They were the first settlers and made it possible for us to come in and disrupt the way of life the way it had been. We provided a diversion, most certainly, evidenced by the many who came to visit, sitting maybe for hours in our house, watching with curiosity the way we did things. A smile and a handshake were the universal language.”²²

This simple account demonstrates both an important recognition of the Quakers’ early reliance on their Tico neighbors, as well a clear appreciation for those who assisted them. The repetition of these sentiments in the writings of other founders makes it clear that those early relationships were critical to Monteverde’s growth, development, and overall success.

The Quakers’ positive relationship with the Ticos is further exemplified through the history and business dealings of the Montevede Cheese Factory. Knowing that their community would need a sustainable source of income, the Quakers decided to invest in dairy production, bought 50 purebred Guernsey heifer calves, and founded Productores de Monteverde in 1953.²³ They chose dairy production over beef because several of the Quakers were raised on dairy farms and knowledgeable about the topic.²⁴ Because milk spoiled too quickly in the warm climate, they opted to make cheese. As soon as the construction of the Cheese Factory was completed in 1954, the Quakers began producing cheese and found themselves operating a profitable venture. After just a few months, the

²² Guindon et al., *Monteverde Jubilee Family Album*, 52.

²³ Rockwell, “A Brief History of Monteverde,” 6.

²⁴ Nadkarni and Wheelwright, *Monteverde: Ecology and Conservation of a Tropical Cloud Forest*, 391–393.

Quakers were unable to produce sufficient milk to meet the region's growing demand for cheese, and they began purchasing milk from local farmers. According to Marvin E. Rockwell, the Quakers' decision to expand their business benefited everyone. In his memoir, he recalls,

“With the addition of milk from our Costa Rican neighbors production increased rapidly. By 1960 we were receiving more milk from outside the community than from within the community. During the rainy season of 1964, the volume of milk received was so great that we had to increase from two to three batches of cheese per day in the 200 gallon vat.”²⁵

Ultimately, the Quakers were able to increase their production and sales, while their neighbors gained a new source of income. Additionally, the Quakers further demonstrated their goodwill and generosity by providing anyone who contributed milk with the opportunity to become shareholders in the company. All and all, though there have certainly been some challenges over the years, the Cheese Factory has had a predominately positive impact on the Monteverde region. Today, approximately 5,000 people are directly involved with the production of Monteverde products—ranging from different cheeses to delicious ice cream.²⁶

While the conservation efforts of the Quakers are well-known today, some of their early behavior was actually quite detrimental to the environment and natural resources of Monteverde. By examining the evolution of their faith, thoughts and actions, one can learn a great deal about how they created an atmosphere of awareness that snowballed into an internationally-acclaimed conservation movement. In order to understand this success, it is necessary to look at the Quakers' early failures. For example, though they decided to protect nearly one-third of the property they purchased,

²⁵ Rockwell, “A Brief History of Monteverde,” 7.

²⁶ “Corporación Monteverde,” *Historia*, accessed February 11, 2013, <http://www.monteverde.net/>.

the Quakers did so out of necessity rather than concern for the environment. They knew that it was important to safeguard the headwaters of the river that provided them with water. They were far less cautious with the rest of their purchase—clearing large tracts of land to build houses and serve as pastures. It is important to note that the Quakers had good intentions. According to a reflection by Wilfred “Wolf” Guindon, a founding Monteverde Quaker and the first chainsaw salesman in the area, “From the very first I wanted to have a forested property that I could clear and turn into a productive family farm. By coming to what was called an ‘underdeveloped’ country I saw this as a way to contribute to its development, converting forests into pasture.”²⁷ Simply put, the Quakers were utilizing an American approach to agriculture and initially unaware of how their actions were negatively impacting their new home’s intricate ecosystem. As the consequences became clear, Quakers such as Wolf Guindon altered their behavior and became leaders in efforts to ensure the long-term well-being of the surrounding forests and wildlife.

During the 1970’s, there was a noticeable shift in the way the Monteverde Quakers and their neighbors viewed conservation and the environment surrounding them. Several factors prompted this change. First of all, a biologist named George Powell traveled to Monteverde from the University of California in 1970 to study birds and other wildlife.²⁸ While there, he became incredibly concerned about the effects of the disappearing forests on endangered species—such as the golden toad.²⁹ In addition to purchasing some of the threatened land using his own money, he worked to educate the

²⁷ Guindon et al., *Monteverde Jubilee Family Album*, 105.

²⁸ Nadkarni and Wheelwright, *Monteverde: Ecology and Conservation of a Tropical Cloud Forest*, 357.

²⁹ Martha Honey, *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development* (Washington: Island Press, 2008), 184.

Quakers about the scientific value of the forests as well as the importance of preserving them. By this time, many of the Quakers were already concerned about the changing landscape—though for different reasons. As was typical of Quakers, they believed that within each individual was an “Inner Light” and that, therefore, human life was inherently valuable. Additionally, they recognized that clearing the forests was having a detrimental impact their neighbors’ quality of life. Essentially, their faith prompted concern for the well-being of these individuals and raised the initial questions about the importance of conservation.

With Powell’s assistance, the Quakers founded the Monteverde Cloud Forest Preserve (MCFP) in 1972. The MCFP was composed of the land that the Quakers had originally set aside to protect their watershed, as well as an additional 810 acres which they purchased.³⁰ The Quakers leased all of the land to the Tropical Science Center (TSC) so that they could properly preserve and manage it. Over the next few decades, under the care of the TSC and with the guidance of the Quakers, the MCFP grew to encompass nearly 26,000 acres.³¹

The next major environmental advance came in 1985 with the formation of the Monteverde Institute (MVI). Created by the Quakers in response to the increasing number of students and scholars visiting the region, the MVI was established to “coordinate and support educational and cultural programs within the Monteverde zone.”³² Specifically, they work to assist visiting educational groups, local schools, and cultural organizations.

³⁰ Martha Honey, *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development* (Washington: Island Press, 2008), 185.

³¹ Nadkarni and Wheelwright, *Monteverde: Ecology and Conservation of a Tropical Cloud Forest*, 357.

³² Guindon et al., *Monteverde Jubilee Family Album*, 206.

One year later, local Quakers and concerned academics founded the Monteverde Conservation League (MCL) to preserve surrounding forests, promote sustainable development, facilitate reforestation efforts, and provide education to both the community and visitors.³³ While the MCL has been successful in accomplishing many of these things, their greatest achievement was somewhat unplanned. In 1987, a class in Sweden found out that the MCL was attempting to save a region of rainforest, and they started collecting money to advance the efforts. Over the next few years, over five hundred primary and secondary schools from around the world contributed to the effort, eventually raising over two million dollars to purchase land.³⁴ These environmental advances, which the Quakers both initiated and supported, resulted in a drastic increase in eco-tourism, beginning in the 1980's and continuing to this day. While this influx of tourism is sometimes viewed as an annoyance by those who reside in Monteverde, most people acknowledge that the visitors make the conservation efforts possible and promote other economic opportunities for the region.

While it is easy to become distracted by the fascinating story of those who moved to Monteverde, it is important to remember that the majority of American Quakers remained in the United States during this period. Though they did not necessarily agree with their nation's draft laws, use of taxes, or overall increasing militarization, many faithful individuals believed that their presence was most valuable within the United States—taking a stand against the policies that they disagreed with. Consequently, during the 1950's, many American Quakers participated in U.S. campaigns dedicated to

³³ Ibid., 205.

³⁴ Nadkarni and Wheelwright, *Monteverde: Ecology and Conservation of a Tropical Cloud Forest*, 363.

pacifism and disarmament.³⁵ These efforts were largely organized by the American Friends Service Committee, which will be discussed further in the next chapter. Though they opted to remain in the United States, many Quakers were aware of the group in Monteverde and interested to hear more about their experience. National publications, such as *The Christian Science Monitor* and *Time Magazine* reported on the lives and activities of those who left; also, the Monteverde Quakers routinely shared stories of their adventures in letters to family and friends back home.

In contrast, neither were the Alabama Quakers the first religious community to leave the United States because an element of their faith conflicted with the nation's legislation. During the late nineteenth century, over three hundred American Mormons moved from Arizona and Utah to Chihuahua and Sonora, Mexico to escape what they considered religious persecution.³⁶ One example of this "persecution" was the 1882 passage of the Edmunds Act by the U.S. federal government—banning polygamy. Although church leaders such as John Young initially denied that the controversial practice of polygamy would be permitted in the new settlements, these claims quickly fell apart.³⁷ Between 1891 and 1904, the *Los Angeles Times* published a series of articles titled "Mormons in Mexico." The articles covered all angles of the emigration; however, updates on the presence of polygamy received special attention. Several articles, printed with headlines like "Mormons in Mexico: They Disgust the Natives by their Practice of Polygamy," explicitly confirmed the presence of polygamy in the new communities.³⁸

³⁵ Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988) 266.

³⁶ John B. Wright, "Mormon Colonias of Chihuahua," *Geographical Review* 91, no. 3 (July 2001): 586.

³⁷ "The Mormon Colony: Young Denies That Polygamy Will Be Introduced in Mexico.," *Los Angeles Times (1886-1922)*, December 23, 1890.

³⁸ "Mormons in Mexico: They Disgust the Natives by their Practice of Polygamy," *Los Angeles Times (1886-1922)*, January 21, 1893.

Regardless, even if not all of the Mormon emigrants wanted to practice polygamy, they certainly had other religious motivations in mind. Like the Quakers, they felt compelled to leave the United States in order to practice their religion openly and without interference.³⁹

Although modern activists sometimes criticize the Alabama Quakers for fleeing their problems rather than addressing them, it is difficult to state that their decision was anything but brave. After all, these Quakers moved to a new country where people spoke a different language, ate different foods, and observed different customs. Nothing about the early experience was comfortable or familiar; however, the Quakers believed that the move was necessary. They were determined to live by their faith and did not believe they could do so within the physical borders of the United States or the confines of its policies. While their activism did not involve writing U.S. government leaders or protesting in the nation's capitol, it was equally bold. Motivated by their faith, the Quaker emigrants lived their lives in a way that was radically different from most 20th century Americans; consequently, their day-to-day conduct, which had a profound influence on their community and neighbors, was their activism. Furthermore, just as their faith shaped their behavior, their behavior shaped their faith. Moving to and living in Costa Rica provided opportunities for spiritual growth that likely would have never occurred in the United States. As mentioned earlier, the Quakers' involvement in the environmental movement was triggered by experiences in Monteverde that caused them to reconsider how their faith interpreted caring for one's neighbors and land stewardship.

³⁹ {Unlike the Quakers, the Mormons were not as practical in selecting their country of destination. The Mexican government was not supportive of their desire to practice polygamy and openly forbade it in the conditions of their land grant. Wright, John B. "Mormon Colonias of Chihuahua." *Geographical Review* 91, no. 3 (July 2001): 586.}

CHAPTER THREE

The popular history of the Vietnam War is riddled with stereotypes, generalizations, and hindsight bias. Unfortunately, the U.S. public's collective memory about the role of antiwar activists is no exception. Although Americans often remember participants as either extremists or hippies, the antiwar movement actually encompassed individuals of all ages, races, political parties, occupations, religions, and economic backgrounds. Not surprisingly, American Quakers were prominent members of the antiwar movement from its early days—marking a new phase of their activism. Unlike the antebellum abolitionist movement, which was initially led by a few “progressive” Quakers, or the Monteverde migration, which represented one small community's action, the Vietnam antiwar movement had the overwhelming support of American Quakers from the start.

By the 1960s, most American Quakers believed that war was immoral and never justified. After all, the “Inner Light” philosophy, created by George Fox and widely accepted by Quakers, teaches that God exists within every human being. This means that every person inherently has value and ought to be treated with love and kindness. Over the years, Quakers have reinterpreted this truth, a pillar of their faith, and applied it to a variety of contemporary issues—resulting in an evolution of their beliefs and activism. By the start of the Vietnam War, the connection between the “Inner Light” and nonviolence were widely accepted, and most Quakers identified as pacifists. Furthermore, as this was not the United States' first involvement in an international military conflict, the Quakers had considerable experience organizing anti-war campaigns and an existing infrastructure in place to connect them with activists across the nation. At

the first sign of U.S. involvement in the conflict, the Quakers initiated extensive letter-writing campaigns and offered draft counseling to eligible young men. As the conflict progressed, they organized protests, lobbied government officials in Washington, DC, and provided humanitarian aid to both North and South Vietnam. Their activism was bold, effective, and consistently non-violent. Ultimately, the American Quakers' response to the Vietnam War solidified their reputation as a religious community committed to social justice issues, while the timing and scope of the movement set a precedent for future activism.

Recognition of this early involvement is critical because, though modern Americans often erroneously remember the Vietnam War as a strictly unpopular event, many citizens believed in the necessity of "stopping communism" and supported their leaders' decisions to increase U.S. involvement in South East Asia. According to a 1965 Gallup Poll, only twenty-four percent of Americans believed it was a mistake to send troops to Vietnam. Furthermore, as late as 1970, only fifty-one percent of Americans believed it was a mistake to send troops.¹ Although many Americans supported the war in its early years, the Quakers were not alone in their activism against it. Instead, the Vietnam War Era witnessed the formation and improved organization of countless groups dedicated to nonviolent activism and antiwar agendas, and the Quakers worked closely with many of these organizations.

There is no shortage of historical research about the Vietnam War; however, to this day, historians remain divided on how they approach the United States' involvement.

A great deal of research focuses on the antiwar movement and peace activism in the

¹ Frank Newport and Joseph Carroll, "Iraq Versus Vietnam: A Comparison of Public Opinion," accessed November 14, 2012, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/18097/Iraq-Versus-Vietnam-Comparison-Public-Opinion.aspx>.

United States. Books such as Fred Halstead's *Out Now: A Participants Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War* (1978), and David S. Surrey's *Choice of Conscience: Vietnam Era Military and Draft Resisters in Canada* (1982) were written soon after the war by academics with personal involvement in the antiwar movement and demonstrate one perspective.² While these historians do not provide inaccurate information, their research clearly focuses on the controversial nature of the war and often argues that the U.S. government was wrong to become involved. That being said, their books provide incredibly detailed information about the participants of the antiwar movement, such as the Quakers.

During the 1990s, a small group of historians began writing about the war from a different perspective. Books such as Charles DeBenedetti and Charles Chatfield's *An American Ordeal* (1990), David W. Levy's *The Debate Over Vietnam* (1991), Tom Well's *The War Within: America's Battle Over Vietnam* (1994), and Keith Beattle's *The Scar That Binds* (1998) take a broader approach—examining the antiwar movement but also exploring the larger historical context of the war. It is interesting to note that recently there has been an increase in public interest about the Vietnam War, which many members of the popular media have likened to the United States' involvement in the Iraq War.³

A thorough understanding about how the Vietnam War came to be is critical to understanding why so many individuals, including the Quakers, took such a strong stance against it. The conflict behind the Vietnam War began long before U.S. involvement. During the 1850s, France colonized the region currently known as Vietnam. In the first

² Please see the annotated bibliography for the specific perspectives and general content of each text.

³ Mark Moyar, "Vietnam: Historians at War," *Academic Questions* 21, no. 1 (2008): 37.

few decades of the twentieth century, the Vietnamese made several attempts at independence; however, none were successful. World War II caused several influential power shifts that resulted in a Japanese occupation of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. In 1941, a group of communists and socialists formed the League for the Independence of Vietnam (Vietminh). With weapons supplied by the U.S., they took a stand against the Japanese and freed a northern part of the region. Additionally, the group established a new government to represent the newly founded Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and issued a Declaration of Independence in 1945.⁴

Unfortunately, many European nations were unwilling to recognize the new republic. France, unwilling to relinquish its control of the region, launched a military attack in 1946 that resulted in the deaths of more than six thousand people.⁵ Since the United States was engaged in the Cold War and concerned about containing communism, they switched their support to the French, who were defeated by the Vietminh in May 1954.⁶ Soon after this defeat, representatives from the United States, Cambodia, the People's Republic of China, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, France, Laos, the Viet Minh, and the State of Vietnam met in Geneva and made arrangements for the involved parties to sign a peace treaty—a document that ultimately divided Vietnam into two separate regions. While many hoped that a 1956 election would reunite the nation, the United States interfered once more and installed Ngo Dinh Diem, a close friend of the U.S. and puppet leader. At the encouragement of the U.S. government, Diem began publicly denouncing Communism in 1955 and arresting anyone ever associated with the

⁴ David L. Anderson, *The Vietnam War* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 12.

⁵ Sidney Lens, *Vietnam: A War on Two Fronts* (New York: Lodestar Books, 1990), 8.

⁶ John Prados, *Vietnam: The History of an Unwinnable War 1945-1975* (University Press of Kansas, 2009), 26–27.

Vietminh. In response, guerilla fighters quietly assembled resistance throughout the nation, formed the National Liberation Front (NLB), and began coordinating attacks. The NLB quickly gained the support of the people and considerable power. By the 1964 presidential election, both Republican candidate Barry Goldwater and Democrat candidate Lyndon B. Johnson advocated increasing U.S. presence and involvement.⁷

A great deal of the Quakers' early activism worked to combat one especially controversial element of the Vietnam War—the draft. Overall, twenty five percent of the total U.S. military force—over six hundred thousand men—were draftees, and they came to represent about thirty percent of all combat deaths in Vietnam.⁸ Because the draft affected so many men and families, the issue quickly gained a national platform. In particular, activists expressed concerns about its discriminatory nature. The draft used a lottery system to attempt fairness; however, exemptions existed for men attending college or graduate school, with diagnosed medical issues (which required access to a physician), from religious backgrounds that forbid military participation, and/or with dependent spouses.⁹ Many men from the middle and upper classes escaped conscription by utilizing one of these options. As a result, the draft disproportionately targeted men who were uneducated, poor, and/or of racial minorities. Some data suggests, “eighty percent of the US soldiers in Vietnam were from poor or working-class backgrounds.”¹⁰ In 1973, Robert McNamara, the previous U.S. Secretary of Defense, defended the socio-economic break-down of the lottery system, stating,

⁷ Lens, *Vietnam: A War on Two Fronts*, 19.

⁸ “Sobering Statistics,” *National Vietnam Veteran’s Foundation*, accessed February 17, 2013, <http://www.nationalvietnamveteransfoundation.org/statistics.htm>.

⁹ David S. Surrey, *Choice of Conscience: Vietnam Era Military and Draft Resisters in Canada* (Massachusetts: Praeger Special Studies, 1982), 34–42.

¹⁰ Anderson, *The Vietnam War*, 49.

“The poor of America have not had the opportunity to earn their fair share of this nation’s abundance, but they can be given an opportunity to serve in their country’s defense and they can be given an opportunity to return to civilian life with skills and aptitudes which for them and their families will reverse the downward spiral of decay.”¹¹

Ignoring the altogether offensive nature of this statement, it is important to note that many of the aforementioned men were killed in Vietnam and therefore unable to bring their new “skills” home to their families and communities. Furthermore, the combat veterans fortunate enough to return home alive were often subjected to the judgment and criticism of a confused and frustrated American public.

Although they were often exempt from military service or combat positions due to their religious convictions, many Quakers still considered the legislation unjust. In *Chance and Circumstance: The Draft, The War, and The Vietnam Generation*, a Quaker named Matt Morris reflects, “The draft board said that since I was a declared Quaker they were willing to exempt me...I felt that even though I qualified, there were people whose feelings were as sincere as mine who could not. If I were to cop out and take the exemption, I would be leaving them in the lurch. This would have been unethical.”¹² Instead, he went to prison. Quakers with similar concerns turned their attention to helping others avoid military service. Throughout the 1960s, they provided “draft counseling” to thousands of young men across the nation. Some of the men that they helped were characteristic pacifists who disagreed with all war on principle; however, other men were comfortable with the concept of war but considered participation in Vietnam unethical.¹³ These men typically believed that the United States’ involvement in

¹¹ Surrey, *Choice of Conscience: Vietnam Era Military and Draft Resisters in Canada*, 41.

¹² Lawrence M. Baskir and William A. Strauss, *Chance and Circumstances: The Draft, The War, and The Vietnam Generation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 93.

¹³ *Ibid*, 38.

the conflict was unjustified. Regardless, the Quakers' long history of exemption status placed them in an excellent position to advise others.

Another early form of Quaker Vietnam anti-war activism involved writing letters to government officials, newspapers, and other influential leaders—including Martin Luther King, Jr. As with the draft counseling, individuals and local meetings coordinated these campaigns. Though well-intentioned, the localized movements of the late 1950s and early 60s had limited impact. After all, though it is possible that the letters influenced the recipients, they failed to draw significant attention to the anti-war movement or result in changes in policy and response.

The Quaker anti-war movement gained considerable momentum with the formal support of the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL). Founded by Quakers in 1943 in response to World War II, the FCNL is a registered lobby group dedicated to informing Quakers about social justice issues and testifying before Congress.¹⁴ In 1966, they initiated an “Emergency Project” to end the war in Vietnam.¹⁵ The FCNL was initially optimistic about this undertaking and decided to “dip into its reserves...and pull out all the stops.”¹⁶ With Quaker David Hartsough leading the project in D.C., the FCNL provided American Quaker with a united front and incredible influence. In a recent article, Hartsough reflected about his involvement, stating:

“As part of that work, we worked hard to help Congress and others in Washington to understand the truth about what was going on in Vietnam. The truth was hard to find from anything coming out of the Administration -- or even from the mainstream media, especially in the early years of the war. Later, we worked with

¹⁴ Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 264.

¹⁵ Tom Wells, *The War Within: America's Battle Over Vietnam* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1994), 76.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

sympathetic members of Congress to introduce legislation: in particular the McGovern-Hatfield amendment to cut off funding for the war.”¹⁷

Though it failed to end the Vietnam War within the anticipated three months of intense lobbying, the FCNL influenced many components of Quaker activism during the remainder of the war.

“Wednesdays in Washington” was one of the FCNL’s most successful projects of the Vietnam War Era. The program, which received national attention, brought individuals from across the United States to Washington, D.C. to learn about the problematic nature of the Vietnam War and to meet with their representatives to discuss the importance of peace. Upon returning to their own communities, these individuals continued their campaigns by speaking with their families, friends, and religious communities about their experiences. In this way, the FCNL spread activism and awareness across the nation. Furthermore, the program, which had a religious focus, did not just attract Quakers. According to a 1967 newspaper article published by the Associated Press, the weekly events involved “14 other Christian and Jewish groups,” in addition to Friends.¹⁸ The program’s ecumenical participation illustrates the Quakers’ leadership role in the anti-war movement and their eagerness to cooperate with other peace organizations. Finally, the influential nature of the FCNL and their “Wednesdays in Washington” program is best-demonstrated by their numerous appearances in reports by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). These reports chronicle the activities of the program and indicate the government was aware of their influence.

¹⁷ Prior to this time, the anti-war movement was more of a grassroots effort by individual meetings. David Hartsough, “Reflections on Organizing to Stop the US War Against Vietnam,” *AFSC Peace Work Magazine* (May 2005).

¹⁸ Associated Press, “Conscience-Conscious Quakers Face Dilemma Over Vietnam,” *The Morning Record*, July 29, 1967.

In addition to sending concerned citizens to meet with their representatives, the FCNL organized countless meetings between government officials and Quaker representatives and held monthly informational sessions for them.¹⁹ Eugene McCarthy, George McGovern, and Robert Kennedy were among the first senators to support ending the Vietnam War. They worked closely with the FCNL, argued the necessity of ending the war before Congress, and publicly denounced U.S. involvement. Kennedy, in particular, took a strong stance against the war. While it is impossible to know how much his own Catholic faith affected his position, Kennedy's regular inclusion of religion in his speeches about the war indicates that he saw a tie between the two. For example, in a conversation with Ronald Reagan, who was governor of California at the time, Kennedy argued, "I don't think we're automatically correct or automatically right and morality is on our side or God is automatically on our side because we're involved in a war."²⁰ Similarly, in his final speech on the matter, Kennedy told the Senate, "Are we like the God of the Old Testament that we can decide, in Washington, D.C., what cities, what towns, what hamlets in Vietnam are going to be destroyed? Do we accept that? I do not think we have to. I think we can do something about it."²¹ These faith-based similes offer a sharp criticism of the United States' increasing global involvement and militarism.

Unfortunately, not everyone was as receptive to the FCNL's demands. In 1969, five Quakers from the organization met with Richard Nixon's U.S. National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger in hopes of encouraging Nixon, a fellow Quaker, to end the

¹⁹ Wells, *The War Within: America's Battle Over Vietnam*, 76.

²⁰ Robert F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, and Charles Collingwood, Town Meeting of the World, CBS Television and Radio Networks, May 15, 1967.

²¹ "Robert F. Kennedy - John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum," *Key Speeches of Robert F. Kennedy*, accessed December 1, 2012, <http://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/The-Kennedy-Family/Robert-F-Kennedy.aspx>.

war. From the Quakers' perspective, the meeting was a failure. According to Hartsough, "They [Kissinger and the other representatives] just said, they're 'completely committed to continuing this war...The 'secret plan' is to escalate the war.'"²² While the Quakers may not have been able persuade Nixon to change his mind, their efforts were not in vain. With the help of supporting senators, they maintained pressure on Congress and kept the Vietnam War in the attention of the nation.

The American Friends' Service Committee (AFSC) was another organization responsible for Quaker activism during the Vietnam War. Originally founded by American Quakers in 1917 to help conscientious objectors, the AFSC maintained their commitment to peace activism and recovery efforts after the war ended.²³ In 1947, the organization's dedication was rewarded with a Nobel Peace Prize. While many factors have contributed to their long-term success, the AFSC's willingness to work with other organizations has certainly been influential. During the Vietnam War the AFSC demonstrated this openness by collaborating with Students for a Democratic Society, the Black Panthers, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Catholic Worker Movement, the War Resisters' League, and the Committee for Nonviolent Action on a variety of events.²⁴ Though some AFSC members expressed concern about the secular and/or radical nature of some of the organizations, most Quakers supported the alliances.

The AFSC's impressive networking capabilities enabled them to organize massive protests in Washington, D.C. They believed that raising awareness was an important form of activism that would encourage more people to participate in their

²² Wells, *The War Within: America's Battle Over Vietnam*, 295.

²³ Charles Chatfield, *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 22.

²⁴ Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 176. and Melvin Small and William D. Hoover, *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 38.

movement and considered it a priority. Over time, their protests evolved. Rather than just crowds with signs, the AFSC designed events that were intended to be more meaningful. For example, members of the AFSC began reading off the names of the dead from the steps of the Capitol in 1969. Early participants faced arrest; however, the participation of several congressmen provided the protesters with both protection and national attention.²⁵ Similarly, in 1971, members of the AFSC assisted the Catholic Worker Movement in creating a visual representation of the death toll—using human subjects to illustrate the losses.²⁶

In 1973, members of the AFSC participated in the “People’s Blockade”—a form of direct action that utilized small boats to prevent large military ships from leaving for Vietnam. According to Hartsough, the event was considered a success. He recalls,

“When we started paddling the police came over and threatened us with criminal conspiracy—twenty years in prison—if we didn’t leave the area. You’d look up at these docks, and all these cartons had [anti]personal bombs, napalm, just everything [in them]... So I looked up at that, and then I looked back at this guy, and I said, ‘Thank you for warning us, but if these bombs leave for their destination, it’s going to be much worse than twenty years in prison.’ As the ship approached us, [seven] of the sailors jumped overboard into the ocean and then started swimming toward us. It was speaking with their lives. And the national network news and *The New York Times* were all there in their helicopters taking all this in. By that night it was all around the world.”²⁷

Though unable to stop all the bombs from being deployed to Vietnam, the Quakers recognized the devastating power of each one. The AFSC considered every single life saved worth their efforts. Their brave and somewhat radical activism caught the attention of both those present and the media. The knowledge that others were opposed to the

²⁵ Wells, *The War Within: America’s Battle Over Vietnam*, 296.

²⁶ Chatfield, *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era*, 322.

²⁷ Wells, *The War Within: America’s Battle Over Vietnam*, 539–540.

bombing of innocent civilians gave the sailors the courage they needed to act on their own beliefs, and the media broadcast these shows of conviction around the world.

The AFSC's well-attended protests and direct action events represented only half of their response to the Vietnam War. The other half of their involvement occurred simultaneously, albeit thousands of miles away. The fighting that occurred during the Vietnam War is an example of what historians refer to as total warfare—"a military conflict in which the contenders are willing to make any sacrifice in lives and other resources to obtain a complete victory."²⁸ As such, Vietnamese civilians were affected in countless ways. According to recent estimates, there were "2 million civilian deaths in each of the regroupment zones of Vietnam."²⁹ Some of these deaths were caused by the use of napalm, which has the capacity to severely injure or kill those affected.³⁰ Fearing for their lives, orphaned, or injured, more than one million Vietnamese civilians left their homes and moved to refugee camps. The AFSC reached out to these refugees by providing much-needed humanitarian aid to South Vietnam.

This aid took on several forms. As early as 1966, AFSC members David and Mary Stickney moved to South Vietnam to provide assistance and organized "a day-care center and classes in hygiene, nutrition, and sewing" for a camp in the Quang Ngai province.³¹ A year later, they opened a rehabilitation center in hopes of helping the refugees. According to those employed there, the situation on the ground was overwhelming. Professional therapist Dot Weller recalled,

²⁸ "Total War," Encyclopaedia Britannica, accessed December 2, 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/600428/total-war>.

²⁹ Prados, *Vietnam: The History of an Unwinnable War 1945-1975*, 531.

³⁰ Navroz Mody, "Chemical Warfare in Vietnam," *Economic and Political Weekly* 5, no. 24 (June 13, 1970): 948, doi:10.2307/4360110.

³¹ Wells, *The War Within: America's Battle Over Vietnam*, 89.

“Hygienic conditions were just indescribable. One of the things we first saw was a pile in the back of the hospital that was literally undulating with maggots and worms and...castoff dressings and amputated parts...right next to a well. In a shed in the back, bodies were stacked up like cordwood. And there wasn't enough of anything. Bandages were worn for weeks and finally just turned over because there were no new bandages. In essence, the patients...really were getting very, very little treatment...If they survived, probably it was 10 percent due to medical care and 90 percent due to luck.”³²

The conditions that they encountered were far worse than anything that the Quakers had ever anticipated. Though the situation in the rehabilitation center was appalling, the team did everything they could to help the refugees they encountered and to train local physicians. It was the most direct form of activism they had engaged in during the Vietnam War up until this point. Furthermore, their situation enabled them to provide information about victims of the war to visiting journalists and contacts in the United States—resulting in additional opposition to the war.³³

Though their work in South Vietnam was impressive, the Quakers were just getting started. Not satisfied with only providing aid to the south, the AFSC applied to the U.S. government the same year for a license to send medical aid to civilian victims in the north through the North Vietnamese Red Cross.³⁴ The authorities rejected their request; however, the members of the AFSC were not discouraged. Instead, several members of the AFSC left the organization and founded their own—the Quaker Action Group (QAG). This group invited interested donors to send money to the Canadian Friends Service Committee—who were able to send it to North Vietnam.³⁵ Prohibited by the government, the U.S. Postal Service often refused to send the donations even that far;

³² Ibid., 165–166.

³³ Ibid., 168.

³⁴ Ibid., 89.

³⁵ Ibid.

however, the Quakers found ways to work around the system. According to Hartsough, “It [was] like the underground railroad. You [got] the stuff there one way or another.”³⁶

The Quakers’ desire to help North Vietnamese did not go unnoticed by the press.

Instead, they made headlines all across the United States—providing them with free advertising and additional support. *The New York Times* even published a series of articles chronicling the Quaker’s attempts at providing aid. Some of the headlines were fairly negative, for example “Quakers Take Bandages, Possibly for Foe, To Canada,” “Quakers Defying U.S. on Aid to North Vietnam,” and “Indiana Quakers Oppose Aid Sent to North Vietnam;” however, others demonstrated much more balanced reporting, including “Quakers Ready for Voyage” and “Quakers Will Aid North Vietnamese.”

Ultimately, the Quakers’ justification of their behavior was fairly simple; according to one Connecticut Quaker, “There is a feeling of horror and guilt over what is happening in Vietnam. We see our nation becoming ever more deeply entrapped in an intolerable situation.”³⁷ Challenged by their consciences, they decided to act.

Other radical Quaker activism of the anti-war movement was far less popular in the minds of fellow Quakers and the public due to its ineffectiveness and extreme nature. On November 2, 1965, Norman Morrison—a Quaker graduate of The College of Wooster—immolated himself on the steps of the Pentagon.³⁸ The highly publicized tragedy made headlines across the nation. Part of the event’s horror was the presence of Morrison’s three-year-old daughter, whom he either dropped or passed off at the last

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ The Associated Press, “New England Quakers Plan to Send Aid to North Vietnam,” *The New York Times*, August 26, 1967.

³⁸ Fred Halstead, *Out Now!* (New York: Monad Press, 1978), 313.

minute.³⁹ In *Held in the Light: Norman Morrison's Sacrifice for Peace and His Family's Journey of Healing*, Morrison's wife offers one perspective on her late husband's decision. She explains,

“I want to say at the outset that I know that Norman Morrison was not insane that day, although he did what appeared to some to be an act of temporary insanity. I want to say, too, that I do not believe he was a saint, though some people here and many in Vietnam consider him such. I think the deepest truth about Norman is that he was a person who cared—deeply, passionately, and finally desperately—about the things he believed in: peace and nonviolence, human rights, and an equitable sharing of the world's resources.”⁴⁰

In her reflection, Morrison's wife reveals her late husband's absolute desperation to draw attention to the suffering of the Vietnamese civilians. Ironically, in his effort to relieve the suffering of others, he caused his own family and loved ones immense confusion and grief. Morrison's motivations are further explained by a letter he mailed to his wife right before his death. He writes,

“Dearest Anne, Please don't condemn me... For weeks, even months, I have been praying only that I be shown what I must do. This morning with no warning I was shown, as clearly as I was shown that Friday in August 1955 that you would be my wife... At least I shall not plan to go without my child, as Abraham did. Know that I love thee but must act for the children in the Priest's village. Norman.”⁴¹

The reference to Abraham indicates that Morrison intentionally brought his child with him that day and previously considered what her role would be in the events of the day. Though he did not go through with killing his daughter, it is unclear whether he had planned to. With his letter, Morrison enclosed the newspaper article that he references, which described the destruction of a church and the deaths of countless children. As such, while it is easy to criticize Morrison's extreme actions, it is important to

³⁹ Wells, *The War Within: America's Battle Over Vietnam*, 58.

⁴⁰ Anne Morrison Welsh, *Held in the Light: Norman Morrison's Sacrifice for Peace and His Family's Journey of Healing* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2008), xi–xii.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 36.

simultaneously recognize his compassion and conviction; he clearly thought he was doing the right thing. Perhaps he considered violence against oneself a lesser evil than violence against another—as was occurring with the war.

It is interesting to note that Morrison's immolation was not the only activism to receive criticism; although the Quakers' participation in the anti-war movement was largely accepted by U.S. Quakers, there were Quaker communities opposed to the involvement. Elton Trueblood, an evangelical Quaker from Iowa, was an influential critic of the Vietnam anti-war movement. A close friend of Nixon, Trueblood questioned the feasibility of pacifism and supported the United States' involvement in the war; his career as a writer provided him with a platform to voice his concerns, which resonated with many Pastoral Quakers.⁴² These individuals were highly critical of the AFSC and believed the organization to be radical. In 1967, *The New York Times* published an article about a concerned group of 282 Quakers in Indiana who stood with Trueblood and strongly opposed the North Vietnam aid. In the article, Pastor Jack O. Pierce states, "Nobody speaks for the whole of Quakerdom and a small minority, mostly in the East, seems to get all of the publicity."⁴³ While meetings across the United States were expressing support for the Vietnam anti-war movement, Pierce's meeting issued a resolution demonstrating, "basic support to the United States Government in its actions to protect the free people of the world from Communism, at home, in Vietnam and elsewhere."⁴⁴ In reality, Pierce and his meeting were in the minority. A more widespread concern among Quakers was the number of weekly meetings being monopolized by anti-

⁴² Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 207.

⁴³ "Indiana Quakers Oppose Aid Sent to North Vietnam," *New York Times*, September 15, 1967, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/117549140/abstract?accountid=15131>.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

war rants and “denunciation of U.S. policy.”⁴⁵ While they did not support the war, these Quakers were concerned about the lack of time spent on other spiritual matters.

Though the American Quakers failed to end the Vietnam War as quickly as they had expected, they did succeed in obtaining the attention of the U.S. government—who responded in a variety of ways. First of all, they had the FBI closely monitor the Quakers and their anti-war activism. As evidence of such, there are countless documents about the AFSC and Quaker activism in the FBI’s online archives. Additionally, the U.S. government arrested hundreds of Quakers for their participation in nonviolent protests outside the White House and around Washington, D.C. They also refused to provide the Quakers with the necessary license to send medical aid to North Vietnam, forbade post offices from mailing their packages, and attempted to prevent them from sending the aid through Canada.⁴⁶ President Nixon, though a Quaker himself, was continuously frustrated by the activism of the Quakers; consequently, he searched for a “communist” presence within the movement to discredit it and manipulated the numbers provided to the press before protests so turnouts would appear low.⁴⁷ While these responses were likely not reassuring at the time, they illustrate the significance and power of the American Quakers. In order to garner so much attention and concern, their activism must have been fairly effective.

Given their diverse forms of activism and many collaborators, it is easy to forget that the Quakers were a religious group whose faith motivated them to participate in the Vietnam anti-war movement. That being said, overlooking this detail is a huge mistake. After all, it was the Quakers’ interpretation and application of the “Inner Light” philosophy that

⁴⁵ Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 75.

⁴⁶ Wells, *The War Within: America’s Battle Over Vietnam*, 90.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 315 and 355.

motivated them to act in the ways that they did. This action solidified their reputation as leaders in the global struggle for peace and justice, revitalized their commitment to these issues, and further evolved their religious beliefs. While it is possible many Quakers would have participated as individuals in the anti-war movement without the religious motivation, it is unlikely they would have the same organization or momentum.

CONCLUSION

Activists around the world respect and admire the American Quakers' historic involvement in social justice and peace movements. This reverence is well-deserved. For more than three hundred years, Quakers have challenged injustice, fought for the oppressed, and worked tirelessly to bring about healing in a broken world. While their history is certainly impressive and full of triumphs, it is important to recognize the many challenges that the Quakers have faced along the way. After all, in the wise words of another activist, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., "Change does not roll in on the wheels of inevitability but comes through continuous struggle."¹

American Quakers were familiar with struggle from the very beginning of their activism. Despite their modern reputation as abolitionists, many Quakers were hesitant to participate in efforts to abolish slavery in the United States during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Fortunately, a small but persistent minority argued that the trade and practice of slavery were incompatible with the Quaker faith. Once this interpretation of their beliefs became more widely accepted, rejecting slavery was a natural step for the faithful. This evolution of belief and practice is not unusual in the history of American Quakers. When the Alabama Quakers left the United States for Costa Rica, they underwent a similar evolution of faith and action—as did the Quaker activists of the Vietnam Era. As their beliefs evolved, their behavior changed; as their behavior changed, their beliefs evolved. Consequently, the American Quakers' commitment to service, justice, peace, and equality is a product of how their predecessors interpreted their faith to address social concerns.

¹ Martin Luther King Jr., "I See the Promised Land" (Speech, Memphis, Tennessee, April 3, 1968).

Today, the American Quakers' faith continues to motivate them to act and address the intricate social justice concerns of the modern world. While members of an individual meeting can focus on whatever topics they like, the work of the AFSC is fairly representative of the topics that Quakers care about. These issues are often complicated problems with ambitious solutions that require international cooperation—indicating a continuation of the Quakers' willingness to collaborate. For example, Quakers are currently working to end the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan by lobbying Congress, providing opportunities for activism, and creating awareness campaigns. Using similar techniques, they are also working to eliminate nuclear weapons, reform immigration policies, and respond to humanitarian crises worldwide.²

American Quakers are also fighting injustice within the United States. One of their current campaigns is focused on reforming the U.S. criminal justice and prison system—a broad and multi-tiered issue. Part of the Quakers' response tackles problems far from the barbed wire, orange uniforms, and crowded cells of prisons. For example, two main focuses of their campaign address the causes of crime and how to prevent it from occurring. Specifically, they are working to improve high school graduation rates, increase the minimum wage, and create programs that build healthy communities. The Quakers are also working to address who ends up in prison and the issue of racism within the criminal justice system. According to a 2002 study, “an African American male has a 28 percent chance of going to state or federal prison in the course of his lifetime, compared to 6.6 percent of Hispanic males and 4.4 percent of white males.”³ Obviously,

² “Our Work,” *American Friends Service Committee*, <http://afsc.org/our-work>.

³ Laura Magnani and Harmon L. Wray, *Beyond Prisons: A New Interfaith Paradigm for Our Failed Prison System* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 35.

these numbers are troubling for a variety of reasons, and the Quakers are working to lower them across the board.

American Quakers are also fighting injustices that affect the lives of the men, women, and children who are already serving prison sentences. In particular, Quakers across the nation are speaking out against the increasing privatization of U.S. prisons; they argue that the corporations' desire to profit encourages lobbying that causes higher conviction rates, longer sentences, and lower quality facilities.⁴ Naturally, there are people in this country who pose a threat to others and need to spend some time in prison; however, the Quakers do not want these individuals or their sentences unfairly determined by financial incentives.

Additionally, since the Quakers believe there is an "Inner Light" within every individual, they are invested in making sure everyone is treated humanely—regardless of their crime(s). For this reason, Quakers are currently taking a stand against the rampant use of isolation, torture, and the death penalty in U.S. prisons. They argue that isolation, defined as "confining prisoners to their cells for twenty-three or twenty-four hours a day," is a form of torture that can cause mental illness while failing to improve behavior or serve as a deterrent.⁵ American Quakers are also concerned about the prevalence of other types of torture. In 2011, the Healing Justice Program of the American Friends Service Committee of the Northeast Region published a study entitled, "Torture in United States Prisons: Evidence of Human Rights Violations." The study incorporates the stories of several dozen inmates from across the country. In their accounts, the men and women detail the torture they encountered while behind bars—ranging from horrific

⁴ Ibid., 88-90.

⁵ Ibid., 95-97.

living conditions to intentional bodily harm.⁶ American Quakers criticize this treatment on both moral and religious grounds and work diligently to improve prisoner treatment. Finally, the Quakers' stance against the death penalty is perhaps the least surprising—considering their pacifist views that condemn any type of violence.

Without a doubt, the American Quakers' have had a significant influence on the social issues affecting their nation over the past few hundred years, and they continue to make their voices heard today. Other religious organizations and community groups might learn a great deal by examining the successful techniques utilized by the Quakers and implementing similar approaches. All and all, it will be interesting to see what the future holds for the Quakers and how their faith and activism will continue to evolve.

⁶ Bonnie Kerness and Beth Breslaw, "Torture in United States Prisons: Evidence of Human Rights Violations" (Northeast Region AFSC: Healing Justice Program, 2011).

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The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) was founded by American Quakers in 1917 to coordinate efforts to help young conscientious objectors. Since its founding, it has provided leadership to countless social justice movements in the United States and around the world. To some degree, the well-known organization represents the Quakers’ historic commitment to serving their neighbors and working to create a better, more-just world. On its website, the AFSC has a detailed explanation of their past involvement and also a small archive of documents, photos, and videos. Unfortunately, they do not have very much information on the anti-war campaign of the Vietnam Era or the Quakers of Monteverde, Costa Rica; however, the site is still helpful because it places the activism in the perspective of a broader historical context.

Anderson, David L. *The Vietnam War*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005.

David L. Anderson is a history professor at the California State University; his research examines the Vietnam War, the Cold War, and U.S. military history. In *The Vietnam War*, Anderson examines both the past and present debates over the Vietnam War. Additionally, he takes a special interest in the role of each of the wartime presidents and how their decisions influenced the conflict. As evidence, Anderson references other respected Vietnam historians and includes information from government and military documents. This source is useful because it provides a basic history of the Vietnam War in an articulate manner. Because it does not focus strictly on antiwar activism, it is able to provide information not found in some of the other books. It has helped me to gain a better understanding of the existing conflict prior to U.S. involvement.

Barbour, Hugh S., and J. William Frost. *The Quakers*. New York: Greenwood Pub Group, 1988.

Hugh S. Barbour was a Religious Studies professor at Earlham College; his research focused primarily on Quaker communities and their intertwined history with the school. J. William Frost taught in the History and Religions departments at Swarthmore College; his specialties included the history of Quakers and peace studies. In *The Quakers*, Barbour and Frost provide a comprehensive history of the Society of Friends, beginning with George Fox and continuing through the twentieth century. Their portrayal does not shy away from some of the more controversial issues affecting Quakerism, including periods of division, opposition to abolition, and Quakers serving in the military. Throughout their book, Barbour and Frost argue that Quakers have evolved over time to maintain a “peculiar relation to the human world.” As evidence, they provide maps, timelines, primary sources, and biographies.

Baskir, Lawrence M., and William A. Strauss. *Chance and Circumstances: The Draft, The War, and The Vietnam Generation*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.

Lawrence M. Baskir served as the Chief Executive Officer for the Department of the Army under President Ford and later became the Chief Judge of the United States Court of Federal Claims. William A. Strauss worked as the Director of Planning and Management for the Clemency Board; he later worked for the U.S. Department of Energy. In *Chance and Circumstance: The Draft, The War, and The Vietnam Generation*, Baskir and Strauss examine the lives of the eligible men who chose not to fight in the war. While their former careers provided them with some information, Baskir and Strauss worked closely with a team of historians to write this book. The book is not traditional in the sense that it lacks a clear thesis; however, it provides large quantities of usable statistics. Additionally, it includes discussions about the Quakers' exemption status, reasons for opposing the war, and collaboration with other religious groups. It has been highly rated by other historians.

Birkel, Michael L. *Silent Witness: The Quaker Tradition*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2004.

Michael L. Birkel is a professor at Earlham School of religion in Indiana. He is a member of the Religious Society of Friends and focuses his research on the history of the religion. He has written several books which focus largely on the Quakers' approach to the Bible, Quaker leaders, and Quaker practices. In *Silent Witness: The Quaker Tradition*, Birkel examines both the religious practices and spiritual beliefs of American Quakers. Specifically, he focus on the role of the Inner Light and the Quaker style of worship. Birkel argues that the spiritual practices of Quakers are unique but also applicable to other faith traditions. This book is valuable because it breaks down the big, open-ended ideas into smaller, more concrete definitions.

“Colonization: The African-American Mosaic (Library of Congress Exhibition).”
<http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/african/afam002.html>.

The Library of Congress online exhibition on “The African-American Mosaic” includes an impressive section on efforts to colonize former African American slaves. The website begins with a comprehensive history of colonization efforts. In particular, there is a special focus on the American Colonization Society (ACS), its mission, successes, and failures. The exhibition also includes a selection of primary source documents that range from a page from *The African Intelligencer* to treaties between the ACS and African kings. This exhibition's scholarly presentation of reliable information about colonization efforts, as well as its passing mention of Quaker involvement, make it incredibly helpful.

DeBenedetti, Charles, and Charles Chatfield. *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990.

Charles DeBenedetti was a history professor at the University of Toledo for almost twenty years; his research focused on peace activism and the Vietnam War. Charles Chatfield was the 2007 recipient of the Peace History Society's Lifetime Achievement Award and taught at both Swarthmore College and Wittenberg University; his research examined similar material. DeBenedetti was the primary author of *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era*; however, he died shortly before the book was finished. At his request, Chatfield completed the book and saw it through publication. In this book, DeBenedetti and Chatfield explore the events occurring in the United States during the Vietnam War. Specifically, they examine the antiwar movement. While the book lacks a strong thesis, it contains an extraordinary amount of information about the activism of this era. As evidence, the book contains photographs, newspaper and magazine articles, polls, interviews, and government documents. This book is especially useful because of its history of the American Friends Service Committee, examination of the types of pacifism, and documentation of Quaker activism.

Elliott, Errol T. *Quakers on the American Frontier: A History of the Westward Migrations, Settlements, and Developments of Friends on the American Continent*. 1st ed. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1969.

Errol T. Elliot was a Quaker who served as the president of William Penn College. Additionally, he was a prolific writer whose works examined the role of Quaker in Westward expansion and development. In *Quakers on the American Frontier: A History of the Westward Migrations, Settlements, and Developments of Friends on the American Continent*, Elliot examines a variety of topics ranging from constructing Quaker communities on the prairie to building relationships with Native Americans. However, this book is especially helpful because of its discussion of Quakers and their role in the Underground Railroad. Elliot provides a wealth of information about Vestal and Levi Coffin, who both operated schools for black children and aided those traveling along the Underground Railroad. Additionally, Elliot mentions how the Quakers were somewhat torn over the railroad and abolition. Ultimately, he argues that the frontier influenced Quakerism and its development.

Evans, Sterling. *The Green Republic: A Conservation History of Costa Rica*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999.

Sterling Evans is a history professor at the University of Oklahoma. His research examines the history of environmentalism, and he has written several books on the topic. In *The Green Republic: A Conservation History of Costa Rica*, Evans examines how Costa Rica developed such an impressive commitment to environmentalism. He argues that Costa Rica has one of the complex conservation networks in the world but also acknowledges that historians disagree about when it first appeared. As such, his book is divided into two parts which examine the history and future of conservation in Costa

Rica. This book is helpful because it provides a detailed account of the Quakers of Monteverde and their conservation efforts.

Filler, Louis. *Crusade Against Slavery: Friends, Foes, and Reforms, 1820-1860*. 2nd ed. Algonac, Michigan: Reference Publications, 1986.

Louis Filler was a professor of history and culture at Antioch College. During his lifetime, he wrote numerous books with topics ranging from muckrakers to social change to conservatism. In *Crusade Against Slavery: Friends, Foes, and Reforms*, Filler discusses the early history of abolition in the United States and emphasizes the Quakers' role as "the first group to take a stand on slavery." However, he also notes the influence of external organizations on the Quakers' abolitionist movement. As evidence, he mentions countless primary sources, including Ralph Sanford's "A Brief Examination of the Practice of Our Times," Benjamin Lay's "All Slavekeepers that Keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates," and John Woolman's "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes." One thing that stood out in this text was a story about Benjamin Lay kidnapping the children of fellow Quakers to prove his point about slavery; in my opinion, this story reveals the true radical nature of early abolitionists.

Goodman, Paul. *Of One Blood: Abolitionism and the Origins of Racial Equality*. 1st ed. Berkeley, California: The Regents of the University of California, 1998.

Before his death in 1995, Paul Goodman was a history professor at the University of California, Davis for over thirty years. His research focused primarily on the antebellum period of American history. In *Of One Blood: Abolitionism and the Origins of Radical Equality*, Goodman examines how Quaker individuals' opinions evolved and influenced the greater abolitionist movement. Specifically, he focuses on Anthony Benezet, William Lloyd Garrison, Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Theodore Weld, and Lucretia Mott. This inclusion of women creates space for a conversation about female participation in the movement and how the movement grew to address many feminist concerns. Additionally, Goodman's book discusses the complex attitudes of Quakers towards abolition; he argues that a number of external factors influenced the movement and were later adopted. In my opinion, this is easily the most helpful book discussing abolitionism and the role of Quakers.

Hamm, Thomas D. *The Quakers in America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Thomas D. Hamm is a history professor at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana. He has won numerous academic awards and fellowships. Additionally, Hamm has published five books and a number of articles. His research is focused primarily on the U.S. between 1789 and 1920, U.S. intellectual and religious history, and the Quakers. In *Quakers in America*, Hamm provides a brief history of Quakers in the United States, examines the diverse nature of contemporary Quakers, and comments on how they function as a community today. He argues that such incredible diversity, especially in terms of being programmed versus unprogrammed, raises important questions about what

it means to be a Quaker. This book will be really helpful as I examine the diversity of Quaker values and existing contradictions between belief and behavior.

Harrold, Stanley. *American Abolitionists*. 1st ed. New York: Longman, 2001.

Dr. Stanley Harrold is a history professor at South Carolina State University, where his research focuses on different angles of the Civil War. He has written eight books with topics ranging from abolition to pre-war conflict. In *American Abolitionists*, Harrold chronicles the history of the abolitionist movement in the United States—focusing specifically on the role of Quakers within the movement. He argues that the movement was empowered by its inclusion of other social justice issues and emphasizes gender, class, and economic inequality. As evidence, Harrold includes eighteen different primary source documents, which feature speeches by Angelina Grimké, John Woolman, and William Lloyd Garrison. This book will be useful because of its inclusion of slavery statistics, biographies of individual abolitionists, and primary source documents.

Harrold, Stanley. *The Abolitionists and the South, 1831-1861*. Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1999.

Dr. Stanley Harrold is a history professor at South Carolina State University, where his research focuses on different angles of the Civil War. He has written eight books with topics ranging from abolition to pre-war conflict. In *The Abolitionists and the South*, Harrold examines how the antislavery movement affected race and the Civil War. Throughout his book, Harrold highlights different approaches to abolition and argues that many historians misrepresent the role of Southern abolitionists. Furthermore, while emphasizing the roles of various individuals, he raises questions about whether abolition grew out of the South. This book is useful because it calls into question the popular view that Northerners were responsible for the abolition movement.

Harrold, Stanley. *The Rise of Aggressive Abolitionism: Addresses to the Slaves*. 1st ed. Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004.

Dr. Stanley Harrold is a history professor at South Carolina State University, where his research focuses on different angles of the Civil War. He has written eight books with topics ranging from abolition to pre-war conflict. In *The Rise of Aggressive Abolition: Addresses to the Slaves*, Harrold examines the influence of 1840's speeches by Gerrit Smith, William Lloyd Garrison, and Henry Highland Garret. He argues that the content of these addresses forces historians to reconsider Northern abolitionists and their approach to reform. Harrold believes that the radicals were actually more conservative than previously acknowledged and often worked within "existing institutions." This book is valuable because of Harrold's analysis of the three speeches (which are also included).

Helmuth, Chalene. *Culture and Customs of Costa Rica*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2000.

Chalene Helmuth is a Spanish Lecturer at Vanderbilt University. Her research examines Latin American culture in the United States, immigrant communities, and history, and she has published several books and journal articles on these topics. In *Cultures and Customs of Costa Rica*, Helmuth provides a concise history of Costa Rica—paying considerable attention to the nation’s social reform movements. Although the book lacks an argument to drive it, it is far more comprehensive than other histories of the nation. Furthermore, although Helmuth only mentions the Quakers in passing, her commentary on environmentalism in Costa Rica puts the Quakers’ efforts in perspective. All and all, this is a very helpful source.

Honey, Martha. *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development*. Washington: Island Press, 2008.

Martha Honey is the Executive Director of the Center on Ecotourism and Sustainable Development in Washington, DC. Her research focuses on ecotourism, and she has written two books on the subject and countless articles. In *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development*, Honey examines the impact of ecotourism on Costa Rica. She argues that while ecotourism is meant to help protect the environment by funding conservation efforts, it can also be hugely detrimental to a fragile ecosystem. As evidence, she references reports done by the World Bank, USAID, the World Wildlife Fund, and other NGOs. This text is beneficial because it provides a critical view of ecotourism and recognizes its flaws.

Jordan, Ryan P. *Slavery and the Meetinghouse*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007.

Ryan P. Jordan is currently a history professor at the University of California but has also lectured at Princeton University and Lafayette College. His research examines nineteenth-century American history. In *Slavery and the Meetinghouse: The Quakers and the Abolitionist Dilemma, 1820-1865*, Jordan discusses how the Quakers came to be a powerful force in the Antebellum movement of the Civil War Era and how their beliefs became action. At the same time, he examines the lives of the many Quakers who were not immediatists or even anti-slavery. Ultimately, Jordan argues that the Quaker’s stance on slavery was controversial, messy, and, at times, failed to represent the views of the larger community. As evidence, he includes a number of primary source documents and meeting statements. While the meandering style of this text makes it somewhat painful to read, the book succeeds in providing some valuable new material. For example, its discussion on the various types of Quakers is quite useful.

Kerness, Bonnie, and Beth Breslaw. "Torture in United States Prisons: Evidence of Human Rights Violations." Northeast Region AFSC: Healing Justice Program, 2011.

Bonnie Kerness is the Director of the American Friends Service Committee's Prison Watch project and editor of this text. Beth Breslaw served as Kerness' intern at Prison Watch and as the editorial assistant. "Torture in United States Prisons: Evidence of Human Rights Violations" was created by the Healing Justice Program of the American Friends Service Committee of the Northeast Region. The text examines key components—such as isolation, torture, and racism—of the U.S. criminal justice system that it considers unjust. As evidence, Kerness and Breslaw include information from the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment and numerous reflections by prisoners about their treatment while incarcerated. Ultimately, the piece argues that Quakers (and all other people of faith) have a responsibility to care for the men, women, and children who are incarcerated in our nation's prison system.

Lehoucq, Fabrice Edouard. "Class Conflict, Political Crisis and the Breakdown of Democratic Practices in Costa Rica: Reassessing the Origins of the 1948 Civil War." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 23, no. 1 : 37–60.

Fabrice Edouard Lehoucq is a Research Associate for Iván Molina at Indiana University. His research focuses on Latin American development, and he has written several books about the political history of Costa Rica. In "Class Conflict, Political Crisis, and the Breakdown of Democratic Practices in Costa Rica: Reassessing the Origins of the 1948 Civil War," Lehoucq examines the impact of the 1948 Costa Rican Civil War on the nation's democracy and development. He argues that a violent conflict was necessary to resolve the nation's issues and that the civil war was inevitable. Additionally, he claims that historians who argue to the contrary are simply ignoring evidence which does not support their beliefs. Despite these controversial views, Lehoucq's piece is incredibly helpful, because he relies on a thorough history of the conflict to support his claims. As it is difficult to find scholarly research on the civil war, this is extraordinarily helpful.

Lens, Sidney. *Vietnam: A War on Two Fronts*. New York: Lodestar Books, 1990.

Prior to his death, Sidney Lens was a historian, activist, prolific author, and senior editor of *The Progressive Magazine*. His research focused on American history during periods of war. In *Vietnam: A War on Two Fronts*, Lens provides a basic history of the Vietnam War with a special focus on antiwar activism in the United States. The book is a perfect introduction for those unfamiliar with the history of the war and its major players. It provides sufficient information about key figures, dates, and battles without overwhelming the reader with superfluous facts. While not a comprehensive history of the war, this book contains useful information about Quaker modes of activism, Staughton Lynd, and Norman R. Morrison.

Levy, David W. *The Debate Over Vietnam*. 2nd ed. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

David W. Levy is a history professor at the University of Oklahoma who has written and edited several books. In *The Debate Over Vietnam*, Levy examines the assumptions that modern Americans make regarding Vietnam War activism and provides information about the opposing groups. Presenting more than just a history, Levy discusses the different ideologies of the era and how they evolved over time. He argues that the nation's divided response is far from unique and that people are often conflicted about war; however, at the same time, he recognizes that a certain set of conditions existed during the Vietnam War that enabled an antiwar response unlike anything before it. The book is neatly organized into chapters discussing the consensus, contest, contentions, conflicts, and confrontations of the war. As evidence, it contains quite a few statistics from Gallup Polls. The book is informative, intentionally unbiased in its portrayal of war supporters and activists, and unique in its approach. Additionally, it addresses the role of Quakers quite proficiently.

Magnani, Laura, and Harmon L. Wray. *Beyond Prisons: A New Interfaith Paradigm for Our Failed Prison System*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006.

Laura Magnani is a Quaker who works for the American Friends Service Committee in California. Harmon L. Wray is the Director of the Vanderbilt Program in Faith and Criminal Justice. In *Beyond Prisons: A New Interfaith Paradigm for Our Failed Prison System*, Magnani and Wray examine the many failures of the United States' criminal justice and prison systems and explain why people of faith ought to be concerned. They argue that the time has come for a "new morality" in the United States and that the treatment of those who are at-risk or prisoners needs to be a part of this change. Rather than simply criticizing the problem, Magnani and Wray propose several detailed solutions regarding how to proceed and improve the systems. Although the book is clearly written from a Quaker perspective and with the support of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), it contains information that is relevant to individuals of all backgrounds. In particular, the book contains information from several recent studies about incarceration and recidivism rates.

Mody, Navroz. "Chemical Warfare in Vietnam." *Economic and Political Weekly* 5, no. 24 (June 13, 1970): 948–949.

Navroz Mody has written several articles for the Economic & Political Weekly. In "Chemical Warfare in Vietnam," Mody discusses the effects of the chemical weapons used by the United States during the Vietnam War. Specifically, he refers to "napalm, gases (CN, CS, DM) and herbicides—describing both the effects and history of each. Ultimately, Mody argues that, though the short-term effects are easy to see and understand, a great deal remains unknown about the long-term consequences of utilizing these chemicals. As evidence, he refers to other studies which found higher death rates in certain regions/individuals and deformities in some children. Unfortunately, the article

ends rather abruptly—without a recommendation or solution. Regardless, this article is useful because of its detailed explanation of napalm use during the Vietnam War.

Moyar, Mark. “Vietnam: Historians at War.” *Academic Questions* 21, no. 1 (2008): 37.

Mark Moyar is a military history who used to teach at the U.S. Marine Corps University; he has written several books and as well as numerous articles for the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Wall Street Journal*. In “Vietnam: Historians at War,” Moyar argues that both interest in and research about the Vietnam War has appeared in well-defined phases: the years immediately following the war, the eighties and nineties, and the post-9/11 era. As evidence, he references influential Vietnam War historians and corresponding events in U.S. history—which my primary sources complimented nicely. That being said, Moyar is clearly maintains a bias in support of the revisionist view, the U.S. government, and their participation in the Vietnam War. Furthermore, his disregard for historians with contrasting views is blatant, repetitive, and somewhat tiresome.

Nadkarni, Nalini M., and Nathaniel T. Wheelwright. *Monteverde: Ecology and Conservation of a Tropical Cloud Forest*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Nalini M. Nadkarni is a world-renowned environmentalist who teaches at The Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington. She is the founder and co-president of the International Canopy Network, an organization committed to researching and preserving the world’s forest canopies, has published several books, and given a TED talk on conservation. Nathaniel T. Wheelwright is a Professor of Natural Sciences at Bowdoin College. His research focuses on tropical ecology, and he has conducted extensive research in Monteverde and published six journal articles. In *Monteverde: Ecology and Conservation of a Tropical Cloud Forest*, Nadkarni and Wheelwright provide a history of the Monteverde conservation efforts from a scientific perspective. Their comprehensive text incorporates a mixture of biology and history—discussing everything from fern characteristics to the recent rise in ecotourism. Most importantly, the authors include a great deal of information about the Quakers and their role in the conservation efforts.

Prados, John. *Vietnam: The History of an Unwinnable War 1945-1975*. University Press of Kansas, 2009.

Dr. John Prados is a senior fellow at George Washington University where his research examines the United States’ military history and national security. Over the course of his career, he has published more than twenty books on these topics and others. In *Vietnam: The History of an Unwinnable War*, Prados examines the beginning, progression, and termination of the Vietnam War. He notes that other historians’ explanations of the war are limited by their failure to address why the U.S. military responded in the ways that it did and works to address this angle in his book. Additionally, Prados argues the role of South Vietnam is critical to the war and surprisingly overlooked; it receives a great deal

of his attention, as well. As evidence, Prados includes a number of primary source documents including intelligence and military records. This book's discussion on the Quakers' participation in the antiwar efforts as draft counselors is particularly useful, as is its mention of how the FBI targeted the American Friends Service Committee for their involvement.

Skidmore, Max J. *Ideologies: Politics in Action*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia, PA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1993.

Max J. Skidmore is a political science professor at the University of Missouri-Kansas City. He has served as a Distinguished Fulbright Lecturer, Senior Fulbright Scholar, and Thomas Jefferson Fellow. He has written numerous books with subjects ranging from former presidents to social security. More recently, he has had articles published in *The Economists' Voice*, *Poverty and Public Policy*, and *The Journal of Public Affairs*. In *Ideologies: Politics in Action*, Skidmore examines both unpopular and overlooked ideologies ranging from religion and feminism to anarchism and nonviolence. He argues that ideologies are fluid in nature—changing based on the situation and need; additionally, he makes a case for the persuasive power of ideology. Skidmore utilizes the Quakers as a case study on nonviolence—referring to their stances on slavery and the draft. While he applauds their position, Skidmore also acknowledges that their participation as abolitionists and pacifists is often oversimplified. This text will be extraordinarily useful as I examine how Quaker ideology has historically motivated swift responses to social justice concerns.

Small, Melvin, and William D. Hoover. *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1992.

Melvin Small serves as a History Professor at Wayne State University; his research examines President Nixon, the Vietnam War, and public opinion. William D. Hoover is a Professor Emeritus of History at The University of Toledo; his research examines the histories of Japan, China, and the Vietnam War. In *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement*, Small and Hoover examine the diverse participation of the antiwar movement. They argue that the movement's success was based in its inclusive attitude that welcomed all individuals and groups, no matter how radical, to participate. As evidence, they present the different participating groups and detail the types of activism they experimented with. Specific to my research, Small and Hoover discuss the role of the American Friends Service Committee and how Quakers assisted conscientious objectors.

Surrey, David S. *Choice of Conscience: Vietnam Era Military and Draft Resisters in Canada*. Massachusetts: Praeger Special Studies, 1982.

David S. Surrey is a Professor of Sociology, Urban Studies, and Africana Studies at St. Peter's College in New Jersey. *Choice of Conscience: Vietnam Era Military and Draft Resisters in Canada* is his completed study about U.S. men who moved to Canada to avoid serving in the Vietnam War. It is a compilation of history, interviews, government

documents, U.S. Census data and Gallup Polls. The book examines the history of mandatory military service in the U.S., how the nation's image was affected by the war, popular opinion about the war, what "types" of men moved to Canada, Canada's reaction to the immigrants, the men's reaction to their new place of residence, and how avoiding the draft shaped individuals' identities. In my opinion, this book is valuable to my project because of the statistical history of conscientious objectors that it contains.

Walvin, James. *The Quakers: Money and Morals*. Albemarle Street, London: John Murray, 1997.

James Walvin is a history professor at the University of York. Over the years, he has contributed to over thirty books both as an author and editor. Walvin's research focuses primarily on the slave trade and African Diaspora; however, he has also written about Quakers. In *The Quakers: Money and Morals*, Walvin examines the careers and economic investments of Quakers living in the United States and argues that their financial success has greatly influenced their behavior. He provides a thorough history of the Quakers and often examines angles overlooked by other historians—including the challenges associated with living simply while economically prosperous. Additionally, his discussion of "The Quaker Conscience" is especially fascinating. Overall, this book will provide both helpful background information about the Quakers and helpful explanations regarding their activism.

Wells, Tom. *The War Within: America's Battle Over Vietnam*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1994.

Tom Wells is a sociologist who received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. He has written three books and numerous articles about the Vietnam War and the 1960's. In *The War Within: America's Battle Over Vietnam*, Wells examines the antiwar activism present in the United States during the Vietnam War. Specifically, he looks at the individuals and organizations that provided leadership and how the movement evolved. He argues that people's frustrations about the failures of the political system caused the escalation of the antiwar movement and an increase in militancy. As evidence, Wells provides countless primary sources, including interviews, letters, meeting notes, government documents, and newspaper articles. This book contains a comprehensive history of antiwar activism and a great deal of information about Quaker participation. It breaks down the information chronologically, with different chapters dedicated to different years of the war. The book contains a wealth of information and incredible detail; however, it wastes no time getting to the point. This is easily the most helpful book I have found on this topic.

West, Jessamyn. *The Quaker Reader*. New York: The Viking Press, 1962.

Jessamyn West was an American writer who shared stories of her Quaker upbringing with the country in magazines such as *The Ladies Home Journal*, *the Atlantic Monthly*, and *Harper's*. Additionally, she wrote several novels prior to penning *The Quaker Reader*, a nonfiction account of Quakers living in the United States. In *The Quaker*

Reader, West provides a basic history with a special focus on the life of Levi Coffin and the Underground Railroad. She does not particularly make an argument; however, her book is useful because of its specificity and detailed chronology.

Yount, David. *How the Quakers Invented America*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007.

David Yount is the author of the nationally syndicated column “Amazing Grace” and nine books. In *How the Quakers Invented America*, Yount examines the silence, simplicity, and activism of Quakers in the United States and argues that they played a “critical role in the development of the American nation and character.” As examples, he references the abolition of slavery, various human rights issues, women’s suffrage, prison reform, humane education, and the creation of the American Friends Service Committee. This text, though somewhat one-sided, is a helpful overview of Quaker responses to social justice issues. It does an excellent job outlining the positions of different Quaker groups on specific issues including equality, tolerance, family life, marriage, education, wealth, and crime.

Primary Source Annotations

The Associated Press. “Conscience-Conscious Quakers Face Dilemma Over Vietnam.” *The Morning Record*. Greensboro, NC, July 29, 1967.

“Conscience-Conscious Quakers Face Dilemma Over Vietnam” was published by *The Morning Record* in Greensboro, North Carolina on July 29, 1967. The article describes the efforts of American Quakers to end the Vietnam War. Specifically, it discusses the recent Friends’ World Conference, Washington, D.C. protests and vigils, Quakers refraining from paying taxes that support the military, letter-writing campaigns, the “Wednesdays in Washington” program, the consequences for draft resisters, and North Vietnam medical aid. It is well-written and does not demonstrate animosity towards or support of the Quakers. Instead, it explains Quaker involvement, addresses conflicting viewpoints where necessary, and provides people with the facts they need to draw their own conclusions. This article is important because it demonstrates the national attention that the Quakers’ activism attracted.

Ceplair, Larry. *The Public Years of Sarah and Angelina Grimké*. Reprint Edition. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.

The Public Years of Sarah and Angelina Grimké is a collection of letters, essays, and speeches composed by the Grimké sisters. After denouncing slavery during the 1820’s, the Grimké sisters became respected Quaker abolitionist leaders. The sisters, who inspired hundreds of people with their anti-slavery speeches, were also incredibly talented writers. Consequently, some of their most impressive works are thoughtfully composed letters to friends and allies. In an 1837 letter entitled “Women Only Subject to God,” Sarah M. Grimké writes to Mary S. Parker, the President of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, about her concerns. Like many others, the letter uses Biblical

references to support Grimké's argument; however, this letter is significant because it ties equality with both race and gender—demonstrating the early presence of the women's rights movement within the abolitionism movement.

Edmundson, William, Personal Letter: Undated. As provided by: Barbour, Hugh S., and J. William Frost. *The Quakers*. New York: Greenwood Pub Group, 1988.

Unfortunately, only one line of William Edmundson's letter to the Rhode Island Quakers is provided in Hugh S. Barbour and J. William Frost's *The Quakers*; the rest is unknown. However, the few words provided are incredibly powerful, and details about Edmundson's life can help to create a more thorough understanding of the letter's message. Edmundson was a Quaker pastor from Ireland who moved to the United States in the 1680's; he wrote the letter soon after his arrival—though a specific date is not known (Barbour and Frost). The critical line of the letter states, "And many of you count it unlawful to make slaves of Indians, and if so, then why the blacks." With this statement, Edmundson indirectly establishes himself as a critic of slavery (or at least a critical thinker) and directly questions the Rhode Island Quakers' decision to enslave some individuals but not others. While the response of the recipients is unknown (it likely made reference to the mark of Cain), Edmundson's note is quite impressive and, according to some historians, establishes him as one of the first Quaker abolitionists.

Garrison, William Lloyd, *Address to People of Color* (Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1831).

William Lloyd Garrison, though not a Quaker himself, was an influential writer and abolitionist leader who worked with and influenced many American Quakers. Early on his career, Garrison worked with Benjamin Lundy and supported colonization efforts; however, he later became a strong advocate of immediatism. In his "Address to People of Color," Garrison reaches out to people's patriotic sensibilities by praising the impressive history of the United States, mocking the concept of "foreigner," and arguing that racism and slavery abandon the ideals of the founding fathers. Additionally, he controversially states that all men are equal—regardless of race. It is interesting to note that, as the title indicates, the letter is written to Black men and women. While this may seem rather insignificant, it actually makes the document unique. After all, even some of the most dedicated abolitionists failed to communicate with the people they were attempting to assist. During the nineteenth century, speaking on behalf of the slaves and speaking to them were entirely different things.

Garrison, William Lloyd, *Declaration of Sentiments* (Philadelphia: American Anti-Slavery Society, 1833).

The "Declaration of Sentiments" was written by William Lloyd Garrison in 1833 on behalf of the newly-founded American Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia. The society's creation, which represents a turning point in Quaker history, demonstrates a broader acceptance of the abolitionism movement by the Quakers, who composed over a third of the group's participants. In the "Declaration of Sentiments," the society

demonstrates their patriotism with references to the Founding Fathers and the men who served in the Revolutionary War. They then offer a scathing criticism of slavery and argue that the institution itself is contrary to the will of the Founding Fathers. This document is especially relevant because of the clear Quaker influence on language. When describing the cruelty of slavery, the document emphasizes the value of the individual—in a manner remarkably similar to the “Inner Light” recognized by Quakers.

Garrison, William Lloyd, *Thoughts on African Colonization* (Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1832).

William Lloyd Garrison, though not a Quaker, was an influential nineteenth century writer and abolitionist leader who worked with and influenced many American Quakers. Early on his career, Garrison worked with Benjamin Lundy and supported colonization efforts; however, he later became a strong advocate of immediatism. In “Thoughts on African Colonization,” Garrison argues that efforts to relocate slaves are ineffective and even sinful. Like the abolitionists who came before him, he makes Biblical references that invite Christians to reexamine how their faith is applied to the world around them. However, unlike many others, Garrison is specific in his attacks. He does not shy away from criticizing the plans of the American Colonization Society, who he once supported, or from questioning the perspectives of religious leaders. He openly recognizes that his stance is controversial but stands by his convictions without wavering. Finally, his references to the works of other abolitionists compliment his work nicely and further demonstrate the necessity of immediatism.

Gross, David M. *American Quaker War Tax Resistance*. David M. Gross, 2011.

David M. Gross, the editor of *American Quaker War Tax Resistance*, researches the history of tax resistance in the United States and has contributed to several books on the topic. *American Quaker War Tax Resistance* is a collection of primary source documents created by American Quakers during the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. Each one exemplifies how Quakers have responded to paying taxes during a certain point in American history. In a section titled, “For Conscience Cannot Agree,” Gross includes an entry from the *Journal and Votes of the House of Representatives of the Province of Nova Cesarea, or New Jersey, in their First Sessions of Assembly*. The 1709 document expresses the Quakers’ concern about having their taxes support “raising soldiers” and state that it is against their conscience. This document is powerful because it demonstrates the Quakers’ early pacifism and willingness to confront their government.

Guindon, Lucille, Martha Moss, Marvin Rockwell, John Trostle, and Sue Trostle. *Monteverde Jubilee Family Album*. Asociación de Amigos de Monteverde, 2001.

In 2001, a small group of Quakers published the *Monteverde Jubilee Family Album* in an effort to document the colorful history of their community. The book, which is quite difficult to find due to its limited release, is an incredible resource. It includes a variety of primary source documents including photographs, letters, reflections, journal/diary entries, court documents, newspaper articles and drawings that were created

by a diverse group of individuals. These documents provide readers with an unparalleled look at the day-to-day thoughts, activities, joys, and concerns of a Quaker community that is understandably wary of outsiders. It is a comprehensive social history that contains sufficient material to inspire several shelves of books. This book is helpful because it shares powerful Quaker memories and personal experiences that make the history seem more tangible and real.

Halstead, Fred. *Out Now!* New York: Monad Press, 1978.

Out Now! is a primary source account of the Vietnam anti-war movement. It was written by Fred Halstead, an anti-war activist, in 1978. The book provides a great deal of background information about the anti-war movement and incorporates names, organizations, and events that are difficult to find anywhere else. For example, the text contains a great deal of helpful information about Quaker participation in the movement. Although, it is important to read this text critically—as it makes no attempt to hide the bias of the author.

Hartsough, David. “Reflections on Organizing to Stop the US War Against Vietnam.” *AFSC Peace Work Magazine* (May 2005).

“Reflections on Organizing to Stop the US War Against Vietnam” was written by David Hartsough for the *AFSC Peace Work Magazine* in 2005. David Hartsough was one of the key organizers of Quaker anti-war activism in Washington, D.C. during the Vietnam War. Today, he works for an organization called the Nonviolent Peaceforce. In this reflection, Hartsough ties Vietnam War to the War in Iraq and provides a summary of the forms of activism that the Quakers utilized. However, while Hartsough’s reflections about the past are interesting, the document is clearly intended to provoke new activism about the War in Iraq. This demonstrates both the timeless nature of the techniques used and the ongoing struggle to end war.

“Indiana Quakers Oppose Aid Sent to North Vietnam.” *New York Times*. New York, N.Y., United States, September 15, 1967.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/117549140/abstract?accountid=15131>.

“Indiana Quakers Oppose Aid Sent to North Vietnam” was published by the New York Times on September 15, 1967. The article describes the decision of 282 Indiana Quakers to oppose the decision of other Quakers to send medical aid to North Vietnam. This document is important for two reasons. First of all, it demonstrates that not every Quaker in the United States was a pacifist, activist, or critic of the war. There were Quakers, though relatively few in number, who supported their nation’s decision to go to war and believed it was wrong to provide aid to the “enemy.” Additionally, coverage of this story by the New York Times indicates people were interested in what the Quakers were doing or not doing, in response to the Vietnam War. American Quakers and their activism (or lack thereof) were in the national spotlight.

Keith, George. "An Exhortation & Caution To Friends Concerning Buying Or Keeping of Negroes," 1693. Document available online:
<http://www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qwhp/gk-as1693.htm>.

"An Exhortation & Caution To Friends Concerning Buying Or Keeping" was written in 1693 by George Keith, a Scottish-born Philadelphian Quaker. The document, which was read at a monthly meeting, harshly criticizes the institution of slavery using faith-based objections. First, it establishes "Negroes, Blacks, and Taunies" as a "real part of Mankind, for whom Christ hath shed his precious Blood, and are capable of Salvation, as well as White Men." Next, it calls about Christians to open their arms to all followers of Christ and contribute to their salvation. If Keith had stopped here, the document would have still been considered radical. After all, he was asking people to recognize slaves not only as human but as welcomed equals. However, Keith went on insist that slaves be set free and provided with a "Christian Education," supporting his assessment with five biblical references. All and all, the early abolitionist made a compelling case; however, his meticulous argument was received poorly by his friends and neighbors.

"MORMONS IN MEXICO: They Disgust the Natives by their Practice of Polygamy."
Los Angeles Times (1886-1922). January 21, 1893.

Between 1891 and 1904, the *Los Angeles Times* ran a series of articles chronicling the emigration of several thousand American Mormons from Arizona and Utah to Chihuahua and Sonora, Mexico. In 1893, they published an article titled, "Mormons in Mexico: They disgust the Natives by their Practice of Polygamy." The article, which does not list an author, describes the Mexican government's concern about an ongoing quarrel between the Mormon expatriates and Mexicans over the issue of polygamy. Additionally, the article notes that the practice of polygamy is a violation of the original land agreement. Aside from the inflammatory title, the article does not seem to take a strong stance on the Mormons or demonize them in any way. Instead, it is much more likely that the newspaper simply wanted to catch people's attention with a flashy title about a controversial issue and sell papers.

Newport, Frank, and Joseph Carroll. "Iraq Versus Vietnam: A Comparison of Public Opinion." Accessed November 14, 2012. <http://www.gallup.com/poll/18097/Iraq-Versus-Vietnam-Comparison-Public-Opinion.aspx>.

In "Iraq Versus Vietnam: A Comparison of Public Opinion," Frank Newport and Joseph Carroll compare the results of two different Gallup public opinion polls—one taken during the Vietnam War and the other taken more recently, during the Iraq War. The two men examine whether or not Americans believed it was a "mistake" to send troops to Vietnam and Iraq. The data they are using represents the responses from "Year 1/Quarter 1" to "Year 9/Quarter 1." Ultimately, it demonstrates that Americans became negative about the Iraq War faster than the Vietnam War. Additionally, it demonstrates the Iraq War had greater opposition from the start. As such, the data contradicts the popular opinion that everyone was opposed to the Vietnam War from the start. Instead, it clearly

demonstrates there were many people early on who supported their government's decision to participate in Vietnam.

“Richmond Declaration.” Indiana Yearly Meeting, 1887.

“The Richmond Declaration” was a declaration of faith written by Quakers attending the 1887 Indiana Yearly Meeting. It was meant to remind Quakers of their similarities by highlighting the beliefs that most meetings agreed upon. Specifically, “The Richmond Declaration” focuses on the importance of nonviolence and peace within the Quaker faith and tradition. Today, the document is widely accepted by American Quakers; however, even those who express concerns about the definitive nature of the text often support its section on pacifism. Consequently, this document is useful because it demonstrates the Quakers' approach to faith and social justice.

“Robert F. Kennedy - John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum.” *Key Speeches of Robert F. Kennedy*. Accessed December 1, 2012.
<http://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/The-Kennedy-Family/Robert-F-Kennedy.aspx>.

Robert F. Kennedy, a Democrat from New York, was one of the first senators to support the Quakers in their attempts to end the Vietnam War. In one of many speeches to the Senate, Kennedy stated, “Are we like the God of the Old Testament that we can decide, in Washington, D.C., what cities, what towns, what hamlets in Vietnam are going to be destroyed? Do we accept that? I do not think we have to. I think we can do something about it.” The significance of this statement cannot be emphasized enough. Using Biblical allusions, Kennedy established himself as a critic of the war and, consequently, an ally of the Quakers.

Rockwell, Marvin E. “A Brief History of Monteverde,” n.d.

Marvin E. Rockwell and his family were among the Alabama Quakers who moved to Costa Rica and founded the community of Monteverde in 1950. Rockwell is especially significant because he was one of the four men arrested and imprisoned for refusing to register for the draft. “A Brief History of Monteverde” is an undated collection of reflections by Rockwell. The document is divided into nine distinct chapters which focus on different components of Monteverde history and are titled “The Beginnings,” “Leaving the U.S. and Traveling to Costa Rica,” “Searching for Land,” “Land Purchase and the Move,” “Getting Started,” “Productores de Monteverde, S.A.,” “Early Years,” “Growth,” and “Conservation.” Rockwell's reflection is a combination of his own memories, letters, court documents, newspaper articles, and his mother's diary entries. It provides incredible insight into the original settlers' early experiences in Monteverde.

Sandiford, Ralph. "A Brief Examination of the Practice of Our Times," 1729. Document available online: <http://medicolegal.tripod.com/sandiford.htm>

Ralph Sandiford's 1729 publication of "A Brief Examination of the Practice of Our Times," also faith-based, was even more methodical and critical than George Keith's work. In his piece, Sandiford rebuts the connection between Cain's descendents and Africans, articulates the many ways in which the institution of slavery conflicts with the expectations and responsibilities of Christians, and emphasizes the sinful nature of the practice. The piece is relevant because, while other abolitionists used Biblical references to support their arguments, Sandiford's argument for abolitionism is founded entirely in faith and incorporates dozens of Biblical allusions. Unfortunately, the piece was still received negatively.

"THE MORMON COLONY: Young Denies That Polygamy Will Be Introduced in Mexico." *Los Angeles Times* (1886-1922). December 23, 1890.

Between 1891 and 1904, the *Los Angeles Times* ran a series of articles chronicling the emigration of several thousand American Mormons from Arizona and Utah to Chihuahua and Sonora, Mexico. In 1890, they published an article titled, "The Mormon Colony: Young Denies That Polygamy Will Be Introduced in Mexico." The article, which does not list an author, describes an interview in which John Young, son of Brigham Young, states that there is "neither the potential nor possibility of introducing polygamy" in Mexico. The article itself is fairly straight forward and does not take a stance for or against polygamy; however, the content of the interview demonstrates the Mormons' concerns about public opinion and maintaining appearances. Admitting to polygamy would simply open them up to even further criticism.

Welsh, Anne Morrison. *Held in the Light: Norman Morrison's Sacrifice for Peace and His Family's Journey of Healing*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2008.

In *Held in the Light: Norman Morrison's Sacrifice for Peace and His Family's Journey of Healing*, Anne Morrison Welsh discusses the immolation and death of her husband. Additionally, the book discusses personal family history, the events of November 2, 1965, the larger anti-war movement, and how Morrison's death affected his family, friends, community, and nation. The book attempts to shed some light on Morrison's rationale for his behavior; however, it also acknowledges that there are some questions that will never be answered. This text is important because it offers the perspective of an influential woman on an event that rattled the resolve of even the most resolute anti-war activists.

Western Quarterly Meeting. "The Breadth, Depth and Stretch of Quakers in North America." <http://www.localquakers.org/Quaker>

Using information from the 2002 Friends General Conference, the Western Quarterly Meeting created a map of the United States titled "The Breadth, Depth, and Stretch of Quakerism in North America." This map depicts every state in the United States and

indicates where different Quaker branches exist. Specifically, it shows 741 Unprogrammed Meetings, 80 Conservative Meetings, 295 Pastoral Meetings, and 309 Evangelical Meetings. While the information used to create the image is now over a decade old, the distribution of the different branches still proves informative and helpful. From the map, it is easy to see that there is a high concentration of Unprogrammed and Conservative Meetings along the East Coast—where the oldest Quaker communities exist. At the same time, there are considerably more Pastoral and Evangelical meetings located in the Midwest. This document provides a powerful visual representation of Quakers in the United States.

Woolman, John. “Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes,” 1754. As found in: *The Friends’ Library: Journals, Doctrinal Treatises, and Other Writings of Members of the Religious Society of Friends*. Philadelphia: 1840.

John Woolman, a New Jersey Quaker, published “Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes” in 1754. Woolman was an articulate writer whose gentle religious imagery cushioned the severity of his anti-slavery message. His writing, which earned him fame in both the colonies and England, is credited with obtaining abolitionism the support of countless Quakers. It is important to note that Woolman’s ability to acknowledge the wrongdoing of slave owners without placing the blame on anyone in particular contributed to this success. The approach allowed him to communicate his ideas effectively without causing people to react defensively. The document marks a turning point in the abolitionism movement.

Wright, John B. “Mormon Colonias of Chihuahua.” *Geographical Review* 91, no. 3 (July 2001).

John B. Wright is a professor of geography at New Mexico State University. He researches environmental planning, landscape conservation, and cultural geography. Wright has published more than thirty articles and several books on these topics. After writing an article titled “Rocky Mountain Divide” he was criticized for his explanation of certain Mormon communities; in response, he decided to visit the Mormon communities of Colonia Dublán and Nuevo Casas Grandes in Mexico. “Mormon Colonias of Chihuahua” is a reflection about his experience there. It begins with a short history of why the Mormons fled the United States but quickly switches over to the people and places he encountered across the border. Wright states that everyone was remarkably welcoming and open—despite him being a complete stranger; he was also impressed by their faithfulness and sense of community. Throughout the article, he regularly contrasts the Mexican Mormons to those he has encountered in Utah—describing both the differences in landscape and community structure. Overall, this article is helpful because it offers a scholarly history the Mormons’ emigration to Mexico and was written by a non-Mormon.