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Cover: Unknown "CBS photographer, Bog Trotters Band members seated with instruments, Galax, Va. Includes Doc Davis, with autoharp; Crockett Ward, with fiddle; Uncle Alex Dunford, with fiddle; Wade Ward, with banjo; Fields Ward, with guitar**, 1937**, Photographic Print . Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/23/Virginia-stringband-1937.jpg)

This issue of the Journal focuses on a variety scholarship among Earlham students, including Quaker history, labor history, and Catholicism.

Our first Paper, Country Music and the Construction of the Southern White Working Class, By Sadie Rehm, focuses on the construction of whiteness with country music in the early 20th century, as a means to create racial separation.

Our next paper, Commodification of the Black Body, Sexual Objectification, & Social Hierarchies during Slavery, by Iman Cooper, discusses how commodification of black bodies allowed for sexual objectification these same bodies within slavery. Cooper uses a specific slave's narrative to ground her thesis and analysis.

Our next paper, Resistance to Anti-Slavery Friends in Indiana, by Sarah Medlin, examines local Richmond, Quaker history and the split of Quakers of over the issue of Slavery. Medlin focuses on the concept of the "right side of history" versus the events which actually occurred; placing Quaker is a more complicated context than is typically afforded to them.

Our next paper, The Implementation of the Second Vatican Council: The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy and Sacrosanctum Concilium, by Aaron Falsetto, examines Vatican II and the changes made to liturgy. Falsetto uses the comparisons between how the liturgy was implemented globally to discuss the diversity of Catholicism was interpreted.

Our final paper, Collective Action after the Decline of U.S. Trade Unionism: The Case of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, by Alex Cook, examines the political and social contexts in which CIW found victory. Cook completes this

analysis by placing the events of the paper in the larger history of trade unionism and uses Keynesian as the base of this analysis.

The intent of this issue of the journal was to draw attention to variety of historical narratives, specifically those analyzing marginalized groups and the place that they are afforded in history. These papers attempt to shed light on narratives that have either been ignored or have only had one facet of the story documented. It is our hope that this issue highlights the diversity of scholarship and narratives within history taking place amongst the students at Earlham College.

On behalf of the editorial board,

Soren Rasmussen and Sierra Newby-Smith

Anyone interested in submitting articles for the Spring issue should contact Soren Rasmussen (sdrasmu12@earlham.edu

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Country Music and the Construction of the Southern White Working Class

BY SADIE REHM

Old time, bluegrass, and country music are often considered to be the music of the southern white working class. This association obscures the significant influence and presence of African American musicians in early country music, and has been constructed through processes of appropriation, genre classification, and commercialization. While contemporary scholarship regarding country music has begun to acknowledge the hitherto ignored subject of race, few have examined race in country music in the context of labor, political economy, and the construction of the southern working class.

The association of working class whiteness with country music relies on countless historical discourses that claim that racial identities in the American South were clearly established, stable, and homogenous at the time of its commercialization. According to these common discourses, country music would be considered a mere expression of an already existent white racial identity. I argue, however, that country music instead was and is an integral part of the construction of southern working class identity. The extreme racialization of southern folk music proliferated during the 1920s in the midst of urbanization, radio accessibility, and the commercialization of music, reflecting the deep tensions and insecurity present as white southerners sought identity in the flux of the collapsing "Cotton Kingdom." In the process of creating country music as a genre, it was intentionally disentangled from any association with black musicians, performers, or culture. Country music became a contested space for the articulation of racial difference by associating musical style with race. Consideration of country music's many

incarnations – as regional musical style, as minstrelsy, and as commodity – shapes a working understanding of the role of race in country music, and of country music as a cultural trope informing the construction of southern racial and class identities.

Race and racism are inextricable from the southern working class experience. Beginning in the era of British colonization and continuing throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, the South's economy was centered on the production of agricultural cash crops. Inspired by Thomas Jefferson's idealism of a virtuous agrarian existence free from the corrupting industrialization of the North and its accompanying systems of politics and wage labor, white landowners in the South pursued the production of tobacco and cotton. Both crops demand copious, cheap labor in order to be profitable; the transatlantic slave trade flourished. Scholar Walter Johnson comments, "The liberties promised by Jefferson's vision depended upon racial conquest."[1] The boom of the "cotton kingdom" and slavery established a strong racial hierarchy built upon the commodification of the bodies of African slave laborers bought, sold, and exploited by white plantation owners. Conceptions of race under the system of slave labor lingered long after the abolition of slavery, and still inform racial relations in the South today.

Most white southerners were not, however, wealthy cotton tycoons. The modest Jeffersonian ideal was not attainable in a South oriented toward the production of large-scale cash crops, resulting in a vast population of poor white subsistence farmers and sharecroppers who lacked the capital to purchase their own land. Their lifestyles, later romanticized by the country

[1] Walter Johnson, *A River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard/Belknap, 2013), 4.

music industry, were neither financially stable nor free from the industrial influences they sought to escape; northern interests in banking and shipping played a strong role in the economy of the South. At the close of the Civil War, the South was in crisis. The southern economy was destroyed as capital fled the cotton industry. Poor whites grappled for an identity as the status of whiteness became increasingly complicated; while it had once provided some semblance of freedom and privilege, its legitimacy was uprooted by the emancipation of slaves. Although slavery had been outlawed, exploitative labor did not disappear from the American landscape. The financially high-risk trades of sharecropping and tenant farming became increasingly prevalent among both whites and blacks, allowing wealthy landowners to continue to profit off of the agricultural labor of poverty-stricken southerners.

The modern, industrializing North extended its influence southward at the turn of the twentieth century. Railroads extended throughout the region: scholar Bill Malone describes the rapid increase of railroads as "among the earliest, and certainly the most dramatic, examples of the industrialization process that would ultimately transform the rural South, shatter its façade of isolation, and weaken the hegemony of agriculture over the people."[2] As agrarian lifestyles became less feasible for many in the aftermath of the collapse of the cotton industry, southerners were compelled to join the wage labor force. Some flocked to the North or to urban centers in the South, but others maintained their rural existence, however outside of agrarianism,

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[2] Bill Malone and Jocelyn R. Neal. *Country Music, U.S.A.* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 7.

taking jobs in timber harvesting, sawmill operation, railroad work, and mining.[3]

Although the South is characterized in popular perception by the open and violent racism normalized by the "Jim Crow" laws of the early 1900s, physical and social segregation was, in fact, slow to arrive in the South. The structure of the slave labor system had required distinctly intimate and interdependent relationships between African-Americans and whites, albeit under an atmosphere of intense racial inequality.[4] Upon the proliferation of industry in the South, blacks and whites often lived and worked in shared spaces. Working conditions and wages were dismal, though white laborers received somewhat better wages and positions than blacks.[5] Unionization initiatives were hindered by the efforts of landowners and capitalists to divide the workforce by fueling racial tensions. Author Woodward writes:

> Under slavery, control was best maintained by a large degree of physical contact and association. Under the strange new order the old methods were not always available or applicable, though the contacts and associations they produced did not disappear at once. To the dominant whites it began to appear the new order

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[3] Ibid., 29.

[4] For detailed discussion and analysis of the progression of Jim Crow segregation in the South, see Woodward, C. Vann. *The strange career of Jim Crow.* Oxford University Press, 2001, 11-29.

[5] Marc S. Miller. *Working Lives: The Southern Exposure History of Labor in the South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 22

required a certain amount of compulsory separation of the races.[6]

Determined to maintain their authority over the southern space, its resources, and its workers, prominent industrialists sought to encourage the identification of poor white workers with racial, rather than class-based consciousness. Concerted efforts from these industrialists to naturalize racial difference and separation among workers manifested both physically in new laws concerning segregation, and abstractly through cultural industries. Music became a contested space for the articulation of this difference, imagining racial separation through manipulated commercial linkage of musical style with race. With the arrival of access to transportation and cultural exchange via railroads, came the proliferation of radio and recording technology in the South. Recorded music broadcast and sold throughout the country, changed southerners' relationship to music and its performance dramatically.

Music had long been an important aspect of southern culture. Community functions, house gatherings, and fiddling contests highlighted the many musical and cultural influences converging in the South: British and Celtic balladry, African rhythms and instrumentation, blues scales, and more. The fiddle was the instrument of choice for both black and white performers.[7] Malone writes that fiddling was "both an 'old-time'

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[6] C. Van Woodward. *The strange career of Jim Crow* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 23.

[7] Patrick Huber. "Black Hillbillies: African American Musicians on Old-Time Records, 1924-1932" in *Hidden in the Mix: The African American Presence in Country Music.* Diane Pecknold, ed. (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2013), 38.

art and a southern phenomenon, as well as a community enterprise."[8] He continues, "Fiddle tunes… did not come solely from the white folk experience. Black fiddlers, for example, were omnipresent in the South in the nineteenth century."[9]

Indeed, musical styles were not generally divided along racial lines; shared workplaces such as railroad yards presented opportunities for musical exchange and collaboration between members of the working class, and black and white musicians "shared a common repertoire and similar performance style."[10] If fiddle, one of the most distinctly "country" instruments, was played and mastered by musicians of all colors, why is country music marked as a distinctively "white" genre? A partial answer lies in the early commercialization and categorization of country music.

Although country music often expresses nostalgia for a simple, isolated agrarian lifestyle, it emerged as a genre as a result of the very commercialization and industrialization it thematically opposes. In the 1920s, radio broadcasting – and by association, musical recording – spurred the creation of a quickly expanding and vastly successful national music industry. Faced with the need to be classified for sale on the national market, what was then known as "old time" music entered into a crisis of identification. Diane Pecknold writes, "the connections between race and genre rely on a host of critical and scholarly discourses about purity, authenticity, and commercialism that are not specifically about race."[11] By the 1940s, the categorization of

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[8] Bill Malone and Jocelyn R. Neal. *Country Music, U.S.A.*, 18.

[9] Ibid., 19.

[10] Huber, "Black Hillbillies," 29.

[11] Diane Pecknold, *Hidden in the Mix: The African American Presence in Country Music.* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2013), 11.

"southern country music" had been refined, modified, and standardized – and denied any association with southern African American cultural or musical tradition.

Interrogating country music's foundations as a genre exposes the ambiguity of racial identities and genre classification in the industrializing south. In his article "Black Hillbillies: African American Musicians on Old-Time Records, 1924-1932," author Patrick Huber details the formation of "hillbilly" and "race" records as marketing categories by record companies, who not only "assumed that musical style and race were inextricably linked,"[12] but naturalized and cemented the racialized marketing categories as genres.

The distinctions between "race records" aimed at black audiences and "hillbilly records" aimed at white audiences were ambiguous at best. Hillbilly music, for example, often contained songs written or performed by African American musicians,[13] while its "records, catalogues, and advertisements disseminated images of an idyllic white rural Mountain South that existed outside of modern urban America; a closely knit, socially homogenous and harmonious world free from flappers, foreigners, and African Americans."[14] Recordings made exclusively by African Americans were occasionally distributed for sale in the "hillbilly" genre, albeit under "racially ambiguous pseudonyms."[15] Additionally, record companies occasionally marketed the exact same recording to both race and hillbilly

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[12] Huber, "Black Hillbillies," 23.

[13] "Nearly 180 recordings featuring African American artists appeared in hillbilly series or on records intended for sale in the hillbilly market," writes Huber (47). He adds that there were "more integrated sessions in hillbilly than in any other genre except vaudeville" (28).

[14] Huber, "Black Hillbillies," 27.

[15] Ibid., 48.

audiences, increasing their profits significantly. Musical difference divided along racial lines was a contrived concept that manipulated the perceptions of listeners and consumers.

"Hillbilly" as signifier for "white southern country" was a contested term, as it was not always associated with the privilege of whiteness with which working-class southern whites wished to identify themselves by. Although used by most musicians, reviewers, and fans of early country music throughout the 1930s (after which point, the genre was reclassified as "country and western"), the term "hillbilly" had racist and classist connotations. It was an exaggerated reminder of the failed Jeffersonian citizen of the South, the poor white farmer marginalized from the privilege and plenty promised by agriculture, and characterized by crude sensibilities. A 1900 New York Journal article describes "a 'Hill Billie' as 'a free and untrammeled white citizen of Alabama, who lives in the hills, has no means to speak of… drinks whiskey when he gets it, and fires off his revolver as the fancy takes him.'"[16] Writer Abel Green in 1926 waxed poetic, pronouncing the hillbilly to be a "mountaineer type of illiterate white whose creed and allegiance are to the Bible, the chautauqua, and the phonograph… the mountaineer is of the 'poor white trash' genera… illiterate and ignorant, with the intelligence of morons."[17] The use of "hillbilly" as a slur to imply low class was not its only manifestation; however, it was also used jovially among some performers who claimed the term as a proud signifier of their rural roots.

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[16] Anthony Harkins. "The Significance of 'Hillbilly' in Early Country Music." *Journal of Appalachian Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1996, 312.
[17] Ibid., 319.

The image of performers of "hillbilly" music was often manipulated – "rusticated," writes Harkins - to fulfill and embellish the audience members' conception of "country folk."[18] While early country musicians were usually noted for their upstanding and formal dress on stage, they donned exaggerated and sometimes degrading costumes at the urging of producers and record companies. This whitewashed, dramatic characterization of country music performers facilitated the record companies' marketing goals and was met with great commercial success. African Americans were systematically excluded from photographs and advertisements commissioned by record companies. Huber notes the suspicious absence of African American fiddler Jim Booker in his otherwise white band's 1927 portrait. Holding the fiddle is the band manager, who did not know how to play the instrument.[19] Just as the use of racially ambiguous pseudonyms had disguised African American participation in "hillbilly" recordings, the fictitious and exaggerated presentation of musicians served to reinforce the association of country music with whiteness.

Blackface minstrelsy was yet another arena for the expression of whiteness via the performance of "old time" and country music, associating it with the leisure of poor white workers at the expense of poor blacks. David Roediger writes, "Minstrelsy did not steal Black material stealthily. It did so brazenly, acknowledging and emphasizing its Black roots, insisting, for example, on the banjo's African origins."[20] By

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[18] Ibid., 314.

[19] Huber, "Black Hillbillies," 50.

[20] David R. Roediger. "White Skins, Black Masks: Minstrelsy and White Working Class Formation before the Civil War," in *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso), 117.

donning the cultural disguise of "blackness," performers were able to claim and transgress racial boundaries both physically and musically, implicitly stressing the power and privilege held by "whiteness." Roediger comments, "Just as the minstrel stage held out the possibility that whites could be 'black' for a while but nonetheless white, it offered the possibilities that, via blackface, preindustrial joys could survive amidst industrial discipline."[21] Nostalgia for an imagined agrarian past allowed those claiming whiteness as a racial category, to do so under the guise of sentimentality for an idyllic lifestyle corrupted by the modern industrial world, thus bypassing claims of racism and exclusion.

The naturalization of the whiteness of southern country music by claims to an isolated white past was also imposed by the project of "song catchers" in the southern Appalachian region. These (usually northern) ethnomusicologists travelled the region, recording music and lyrics performed by southern musicians. Their "collecting," however, was selective: song catchers "attempted to trace the origins of Appalachian music back to its roots in Britain," and focused on the Anglo-Saxon-influenced balladry tradition of the South.[22]

This focus intentionally ignored the diverse musical styles and influences found throughout the South, from gospel to bluegrass. Cecil Sharp, a song catcher quoted by writer Ann Ostendorf in "Song Catchers, Ballad Makers, and New Social Historians: The Historiography of Appalachian Music," remarked that:

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[21] Ibid., 118.

[22] Ann Ostendorf. "Song Catchers, Ballad Makers, and New Social Historians: The Historiography of Appalachian Music." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 63, No. 3 (2004), 194.

> The primary purpose of education is to place the children of the present generation in possession of the cultural achievements of the past, so that they may as quickly as possible enter into their racial inheritance. What better form of music or literature can we give them than the folk-song and folk-ballads of the race to which they belong?[23]

Song catchers' findings, often accepted uncritically as objective and factual, served to reinforce the concept of southern music as homogenous and lily-white.

The construction of country music as the music of the southern white working class obscures its diverse origins and influences, serving to legitimize the history and privilege of white racial identification. The appropriation of country music as "white" defines it against "black" music, naturalizing racial distinctions by assuming that genre labels arise spontaneously out of the separate musical traditions of different racial and ethnic categories. This construction relies too on the myth of complete physical and social segregation of blacks and whites throughout the history of the South, which became a reality only as whites grappled for identity and influence in the wake of the Civil War. A critical reexamination of the history of country music notes that participation and influences in early country music were not so sharply defined, and that the whiteness of country music was constructed. Through appeals to agrarian nostalgia, the classification of musical genres, and the creation of a distinctive image of country musicians, notions of racial and musical authenticity functioned to simultaneously reinforce and develop one another.

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[23] Ibid., 196.

The reluctance of scholars to critically reexamine the history of country music reflects the power dynamics and racial hierarchies existent in our society today. As Diane Pecknold writes, we must seek to "examine how the genre's whiteness was produced and is maintained, to imagine country music not merely as a cultural reflection of a preexisting racial identity but as one of the processes by which race is constituted."[24] An interrogation of the relationship of whiteness to country music does not seek to demonize the genre, the musical tradition or those who enjoy and perform it. Instead it seeks to reimagine the genre, to reinterpret its history and analyze, through music, race's role in the construction of the southern working class.

Cultural industry informs reality. Country music's association with whiteness served the project of dividing the southern working class along racial lines, by naturalizing racial difference through music, hindering progress for working-class solidarity and labor unionization in the South. The association of working-class whiteness with country music does not always imply uncomplicated privilege; it is based on nostalgia for a romanticized agrarian existence that arose as northern industrialization encroached upon the failed space of southern whiteness. Cemented by the recording industry's designation of genres, the perception of country music as lily-white has played a strong role in conceptions of the southern working class. Analysis of the power dynamics and competing interests inherent in the construction of country music at the turn of the twentieth century, serves to complicate southern African American and white working class histories. This analysis thereby reconsiders the conceptions and implications of race, genre, and power in music today.

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[24] Pecknold, *Hidden in the Mix*, 2.

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Commodification of the Black Body, Sexual Objectification and Social Hierarchies during Slavery

BY IMAN COOPER

The horror of the institution of slavery during the late eighteenth century was not that it displaced millions of African people from their homes to the US, but rather that it laid the foundation for the commodification and dehumanization of the black body that was culturally, socially, and politically maintained for hundreds of years to come. This essay will first explore the commodification of African captives as the foundation of my analysis, in order to later examine the social and political ramifications of the sexual objectification that was rampant during the slavery era, through the analysis of Harriet Jacob's slave narrative. Slavery had long-reaching effects on the conceptualization of the black body, which is later depicted by the emergence of the mulatto class. White slave owners executed their perceived right under the creation of commoditized black bodies to sexually abuse their slaves, producing mixed race (mulatto) children. Social, religious, economic, and political factors allowed the sustained commodification of black bodies to occur. As a result of commodification, black bodies were rendered disciplined subjects; beholden to the will of white men. Simultaneously, white planters' wives were socially conditioned to remain publicly silent in the face of their husband's betrayal and abuse; hence they often executed their anger on the black slave, further rendering the black body an object to be claimed by others to enact their will upon. Commodification of the black body at the start of the era allowed for the objectification of the black female body to continue throughout slavery, as portrayed by the simultaneous abuse of the masters and the subsequent

retribution of the master's wives, which were enacted on the black female body.

Commodification of the Black Body

In order to understand how this discourse of objectification and exploitation operated later on, it is first necessary to explain how the black body was rendered an object. Stephanie Smallwood's *Saltwater Slavery* creates a basis of understanding how African captives were systematically turned into transatlantic commodities. Later, we will depart from this foundation to demonstrate how commodification created the basis for the continued abuse and objectification of black bodies later on in slavery, through the abusive relationships by the masters and the wives.

Smallwood points to the intentional, replicated violence of the system that allowed the exploitation to continue, since "only by [the] ceaseless replication of the system's violence did African sellers and European buyers render captives… human commodities to market"[25]. Over time, the replication of individual choices to capture, buy, and trade African slaves created a societal structure that equalized the value of human life with a market value. The moment that these steps crossed over from simply the process used on a daily basis, to a rigid structural system of oppression was the moment that bodies became objectified for future use in slavery. When lives revolve around market values and are believed to be valuable only for the potential profitability they may bring, the very fabric that

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[25] Stephanie Smallwood, *Turning African Slaves into Atlantic Commodities." Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2007), 34.

holds communities together shifts. Social and cultural ethics are then driven by economics, rather than human interaction. This was exactly what occurred with the commodification of black bodies as market objects. Hence, commodification was primarily driven by economics and rationalized through science where "economic exchange [transformed] independent beings into human commodities whose most 'socially relevant feature' was their exchangeability'" and "the practices that underwrote African commodification reflected a rationalized science of human deprivation"[26].Instead of being valued for the contributions they could make to society, human beings became a means to an end—a means of furthering one's personal agenda and upward social mobility. Depriving humans of dignity, agency, respect, and basic human rights was also the tool that was later used by slave-owners in order to create and maintain the inferior slave subject. Essentially, the humanity of the black body was ruptured into an object to be bought and sold, in order to satisfy the economic desires of the white slave owners.

Role of the Market

The driving force of the market itself should not be underestimated as the key actor in in shaping how human beings became to be viewed as mere commodities. Smallwood argues "the most powerful instrument locking captives in, as commodities for Atlantic trade, *was the culture of the market itself...* [] buying people who had no evident social value was not a violation or an act of questionable morality, but rather a *keen and appropriate response to opportunity*, for this was *precisely what one was*

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[26] Smallwood, *Turning African Slaves into Atlantic Commodities." Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora,* 35.

supposed to do in the market".[27] This is an important shift away from the assumed paradigm that analyzes the faults of slavery from a moralistic paradigm, highlighting instead how people acted as rational actors in response to the established market. The market itself then becomes an actor in maintaining structural violence.

The connection between the international, the state, and the market is the very political economy that Adam Smith, Karl Marx, and John Maynard Keynes refer to, where people are grafted into the inevitable power dynamics that the market creates. In *A River of Dark Dreams,* Walter Johnson analyzes the global economy through Adam Smith, who wrote:

> Merchant capital was by nature mobile: "it seems to have no fixed residence anywhere, [wandering] from place to place…" Rather than inhabiting space, *merchant capital made it,* fabricating connections and annihilating distances according to rates of [interest rates]…the laws of supply and demand[28]

The market so thoroughly succeeded in draining humans of social value, that "[captives] were severed from community, [to the extent] that their lives were no longer beyond price: they could be made freely available in exchange for currency"[29].The market literally separated people from the families and communities they are embedded in. Equating human lives with

[27] Ibid., 56-62.

[28] Walter Johnson, *A River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard/Belknap, 2013), 11.

[29] Smallwood, *Turning African Slaves into Atlantic Commodities." Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora,* 63.

economic values was problematic, as that value became the priority for evaluating the worth of someone's life, wherever they went. In the US specifically, this evaluation is created along distinct racial lines, as the black body was rendered valuable only in the economic sense, rather than any other social markers of value. Hence, the commodification discourse was firmly established before African captives even left the African coast. The European framework of understanding economic interactions was then further maintained by the institution of slavery, once slaves were physically delivered to the US.

The commodification discourse was created and maintained by several specific methodologies. First, food rationing was used to deny captives of their most fundamental physiological needs where, "traders reduced people to the sum of their biological parts…scaling life down to an arithmetical equation"[30]. Strikingly, this mathematical system was later utilized by slave-owners in America to sustain the maximum amount of slaves for the lowest possible cost, while totally disregarding other aspects of provision that would maintain slaves' dignity. Secondly, language was used as a primary tool to render African captives inhuman, where "merchants used a special lexicon to cast their human wares into the mold of the qualities buyers desired…through this designation traders [offered] what the market demanded"[31]. In other words, different words and phrases were specifically utilized to deliver to the buyers the subject that they had in mind already. The market, therefore, not only shaped the language used to disguise the selling of humans, but more importantly, language effectively rendered slaves silent subjects to be acted upon—denying their

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[30] Ibid, 43.

[31] Ibid., 52.

agency.

        Additionally, by making people commodities, this discourse strategically severed any possible future connection slaves could make with other communities, creating a "nearly impassable gulf between…any community that might claim them as new members…[where any attempts] to return to an alternative place of social belonging, [only demonstrated] time and circumstances were firmly against them" where they were neither able to return to their former community nor fit into their new communities in Western countries[32]. Essentially, "enslavement robbed [slaves] of the markers of their social existence—the violence of commodification signaled to [the] captives….that they had been doomed to social annihilation"[33]. Human beings define themselves by their social interactions and relationships; the denial of these social relationships renders slaves subhuman and abnormal. Social annihilation is a motif that is carried over into the US context, as slaves were discouraged from creating strong relational bonds with those around them, in order to keep them obedient subjects to the white master. The perpetuated separation of slave families, for example, was a blatant disregard for the structure of the black family, which had long-reaching implications and detrimental social, cultural, and political effects. Some common practices included, the sale of family members to different masters in different locations (e.g. selling children away from their parents) and masters creating sexual relationships with married slave women, among other equally destructive tactics.

        While black slaves could have an unofficial marriage or partnership, "enslaved people could not legally marry in any

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[32] Ibid., 52-55.

[33] Ibid., 60.

American colony or state. Colonial and state laws considered them property and commodities, not legal persons who could enter into contracts and marriage was, and is, very much a legal contract"[34]. Therefore, the black man had no defense, if at any moment the master decided to have sex with his wife. When examining the family structure as a whole, Historian Michael Tadman estimated that, "approximately one third of enslaved children in the upper South states of Maryland and Virginia experienced family separation in one of three possible scenarios: sale away from parents; sale with mother away from father; or sale of mother or father away from child"[35]. In this way, the separation of the black family through sale was an ever-present possibility for slaves, and played a huge role in the destruction of the black family and of black marriages.

These methods were employed to remind the slave subjects the complete inability they had to control any meaningful relationships that governed their lives. In other words, slaves were denied the agency to make basic life choices, such as who their partner would be, how they spent their free time, or the amount of time they wanted to invest in the relationship with their children; rights that the white masters took for granted. This loss of kinship that was disemboweled from the African people during commodification then becomes the basis by which objectification of the black body in the US was continued. Since black bodies were socially constructed as

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[34] Heather Andrea Williams, "How Slavery Affected African American Families", National Humanities Center. Accessed April 1, 2015, http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/freedom/1609-1865/essays/aafamilies.htm
[35] Ibid.

objects to be disciplined and governed, there was no reason for whites to view them in any other social capacity, and thus no motivation to challenge the injustices that were enacted on the black body.

From Commodification to Sexual Objectification and Exploitation

This social conceptualization of the black body helps explain the rationale that allowed sexual exploitation of black slaves to both occur and be widely unchallenged by mainstream society. In hindsight, the objectification of female slaves is obvious, and one may be wondering why no one challenged this system of abuse and exploitation. However, it is important to understand the various social dynamics that were at play during this time period, starting with the role of southern planter's wives.

White plantation culture dictated the behavior of planters' wives; social norms stipulated that women were to be docile, gentle, and turn a blind eye to the infidelities of their husbands, whose existence they were keenly aware of. Under this cultural imperative, families operated under a model where ordered obedience created hierarchy and respect for the patriarch of the family, and produced the appearance of a well-ordered family and thus society. According to Jacequline Allain's contextualization of the South, "planter-class white women [were guardians of the home] who were responsible for upholding traditional Christian values and keeping peace within the domestic sphere. As such, they were valued for their homemaking abilities, maternal instinct, and, perhaps above all

else, their virtue"[36]. Female virtue and docility went hand in hand. It is also important to note here that, in contrast to the black woman, white women's value is determined relative to religion, not by the market. In other words, white women's character was established on the basis of integral, moral grounds; while black women's integrity was proven through the external, economic forces of the market that had no room for ethics.

Interestingly, Hegel, a central theorist in postcolonial studies, argues that identity categories must exist in an oppositional structure to each other; for one's own identity cannot be recognized and validated if there is no coordinating opposite category that affirms the legitimacy of one's own. For example, one would not claim to be beautiful if there was not the implicit understanding that the opposite identity, ugly, also existed. Identity categories are distinctly oppositional in nature, for one to claim an identity immediately implies negation of the opposite, just as plausible identity---by claiming beauty one inherently reject of the claim of being ugly. Thus identities are always relative to someone else. In this sense, white women's purity could only be maintained by the simultaneous upholding of the black woman's impurity.

In this way, white women were also rendered disciplined subjects and were products of their society. Granted, the creation of the white woman as a disciplined subject was crafted and maintained in distinctly different way than that of the black

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36 Jacqueline Allain, "Sexual Relations between Elite White Women and Enslaved Men in the Antebellum South: A Socio-Historical Analysis." Student Pulse, January 1, 2013, Accessed April 5, 2015, http://www.studentpulse.com/articles/747/3/sexual-relations-between-elite-white-women-and-enslaved-men-in-the-antebellum-south-a-socio-historical-analysis

subject. In no way I am implying their suffering was equal to that of slave women; however, it is important to examine how they were rendered subjects as well. Since white women were placed on a Christian pedestal and rendered 'pure', they did not appear to have any agency to speak out against the illicit affairs of their husbands. Rather, white women were conditioned into acceptance and docility by social norms and religious values.

While white women were thought to be physically inferior to men, they were still believed to be morally superior creatures, hence the reason why white Southern women's sexual purity and virtue was emphasized. Although men frequently had affairs, either with slaves or with other white mistresses, it was not socially acceptable for white women to do the same. Nor were white women allowed to comment on the affairs of their husbands, regardless of how explicit they might be. Here, one realizes how gender acted as the primary component in this structural system that determined what was admissible and what was not. The different standards of conduct that women were held to, in comparison to men allows for the intervention of the possibility of solidarity between the disciplined bodies of the black slaves and the white women to become a bit clearer. Gender served as the point of similarity between these two groups, as it disciplined women's bodies as subjects to their male counterparts. While white women were in an undeniable superior position to that of black slaves, their bodies and behavior were still disciplined within the regulations of both white society and the male desire for female inferiority. Planter's wives lacked the power and social mobility that their husbands possessed. In this way, white women's sexuality was strictly regulated during the era of slavery.

Regulation, in all forms, was simply the inevitable product of the institution of slavery. The Southern way of life

was defined by white supremacy, slavery, and planter aristocracy, which were, "inextricably linked with the sexual regulation of women, especially upper class women; the purity of white women, when contrasted with the sexually lascivious black Jezebel archetype" essentially "served to highlight the alleged superiority of white womanhood, and by extension, whiteness"[37]. Again, white women's value and purity was held in sharp contrast to the supposed lewdness of black women's bodies. This contrast was innate in disciplining both black and white bodies, as it allowed each to hold the other in contempt. Thus it discouraged both parties from pursuing any future interactions that were outside of this social construction. Consequently, both bodies were accordingly regulated to the assumptions that the other one held.

Historian, Catherine Clinton, observes that regulation of white wives was essential to maintaining the institution of slavery stating, "if [wives] could live above reproach, [then] their husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers could boast of the superiority of their civilization"[38]. Therefore, it was more than individual purity at stake in this paradigm; it was the very reputation of European civility that hung in balance. Colonialism and imperialism relied upon this notion of superiority, which allowed whites to set themselves in opposition to their inferior 'uncivil' nonwhite counterparts, and justify their actions of structural oppression as acceptable. Therefore, the "sullying influence of slavery must not touch the women of the upper

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[37] "Sexual Relations between Elite White Women and Enslaved Men in the Antebellum South: A Socio-Historical Analysis"

[38] Brooks Higginbotham, Evelyn. "African American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race" Signs 17 (1992): 251-274.

class lest the entire structure crumble"[39]. In this sense, the entire system of white superiority during slavery relied upon the sustained purity of their white women, set in contrast with the impurity of the black woman. Discipline of the body and of one's thoughts was a means to further highlight the differences between the white planter woman and the commoditized black body.

Fetishization of the Black Female Slave and Mulatto Children

Black women were both fetishized and regarded as impure, when seen in contrast to the modesty of white women; therefore at the height of slavery, relationships with slave women were decidedly culturally unacceptable. However, just because these relationships were frowned upon does not mean that men resisted crossing the line of this social taboo; they did. The violation of this boundary by slave-owners was sometimes shamelessly explicit, while other times they attempted to keep their affairs secretive, for fear of both the societal backlash and the anger of their wives. As a result, the mulatto class grew extensively during the slavery era, becoming a visible marker of the extensiveness of this issue in the society. The skin color of these children served as a visible reminder for the wives and the community of their husband's infidelity. Masters sometimes took care of their mulatto children and eventually freed them, but more often than not, children either worked on the plantation, or (at their wives' insistence) were put up for auction and sold into slavery. As the mistress of the plantation, wives

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[39] "Sexual Relations between Elite White Women and Enslaved Men in the Antebellum South: A Socio-Historical Analysis"

held a degree of power that could either improve the lives of slaves on her plantation, or create further harm and devastating destruction.

Analysis of a Slave Narrative and the Process of Sexual Objectification:

Harriett Jacobs is a woman whose story highlights the relationship between the commodification of the black body and the additional violence suffered at the hands of planters' wives. Her 1861 autobiography, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* is one of the few firsthand accounts of slavery from an American female writer. Harriet was born a slave; however due to her parents' sheltering she was not aware that she was actually a slave until her parents died when she was six years old. After their death, she was sold to her first mistress where she was promptly made aware of her status as a slave. It was with this mistress that she learned how to read and write, a skill that later enabled her to publish her memoirs. It wasn't until she was sold to the Norcom family that her troubles initiated, where "the war of my life had begun; and though... powerless, I resolved never to be conquered"[40]. It was this fierce determination that later allowed Jacobs to escape the persistent advances of her owner. Jacobs' master, Dr. Norcom, was attracted to her when she was still a young age and began making advances toward her on a regular basis. She recounts:

> But I now entered on my fifteenth year--a sad epoch in
> the life of a slave girl. My master began to whisper foul

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[40] Harriet A. Jacobs and Valerie Smith, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (New-York: Oxford UP, 1988), 19 .

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words in my ear. Young as I was, I could not remain ignorant of their import. I tried to treat them with indifference or contempt. He was a crafty man, and resorted to many means to accomplish his purposes. He peopled my young mind with unclean images, such as only a vile monster could think of. I turned from him with disgust and hatred. But he was my master. I was compelled to live under the same roof with him." "My soul revolted against the mean tyranny. But where could I turn for protection?[41]

Jacobs also recalled one particular moment where on "a lovely spring morning…the beauty [of the sunlight dancing here and there] seemed to mock my sadness. For my master, whose restless, craving, vicious nature roved about day and night, seeking whom to devour, had just left me with scorching words; words that scathed ear and brain like fire. O, how I despised him!"[42]. Dr. Norcom's relentless pursuit of Jacobs and her inability to escape his advances demonstrate the hopelessness that many female slaves experienced when their masters abused them. Female slaves not only had to combat their inferior social

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[41] (Quote continued): No matter whether the slave girl be as black as ebony or as fair as her mistress. In either case, there is no shadow of law to protect her from insult, from violence, or even from death; all these are inflicted by fiends who bear the shape of men. The mistress, who ought to protect the helpless victim, has no other feelings towards her but those of jealousy and rage. [The slave girl] will become prematurely knowing in evil things. Soon she will learn to tremble when she hears her master's footfall. She will be compelled to realize that she is no longer a child. If God has bestowed beauty upon her, it will prove her greatest curse. That which commands admiration in the white woman only hastens the degradation of the female slave. I longed for someone to confide in. But Dr. Flint swore he would kill me, if I was not as silent as the grave". Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, 34.
[42] Ibid.,11.

status because of their race, they also were discriminated against for the sole fact that they were women. Therefore, the gender hierarchy that existed during this time period ensured that women were always regarded as inferior to men—which created a significant asymmetrical power differential.

The Role of Gender

Not only were the bodies of slave women literally disciplined as the means for extracting labor, but as Jacobs demonstrates their bodies were often also subject to the sexual desires of their masters. Jacobs explains the double burden female slaves endured, explaining that "the slave girl is raised in an atmosphere of licentiousness and fear. The lash and the foul talk of her master…are her teachers. When she is fourteen or fifteen, her owner, or his sons, or the overseer, or perhaps all of them, begin to bribe her with presents. If these fail to accomplish their purpose, she is whipped and starved into submission to their will"[43]. Here, the desire of white men is understood to be superior to all other desires, reinforcing the notion of the importance of the gender hierarchy and the imbalance of power. Sexual violence inflicted by the hands of their masters was the true reality that many slaves faced; she writes that- "when they told me my new-born babe was a girl, my heart was heavier than it had ever been before. Slavery is terrible for men; but it is far more terrible for women". Women, especially black slaves, lacked agency to refuse such abuse; power was not on her side. Here, Jacobs is referring to the fact that women have the extra burden of having to defend themselves (or give in to) the sexual advances of the masters, creating an

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[43] Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, 16.

important distinction between the stories of slave women and those of men.

As a result of this double burden women carried, female slaves were often forced into making decisions that compromised their personal integrity. Jacobs's strong personality and determination never 'to be conquered' led her to continually refuse Dr. Norcom; instead she entered into a voluntary relationship with another white man—Samuel Treadwell Sawyer, an attorney and Congressional Representative for North Carolina who she later had two children with. Children resulting from such relationships were considered slaves, since slavery followed the mother's lineage. In this context 'conquered' refers explicitly to Jacob's sexual virtue, in contrast with the sense of entitlement the white master had, to control the black body in every manner including sexually. While she still felt shame about deciding to be with another white man instead of the black man she loved, she reasoned that "it seems less degrading to give one's self, than to submit to compulsion"[44]. As mentioned earlier, this example highlights the total disregard for the structure of the black family, as her relationship with a black slave was not even a viable option. In this minor assertion of sexual choice, Jacobs found some sense of agency, even though the cost was despising herself and a loss of self-respect. This poor excuse for a 'choice' highlights the limited amount of options available to black women during this period. This is in regards to having agency to define how they wanted to live their life, including determining their own sexual partners. The inability to have the *freedom to* determine who had access to the most intimate part of their beings undoubtedly had long-term crippling effects on both the internal and external image of the

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[44] Ibid., 52.

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black slave in how she viewed herself and how she was viewed by others, but also had long-term implications for the very fabric that knit the black family together. The black body as an individual and as a collective was subject to the racial and economic system that held it permanently in place as an object to be acted upon, through both commodification and sexual exploitation.

Inevitably, black bodies were subjected to the inherently unequal power dynamics operating in slavery. These power dynamics were merely the continuation of the hierarchal social roles that had been established when black bodies were bought and sold on the African coast, where the black body was continually subservient to the white master. This commoditization of the black body laid the foundation for the sexual objectification of its female slaves during the eighteenth century. In the preface of *Incidents of a Slave Girl*, Valerie Smith comments that "the slave codes drew no distinction between the slave's autonomy and the master's property rights; slave women were thus subject to rape and to forced liaisons that both satisfied their masters' sexual desires and increased their capital accumulation"[45]. Jacobs recounts how "he told me that I was made for his use, made to obey his command in everything; that I was nothing but a slave, whose will must and should surrender to his", further demonstrating how the black body was expected to be subject to the white patriarchy[46]. Here, the erasure of will and the denial of dignity that is starkly reminiscent of the process used to commodify African captives is clear. These two factors were central to the sustainment of the black body as inferior in every social, moral, cultural, and political plane throughout the

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[45] Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, Preface.
[46] Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, 16.

reign of slavery. The slavery system perpetuates the erasure of agency and denies the slaves the right to have a say in the decisions that affected their own lives. This eradication of agency was implicit ever since the moment slaves were commoditized.

Not only did slave women have to deal with the advances of their masters, they also had to deal with the retaliation of their white mistresses. Since planter's whites were unable to address the problem directly, they often took out their aggression and anger on the object of their husband's attention: the black body. For example, Jacobs recalls Mrs. Norcam's increasing suspicion of her husband's interest in Harriett caused Mrs. Norcam to "watch her husband with unceasing vigilance; but he was well practiced in means to evade it. What he could not find opportunity to say in words he manifested in signs. I had entered my sixteenth year, and every day it became more apparent that my presence was intolerable to [Mrs. Norcom]"[47]. Her mistress also felt that Harriett was the perpetuator of these advances "she felt that her marriage vows were desecrated, her dignity insulted; but she had no compassion for the poor victim of her husband's perfidy. She pitied herself as a martyr; but she was incapable of feeling for the condition of shame and misery in which her unfortunate, helpless slave was placed"[48]. This speaks to the selfish way that white wives placed themselves at the center of the conflict, refusing to acknowledge her husband's poor behavior, and instead placing the blame squarely on the victim's shoulders.

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[47] Ibid.,32.

[48] Ibid.,32.

Factors leading to sexual exploitation and contextualizing "consensus" relationships

While sexual violence was a reality that slave women had to endure, there were also notable long-term romantic relationships and concubine style arrangements that have been recorded historically. For example, Thomas Jefferson and his slave Sally Hemmings had a long-term relationship until he died, which resulted in six mix-raced children. However, many scholars suggest that the nature of even seemingly romantic master-slave relationships must be contested, since "the enormous imbalance of gender and racial power between the two parties problematizes the notion of a truly consensual romantic relationship between a slave master and his female slave. These so-called consensual sexual partnerships can be seen, like rape, as an exercise in white patriarchal authority"[49]. For instance, Jacobs was not permitted to marry the free black man she fell in love with, so she chose to be in a consensual relationship with Sawyer; however this decision was made out of fear and awareness of the power held by her white master. Traditional white patriarchal authority was set in contrast to the freedom, mobility, and agency that eluded the black body.

Additionally, some people believe the sexual relationships between the master and his slave were a result of the "1808 federal ban on the importation of slaves, and [the increasing influence of] western competition in cotton production" (Boundless). In this paradigm, rape of the black body was explained in economic terms, suggesting rape was used as a means of simply increasing the number of slave

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[49] "Sexual Relations between Elite White Women and Enslaved Men in the Antebellum South: A Socio-Historical Analysis"

bodies on a plantation without having to engage the market directly. Relating the black body to economic viability echoes the language utilized by the slave captors in the process of systematically commodifying the black body as an object. There was also the social assumption that black bodies were exotic and rugged, and this fetishization of the African body might be seen as another reason why relationships of these types occurred. Black females were seen as sexually promiscuous and lustful, thus cases of sexual violence were often viewed as being the fault of the black woman. These cultural assumptions were successful in indirectly reinforcing the notion of the pure white woman, set against the vileness of the black one.

Conclusion

The commodification of the black body at the early turn of the century laid the foundation for the relationships that existed later on between both the slaves and the slave owners, and the slave and the planters' wives. The black body was made an object of the market, a subject whose basic desires were subordinated to those of the slave owners. The rhetoric of commodification was later apparent in how women's bodies were further disciplined during slavery, through the abuse of their masters. Parallels can be drawn between how the black body and the white female body were disciplined by society's cultural, social, and economic imperatives, as they were both confined to a specific role in society. Gender hierarchy plays an important role in the discipline of both bodies. Even though white women's sexuality was strictly regulated in Southern plantation culture, resulting in an inability to prevent their husbands from having affairs with black slaves, the two struggles were still not the same by any means. Nor did the

discipline of the white wives' bodies justify the further violence that was enacted on the black body in revenge. Through the initial commodification process, black bodies were positioned to be subject to the white patriarchal system for the entirety of the slavery era.

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Resistance to Anti-Slavery Friends in Indiana

BY SARAH MEDLIN

Quakers, or members of the Society of Friends, are known for their position on the "right side" of history. They have been strong proponents of women's rights, were actively involved in participating and training participants for the United States Civil Rights struggle, and, perhaps most famously, were early leaders of the abolitionist movement. Quakers have a long and fruitful history in the abolition movement, and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was the first large religious body to condemn the system of slavery.[50] As early as 1775, almost a century before Congress passed the 13th Amendment and abolished slavery in the United States, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting banned its members from owning slaves, with threats of disownment if the members failed to comply.[51] However, anti-slavery ideas and approaches were far from ubiquitous. For some, the answer to the problem of slavery lay in the care and Christianization of slaves; for others, a desire to free them and "return" them to Africa known as colonization. Even as bodies of Quakers began calling for an end to slavery, the approved means of

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[50] Dan Kilbride, "Quakers Living in the Lion's Mouth: The Society of Friends in Northern Virginia, 1730-1865," review of *Quakers Living in the Lion's Mouth: The Society of Friends in Northern Virginia, 1730-1865* by Glenn Crothers, *New Books in History*, August 27, 2013, http://newbooksinhistory.com/crossposts/a-glenn-crothers-quakers-living-in-the-lions-mouth-university-press-of-florida-2012/.

[51] Pamela Moore, "Quakers and Slavery— History Tour, Old City, Philadelphia," Archer Street Friends*, accessed October 29, 2013,* accessed on http://www.archstreetfriends.org/tour.

accomplishing emancipation differed greatly. Many corporate groups of Friends advocated for moderate responses to slavery and pushed back when other Friends took a more aggressive route. In the case of the Indiana Yearly Meeting, Anti-slavery Friends ran into resistance from Friends who had become ideologically and economically entrenched in the very system they so passionately argued against. These Friends encountered a conflict of interest on the part of those who stood to lose financially and socially from immediate and all-encompassing emancipation.

Even before the 1770s, many individual Friends were pursuing the cause of abolition. According to Walter Edgerton, during this time period "Active, zealous, and faithful Friends were found in all the Yearly Meetings: and although these met with much opposition from individuals, yet I apprehend but few meetings interposed a barrier to their labors"[52] Soon, however, Quaker bodies shifted from tolerating individual action to collectively advocating for emancipation. By the 1830s, Indiana Yearly Meeting began to publicly promote parts of the abolitionist agenda. In the early 1830s, the Yearly Meeting protested discriminatory bills on the floor of the Indiana State Legislature,[53] and by the mid-1830s was allowing the Committee on the Concerns of the People of Color to publish

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[52] Walter Edgerton, *A history of the separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends : which took place in the winter of 1842 and 1843, on the anti-slavery question : containing a brief account of the rise, spread, and final adoption by the Society, of its testimony against slavery : together with a record of some of the principal facts and circumstances relating to that separation : embracing the documents issued by both parties relative thereto : and some account of the action of other Yearly Meetings of Friends, touching the controversy, especially that of London, etc.* (Cincinnati: A Pugh, 1856), 21.

[53] Ryan Jordan, "The Indiana Separation of 1842 and the Limits of Quaker Anti-Slavery", *Quaker History* Volume 89, No 1, Spring 2001, 8.

condemnation of Quaker involvement in colonization societies. The advices[54] further demonstrated that Quakers were alone among American religious bodies in allowing open condemnations of colonization, which James Birney called "an opiate to the consciences" of those who would otherwise "feel deeply and keenly the sin of slavery"[55], and open support for immediatism.[56] The 1838 advice of Indiana Yearly Meeting, for example, declared that Friends "cannot say to [the slave] he must go to Haiti or Liberia ... to entitle him to the full enjoyment of his freedom." Beyond clearly breaking with colonizationists, they also stated that "liberty . . . [is] the right of all" and believed slavery should not be "prolonged for a single day."[57] During this period, Indiana Friends were resoundingly behind the Anti-slavery cause.

The place of vocal abolitionism, however, changed rapidly between 1838 and 1842. Beginning in 1836, various groups, often religious, began to form Anti-slavery societies. By the early 1840s, there were Anti-slavery societies in Wayne,

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[54] Advices, a common publication amongst Quakers, are statements of ideals that act as reminders of the "basic faith and principles held to be essential to the life and witness of Friends." Found on "Glossary of Quaker Terms and Concepts," *New York Yearly Meeting*, accessed December 12, 2014, http://www.nyym.org/?q=glossary.

[55] James G Birney, "Letter on Colonialization Addressed to the Rev. Thorton J. Mills, Corresponding Secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society", (New York: Office of Anti-Slavery Reporter, 1834), accessed on http://www.lincolngroup.org/documents/fierytrial/Letter_on_colonization.pdf.

[56] Thomas Hamm, "On Home Colonization' by Elijah Coffin" Slavery and Abolition (September, 1984), 154-155.

[57] Jordan, "The Indiana Separation of 1842 and the Limits of Quaker Anti-Slavery", 8

Hamilton, Henry, Morgan, Madison, and Jefferson Counties.[58] Until 1839, however, they remained scattered and separated mostly along denominational lines. It was the arrival of Arnold Buffum, sent by the American Anti-Slavery Society, that set the wider organization of Anti-Slavery activists in Indiana in motion. Buffum was a controversial figure in Quakerism. After a series of failed business ventures, he declared bankruptcy, which resulted in his disownment.[59] However, Buffum still worked extensively with Quakers in the organization of the Anti-Slavery Society. Under his leadership, the Indiana Anti-Slavery Society established a headquarter in Newport and ran candidates on the Liberty Party ticket.[60] During his time in Indiana, Buffum also forged a friendship with another disowned Friend, Hiram Mendenhall.

Hiram Mendenhall proved to be a central figure in the clash about to take place in Indiana Yearly Meeting. In the fall of 1842, Mendenhall presented the presidential candidate Henry Clay, who was speaking in Richmond, Indiana, with a petition bearing around 2000 signatures demanding that Clay free his slaves. Elijah Coffin, the Clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting, immediately assured Clay that the Yearly Meeting had not authorized the petition. Afterwards, Indiana Yearly Meeting declared that although the individuals who presented the

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[58] Christopher David Walker, "The Fugitive Slave Law, Antislavery and the Emergence of the Republican Party in Indiana" (PhD dissertation, Purdue University, 2013), 90.

[59] It might seem counterintuitive that Quakers would disown members simply for declaring bankruptcy, but the discharging of debt contradicts the Quaker testimony of integrity. For more information about Quaker testimonies, see *The Quakers* by Hugh Barbour and J. WIlliam Frost (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1988), 41-47. More on Arnold Buffum can be found in Thomas D. Hamm's *God's Government Begun: The Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform, 1842--1846* (Indiana University Press, 1995), 53.

[60] Ibid., 52-53.

manumission petition to Clay "appeared[ed] to be Friends" they "were not actuated with a sincere love of the gospel."[61] This public disavowal was soon followed with removal of the "troublemakers" who had drafted and presented the Henry Clay petition from offices within the Yearly Meeting. Additionally, the Yearly Meeting warned the monthly meetings within their fold to "be careful" of whom they appointed to committees, clerkships, and other influential positions to avoid appointing people who had disregarded advices against using Quaker meetinghouses for "Anti-slavery" gatherings. The meeting also cautioned against the "excitement and overactive zeal" of the anti-slavery societies.[62]

By 1843, the Anti-slavery Friends within Indiana Yearly Meetings had reached such a state of frustration that they removed themselves from the Yearly Meeting, forming their own in its stead. This frustration resulted from the antagonism that had grown within not just Indiana Yearly Meeting, but Yearly Meetings across the United States. In Baltimore, leading Friends advised abolitionists to take care in their involvement with the Anti-slavery moment, which could "be the means of bringing destruction upon others."[63] New England Yearly Meeting took an even stronger stance, warning they would disown Friends who continued to agitate about the issue of slavery or who hosted abolitionist lectures.[64]

These advises all sprang from a common thread, which is exemplified by a prohibitory advice put out by the Meeting for Sufferings of Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1841. This document warns abolitionists to "wait for divine direction in such important concerns; lest if we overact the part called for at our hands, we

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[61] Ibid., 1-2.
[62] Ibid., 14.
[63] Jordan, *Slavery and the Meetinghouse*, 43.
[64] Ibid., 44.

injure the righteous cause, and suffer loss ourselves." After stating the Society's commitment to the plight of slaves, it continues, "Thus maintaining our peaceable and Christian principles in unbroken harmony, we shall, we believe, be enable, as way may open, more availingly to plead the cause of this much-injured race of our fellow-men, and retain the place and influence which, as a Society, we have heretofore had with that rulers of our land."[65] Here, the writers quite stunningly bring forward a contradiction. One rationale they provide for moderation was a desire to maintain their "place and influence." The other was a desire to wait upon divine leadings. These two ideas do not seem contradictory in themselves; however, divine leadings had historically alienated Friends from privilege and influence instead of preserving them.[66] Between 1652 and 1689 approximately 15,000 Quakers, a third of the Quaker population in England, were prosecuted and imprisoned.[67] The most common charges were blasphemy, public speaking, refusal to swear oaths, and disturbing the peace.[68] These radical Friends, the predecessors of those opposed to Anti-slavery Friends, were clearly not divinely inspired to maintain their "place and influence."

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[65] Edgerton, *A history of the separation in Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends*, 49.
[66] Joseph Besse provides an in depth look at some of the struggles early Friends encountered for following divine direction in his *A collection of the sufferings of the people called Quakers, for the testimony of a good conscience from the time of their being first distinguished by that name in the year 1650 to the time of the act commonly called the Act of toleration granted to Protestant dissenters in the first year of the reign of King William the Third and Queen Mary in the year 1689* (London: L. Hinde, 1753).
[67] "Prisoners of Conscious," *Quakers in Action*, accessed December 9, 2014, http://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/44.
[68] "Quakers Know Prisons from the Inside Out," *Friends Committee on National Legislation*, published November 28, 2011, accessed December 10, 2014, http://fcnl.org/issues/justice/quakers_know_prisons/.

Anti-slavery Friends in Indiana did not fail to take note of the contradictory nature of that proclamation. Charles Osborn, a prominent abolitionist, wrote this about the contemporary state of the Society:

> The present is a time of deep trial to the Friends of *this most righteous cause* ; especially in our land. Most of our rulers, both in Church and State, are to be found uniting in, and helping to keep up, the popular outcry against Abolition ; some openly and undisguised, others put on much sanctimony, and profess to be Abolitionists and real friends of the slave, yet by their acts clearly demonstrate that they cherish more than a common 'lively *interest for the oppressor.*'

Here, Osborn takes a strong stance by conflating State and Church leaders' reactions. Both, he argues, favor the oppressors over the oppressed. Additionally, Osborn points to leaders who purportedly advocate for the oppressed slaves, but in actuality do little in their support. This breed, he argues, "love the praise of man more than the praise of God" and were responsible for the favorable position of slavery in the United states.[69] Taking a strong stance against slavery, after all, hardly won favor in Indiana. Henry Charles shared some of his experiences as an abolitionist in Indiana, such as "being sneered at for being an abolitionist and a Quaker" and "the jeers of some of the violent oppressors" that followed after an abolitionist meeting. [70]

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[69] Edgerton, 68.

[70] Henry Charles, *Henry Charles to Sarah Thorn, 7th month 1st day*, 1848, letter, from the Indiana State Library.

Documents such as George Evan's *An Expostulate* shed light on exactly how conscious those within Indiana Yearly Meeting were of how abolitionist publications affected the way in which the community and the rest of the world viewed the yearly meeting.[71]

Arnold Buffum, similarly, noted the regard of human praise that was rising amongst Friends. He attributes Friends' lack of action against slavery to the "love of popular approbation in a sinful slave-holding nation." Thus, their desire of social approval negated their conscience, Quaker testimonies, and God's judgment.[72] He, additionally, goes so far as to categorize those who do not take a strong stance against slavery as no longer Quaker, despite the fact that they "still use the language and wear the garb of Quakerism."[73] While Buffum seems stringent in his appraisal of those who opposed abolitionism within the Society of Friends, some Friends questioned the motivation of anti-Anti-Slavery Friends on an even deeper level.

Friends had done well for themselves economically in the Americas,[74] and this very economic success, Anti-slavery Friends argued, led to the opposition of prosperous Friends toward Abolitionism. During this time, most goods were

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[71] George Evans, *An Expostulation to Those Who Have Lately Seceded from the Religious Society of Friends*, letter, from Earlham College's Lilly Library Friends Collection, accessed February 15, 2015.

[72] A roughly contemporary work, *A System of Phrenology* by George Combe includes a section in which he explores the root and effect of "love for approbation" extensively.

[73] Edgerton, 27.

[74] Friends' commitment to fair dealings had imparted on them the reputation of good businessmen, which in turn facilitated high levels of success. From these factors rises the cliché (within Quakerism, at least) "Quakers came to the America to do good, and they did well."

transported over water. The Ohio River, which met up with the Mississippi River, made trading with New Orleans an influential port. That a city whose economy depended on slave labor could almost entirely govern the prices in Indiana's market[75] led some Friends to question the reasoning behind other Friends' apparent apathy to the Anti-Slavery cause. Writing a decade after the division of Indiana Yearly Meeting, Walter Edgerton declaimed that "If one wishes to encounter a bitter opponent of the Anti-Slavery movement, he had but to go to a Friend, a proprietor of a large manufacturing establishment, to be sure to find one. Friends, as well as others of the mercantile and manufacturing community, looked upon that movement as one calculated to deprive them of the means of amassing wealth."[76] Here Edgerton extends the complicity to slavery beyond actively owning slaves and into the realm of complementary industries.

Contemporary anti-slavery activists found wealthy Friends' relationships to slavery equally problematic. An early and important document published by the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends, which was formed in response to the aggressive actions against Anti-slavery Friends within Indiana Yearly Meeting, attributed the lack of substantive action of the part of the body of Friends to monetary desire:

> The hand of cruel avarice became
> afreshed nerved to its unholy grasp by the
> prospect of extensive gain, through the
> facilities offered by the invention of the
> cotton gin. This prospect and desire of
> gain was not confined to those

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[75] Lee Burns, "The Ohio River, Its Influence on the Development of Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History*, June, 1923, http://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/imh/article/view/6284.
[76] Edgerton, 39.

immediately engaged in holding slaves,
but extended with lamentable effect to
many of those in the Free states inclined
to enter into mercantile or manufacturing
operations. This class included a number
of the most wealthy and influential in the
Society of Friends, in the middle and
eastern states, and the natural and
consequent intercourse between them and
the slaveholders of the south, had a direct
tendency to leaven them into the same
lordly, pompous, and intolerant feeling.[77]

Here, not only financial gain but also interactions between
slaveholders and Friends served to corrupt wealthy Friends.
These wealthy Friends exerted significant influence over the
policy of Indiana Yearly Meeting.

One Friend in that "class" was Elijah Coffin. At the time
of the division in Indiana Yearly Meeting, Elijah Coffin had been
serving as clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting for over a decade.[78]
Coffin was present for and responded to, both immediately and
later in writing, the infamous Henry Clay incident. He and the
other leaders of Indiana Yearly Meeting disavowed those Friends
involved with the petition. Coffin vocally opposed "political
abolition" in favor of colonization. His apparently racially based
attitudes toward emancipation[79] reflected the dominant ideology

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[77] Ibid., 77.

[78] Harlow Lindley, "A Century of Indiana Yearly Meeting," Bulletin of
Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia 12, no. 1 (1923): 14.

[79] According to Ryan Jordan, Coffin feared racial amalgamation and approved
to the United State government's reprehensible treatment of Native

of Northerners. As a wealthy man who functioned as first a teacher and farmer, then a shop owner and banker,[80] Coffin would have himself been entwined in slave goods. His callous desire to forcibly remove slaves upon emancipation[81] provides an example of the "lamentable effect" of working within the slave system.

Coffin's involvement in banking sheds particular light upon his racialized attitude toward emancipation. In his book, Walter Johnson explains the intricate connectedness of Northern bankers, "factors", and cotton planters. According to Johnson, the "packet" system of shipping allowed cotton to be shipped at a low rate out of New York.[82] Additionally, "New York's highly capitalized banks were able… to offer longer credit on better terms to those interested in buying cotton," which in turn balanced the extra distance traveled.[83] This system of lending formed the basis of the cotton market. Planters depended on the capital that moved from merchant-bankers, to merchants, to factors (a middleman), and finally to the planters who needed it to function between crops.[84] Thus, northerners, who would soon go to war under the pretense of eradicating slavery, acted to preserve the very system they purportedly abhorred in the interest of financial gain. While Coffin did not directly support slavery, his disavowal of Anti-slavery Friends implicated him in

Americans , The Indiana Separation of 1842 and the Limits of Quaker Anti-Slavery," 9.

[80] Katy Hestand, "Elijah Coffin," *History of Wayne County, Indiana* II (1884), accessed on http://www.pasttracker.com/family/index.php/wayne-county-home/352-wayne-county-in/biographies/1302-elijah-coffin.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), 258.

[83] Ibid., 257.

[84] Ibid., 258.

the perpetuation of slavery. His seemingly ambiguous social stance was consistent with his ambiguous economic position. Despite not owning slaves himself, Coffin was integrally, if indirectly, involved in the economic success of slavery during his twenty-four years of "able and faithful services"[85] to the banking industry.

That prominent Friends such as Elijah Coffin, who had attained positions of wealth and consideration in United States society, attempted to moderate their Anti-slavery brothers and sisters should, perhaps, come as no surprise. However, the impressive works of Quaker abolitionists such as Levi Coffin, a famous "conductor" in the Underground Railroad, John Woolman, an early proponent of emancipation, and John Greenleaf Whittier, an activist and poet, tend to overshadow this darker side of Friends history. However, it is just as important to study Friends' involvement in the development of solitary confinement as their work to alleviate the deplorable conditions of prisoners, Margaret Fell's harsh words to Amsterdam's Jews as Woolman's desire to learn from as well as teach Native Americans, and Quaker participants in and apologists for slavery as abolitionist leaders.

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[85] "Elijah Coffin."

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The Implementation of the Second Vatican Council:
The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy and Sacrosanctum Concilium

BY AARON FALSETTO

When Pope John XXIII called for an ecumenical council in 1958, he shocked the world. As Richard P. McBrien writes, "The reaction to the pope's announcement covered a spectrum from dismissiveness, to excitement and anticipation within various quarters of the Catholic Church."[1] The cardinals that elected him three months prior expected John XXIII to be a transitional pope, not a groundbreaker. This would be the first ecumenical council since the First Vatican Council (1869-1870). The Second Vatican Council, also referred to as Vatican II, brought the world's Catholic leaders and scholars to Rome, to revise Catholicism's teachings and practices. Between 1962 and 1964, theologians and bishops from around the world would debate the teachings and practices of the church.

Vatican II was a pivotal moment in the Catholic Church's modern history and was important for Catholics throughout the world. Vatican II was called in response to the violence and genocide inflicted on Europe by two world wars and the emergence of the Soviet Union and militant atheism in Eastern Europe. For Pope John, calling a council would address "spiritual needs of the present time."[2] Although some Vatican officials believed that Pope John was misguided for calling the council, he pushed forward and began preparations for what would be addressed in the coming sessions.

The stated purpose of Vatican II was *aggiornamento*, which in Italian refers to updating or 'coming to speed'. When bishops

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[1] Richard P. McBrien, *The Church: The Evolution of Catholicism* (New York, NY: HarperOne, 2008), 156.
[2] Ibid., 156.

and theologians arrived in Rome in autumn 1962, they could not have predicted the impact they would have on the Church and its laity. As David O'Brien explains "In the short run, the disposition of the church lay with the council fathers; in the long run it lay with the 'people of God' themselves."[3] Therefore, the Church began to transition into a period that emphasized laity participation. Without the modifications of the liturgy, these changes would not have been possible.

Some may ask: *Why liturgy?* First, it is fundamental to discuss the impact that liturgical reforms had on Catholic lay people. No other document was discussed and debated more than those on liturgy. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* presented eight chapters of text, which covered every aspect of liturgical celebration: (1) General Principles; (2) the Eucharistic Mystery (the Mass); (3) Sacraments and Sacramentals; (4) the Divine Office; (5) the Liturgical Year; (6) Liturgical furnishings; (7) Sacred Music; and (8) Sacred Art. However, the burning issue that would be discussed in St. Peter's was the use of the vernacular in the Mass.

This work will focus on the decisions made by the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, known as *Sacrosanctum Concilium* and referred to as the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council. It will highlight how the reforms of the council were implemented, and how Vatican II was interpreted in various regions of the world. It will also underline the debate that the council fathers had inside and out of St. Peter's Basilica. Like Catholicism, the response to the Second Vatican Council was far from monolithic.

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[3] David J. O'Brien, *The Renewal of American Catholicism* (New York: Oxford Univ Pr, 1972), 3.

The Council's Emphasis on Liturgical Reform

Some scholars believe that Vatican II was both an extension and a transcending of Vatican I because it "had mandated revision and emendation of liturgical texts"[4] Vatican II would emphasize the renewal of Catholic liturgy because of Vatican I's inability to reform the Mass substantially. Therefore, it seemed inevitable that there was a need for *aggiornamento*.

The aim of the council and liturgical reforms was "To adapt the liturgy to the conditions of modern life and to foster Christian unity."[5] The hope was that liturgy would nourish the post- World War II believers' spiritual selves, and allow them to express their faith through it. This was not the case before Vatican II. What Vatican II demonstrated, was that Catholic theology, "which was for so long assumed to be 'traditional', was not traditional at all."[6] The liturgical reforms were the first attempt at the new evangelization and the use of ancient scripts to allow all to understand how they should be interpreted in the liturgy.

Before analyzing the council, it is crucial to note that the liturgical reforms during the first session were forced to deal with the diversity of the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church is not a monolithic institution. Although the Vatican is the center of the church and its central authority, Catholicism extends across the entire world. During the council bishops from all over the world came together in St. Peter's Basilica, and they began to discuss the church's future in an ever-changing world. The organizers' decision to seat bishops beside each other who had been ordained in roughly the same period had a positive impact on the council. Instead of sitting by geographic location, bishops from

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[4] John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 130.
[5] Ibid., 131.
[6] McBrien, *The Church*, 213.

different corners of the world sat beside one another. This forced bishops from different countries and different liturgical backgrounds to take into consideration the needs of the bishop and his diocese sitting beside him. This initiative must not be ignored and its significance is critical.

Although the bishops represented the extreme diversity that was the Catholic Church, it was evident that the council was forced to keep in mind that each Catholic individual was a part of a tradition that went back two thousand years. As a result of the church's diversity, Catholicity was enriched. The use of vernacular in Mass instead of Latin caused the most debate during the three weeks of discussions around the liturgy. Many bishops asked why the mass must be said in an ancient language that only a small minority of individuals are familiar with.

The aims of the council in the discussions of liturgical reform are crucial to understand. Although it is not the goal of this work to discuss all of them in depth, they are worth mentioning. The liturgical discussions "affirmed that the call to holiness that God, through the Church, addresses to all men and women."[7] The role of the laity emphasized the importance of the active participation of everyone in the congregation, and that such participation was the right and duty of every Christian.

During the first session the argument for the use of the vernacular was that "greater autonomy was to be granted to bishops in making adaptations appropriate to their cultures, which was a clear call for some decentralization."[8] This opened the doors for bishops to develop their own liturgical methods and alterations based on their geographic region. In accordance with the Roman Rite, a promising, although not earth shattering, statement was released. It said that Latin should be retained in the liturgies of the Western church; however, since in some rites

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[7] Ibid., 132.
[8] Ibid., 132.

the vernacular was proving very useful for the people, it should be given wider role in liturgy.[9] For some, these were steps in a positive direction, and although they did not directly call for the use of vernacular in the Western Church, it did suggest the use of the vernacular in other regions that would benefit from its use.

The use of vernacular was debated in the council over the course of three weeks, from October 22 to November 13, 1962. There were 328 interventions from the floor and 297 submitted in written form. This was the longest debate of the council, and its outcome has led to what is possibly the most visible change from the laity's point of view. The Council of Trent and its directive on vernacular had simply stated that, "it is wrong to maintain that the Mass must be celebrated in the vernacular."[10] By the 1960s, the vernacular had come to be used in the Protestant liturgy. For some, the use of vernacular in Mass suggested that the Catholic Church would adopt Protestant methods in the liturgy. For others, it suggested that the discussion on vernacular was an attempt for the modernization of the church in times of turmoil. Analysis of the roles of major figures in the church reveals the concerns and praise there was for the use of the vernacular in the Mass.

The first Cardinal who led the discussion on the use of vernacular in the Mass was Cardinal Frings of Cologne. He opened by saying, "The schema before us is like the last will and testament of Pius XII, who, following in the footsteps of Saint Pius X, boldly began a renewal of the sacred liturgy."[11] Frings had an overall positive reception of the schema that was presented before the council by Cardinal Antonelli. Frings' next sentence was equally significant when he said: "The schema is to be commended for its modest and truly pastoral literary style, full

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[9] Ibid., 132.
[10] Ibid., 133.
[11] Ibid., 133.

of the spirit of Holy Scripture and the Fathers of the Church."[12] Although his speech was only ten minutes, it was evident of how highly he thought of the schema.

Cardinal Ruffini spoke next, and was not as enthusiastic about the schema. He criticized the text for being too exclusively focused on the Roman Rite. He also reminded the council fathers that only the Congregation of Rites had authority in matters liturgical and more significant, expressed no praise for the document.[13]

Perhaps the most influential speaker on this matter and most influential bishop on the use of the vernacular in liturgy was Maximos IV. He was a bishop from Greece, where Catholics celebrate the liturgy of the Eastern Rite, thus his views on the use of vernacular in the liturgy were positive. In his speech he stated that the use of Latin in liturgy was strange to the Eastern Church…all languages are liturgical. "Latin is dead, but the church is living, and its language must be living as well."[14] It is evident, given Maximos' speech, that the non-western church was substantially different in its tradition from in the West. The non-Western bishops insisted on the urgency in their countries of cultural adaptation, including the use of the vernacular. This had strong support, especially from African and Asian bishops.

Finally, after three weeks of debate the schemata base on *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was voted on and the results were a landslide with 2,162 votes for, and 46 against. The final document was also overwhelmingly approved, with 2,147 in favor and 4 against. This suggests that the majority of church leaders agreed that the use of the vernacular should be implemented in the Mass. However, as is evident later in this

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[12] Ibid., 133.
[13] Ibid., 134.
[14] Ibid., 136.

work, the implementation of the vernacular in Mass was more gradual.

Once the council approved the document, it is critical to trace the steps of its implementation. By approving *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the council set in motion the reshaping of nearly every aspect of Catholic liturgy unlike anything that had ever happened before. In comparison, the changes mandated by the council of Trent consisted in standardizing traditional texts, something worshippers would hardly have recognized. This was not true with Vatican II.[15] Within a few years, the Mass began being celebrated in its entirety in the vernacular worldwide.

Two principles account for the promulgations of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. First is the principle of *aggiornamento*, which compelled the council fathers to make changes to the Church that aligned with contemporary circumstances. Second was the principle of *ressourcement*, which for the council fathers meant a return to ancient texts to find answers. During the sessions of Vatican II "The liturgists had returned to the ancient sources in order to find their way. The Mass was thus not so much 'modernized' as made to conform to fundamental and traditional principles."[16] Therefore, the liturgical reforms of the council did not necessarily define the changes as modernizing, but rather the use of ancient texts to align itself to modern society.

The principle of the adaptation of local circumstances into the liturgy proved significant for the non-Western church. The council stated that, "The church does not wish to impose a rigid uniformity in matters that do not involve the faith or the good of the whole community."[17] Unity can be maintained within diversity; the universality of the church enhances its Catholicity.

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[15] Ibid., 139.
[16] Ibid., 140.
[17] Ibid., 140.

In other words, the Church is able to exist without uniformity and still embrace its universality.

Although *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was approved in Rome and was implemented in many regions of the world, it is crucial to stress that the way in which liturgical reforms were enacted worldwide varied. The Catholic Church, the Second Vatican Council, and the liturgical reforms of the council were not monolithic and it is imperative to understand that, even today, the interpretation of the Second Vatican Council continues to be contested and debated. In order to illustrate this contestation, this study will focus on two separate geographic locations, and explore how the liturgical reforms of Vatican II were contested, debated and implemented in each region.

Implementation of Liturgical Reforms in Pittsburgh and the United States

The liturgical reforms of Vatican II were interpreted and implemented differently in various regions around the world. The United States was no exception, and participated in debates on the liturgical reforms of the council, which were received in varying ways. In the wake of the civil rights movement, the assassination of John F. Kennedy, and multiple protests concerning the war in Vietnam, the United States and its citizens were going through a period of transition. As described by Jay P. Dolan, "The events in Dallas to Watergate rocked the nation, to add to these the revolution sparked by Vatican II and the result is a powerful one-two punch that sent American Catholics reeling."[18]

The liturgical reforms of Vatican II caused an array of opinions to emerge during the 1960s from parishioners and also

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[18] Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992), 424.

lay men and women. One thing was certain; Catholics in the United States took their religion seriously and were proud to be Catholic and American. As James O'Toole describes, "American Catholics might be more Catholic than the Pope, but at times they also seemed more American than Americans."[19] O'Toole's description of American Catholics suggests that Catholics in the United States were both extremely loyal to their religion and loyal to their country.

With the promulgation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* in 1963, American Catholicism was about to pass through the most turbulent period in its history. Jay P. Dolan explains that this period was a time of disillusionment and hope, conflict and harmony, crisis and growth.[20] Dolan's description of what American Catholics endured following the proclamation of liturgical reforms is precisely what was to occur next. In the United States, liturgical reforms had many different implications in different areas. The laity may have been enthusiastic about the reforms, but many clergy members were not. The American Council members that went to Rome were theological and social conservatives. Thus, American bishops were not concerned with liturgical languages, rituals and theology of global Catholicism.[21]

Many American Catholic clergymen approved the liturgical reforms of the council. For centuries, Catholic laity was defined by who they were not (i.e clergy). However, the council meant, that nearly all Catholics were characterized by who they were.[22] As a result, "Vatican II was largely responsible for forcing Catholics to rethink the meaning of Catholicism in the modern

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[19] James M O'Toole, *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 7.
[20] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience.*, 426.
[21] Colleen McDannell, *The Spirit of Vatican II: A History of Catholic Reform in America* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2011), 64.
[22] O'Toole, *The Faithful.*, 3.

world."[23] Dolan's claim holds true to the fact that the liturgical reforms brought by Vatican II forced Catholics in the United States to reexamine their faith in the form of liturgy.

Dolan claims that reform would have taken place regardless of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* because of the cry for reform during the 1950s. However, what the council made possible was for this reform to "burst forth with much more force than would have otherwise been true."[24] This statement is plausible because subsequent decrees following the promulgation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* eventually made liturgical reforms mandatory. However, Dolan's claim is problematic because it is not the duty of the historian to predict the future, although the need for liturgical reform may have been visible before Vatican II.

The implementation process of liturgical reforms varied throughout the United States as a result of bishops and their enthusiasm for the *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. The enactment of the council's liturgical reforms began even before the conclusion of the council, but was inconsistent in the United States. This may be attributed to the lack of education about how the Mass should be reformed imposed on the bishops and Catholic laity. There was also unwillingness in the Roman Curia (offices within the Vatican) to implement these changes. While the Curia issued orders to all dioceses, they did not monitor application. Therefore, dioceses were responsible for the implementation of liturgical reforms, which resulted in varied timelines of action.

Therefore, reform occurred at different rates both as a result of the lack of education, but also out of the willingness or unwillingness of bishops in different regions. For instance, in the Midwest reform was implemented quickly, as they were eager to live up to the council. In California, the willingness for change was not the same. Monsignor O'Carroll of Los Angeles did not

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[23] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*., 428.
[24] Ibid., 428.

have an English Mass because the archdiocese did not require him to. Thus, the issue with the implementation of the reforms was that there was no driving force in the United States that ensured they would be implemented in the 1960s. As Colleen McDannell explains, "Many bishops did not rush to implement changes because they were satisfied with how their parishes were running."[25] This is a trend that is evident in many different regions within the United States during the 1960s, possibly suggesting that a certain type of 'American thinking' was evident, one that did not approve of authoritarianism.

The Council's *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* gave national groups of bishops the power to determine how much and when the vernacular, ritual and sacramental changes were to be mandated. On a local level, the US National Conference of Bishops did not mandate a change in language; they merely allowed English at prescribed times.[26]Clergymen like O'Carroll were not forced to implement the use of English in Mass as a result, until O'Carroll's retirement in 1971, his parish did not use the vernacular in Mass. It was not until November 28, 1971 that the *National Conference of Bishops* made it obligatory for all parishes in the United States to say the entire Mass in the vernacular. In contrast to Los Angeles, The Diocese of Pittsburgh was eager to begin its implementation of the liturgical reforms.

When Pittsburghers heard of an ecumenical council, they were excited. Pittsburgh is the ideal example of a city in the United States that began implementing liturgical reforms before the council had concluded. The diocesan Liturgical Commission had been formed and its duty was to decipher the newly promulgated changes of the council. The commission worked on two main projects during the years that the council was still in session: the reform of the liturgies outside of the Mass and the

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[25] McDannell, *The Spirit of Vatican II.*, 125.
[26] Ibid., 124.

Mass itself.[27] The commission's main efforts were to educate the laity in order for them to better understand the Mass and thus be able to participate in the Mass to their fullest potential. For example, the introduction of English into the liturgy would increase understanding and interaction between the laity and the priest.[28] This was manifested with the formation of training programs, in which men and women from all over the diocese would gather in sessions in order to learn how to preach the word of God. In this way laymen and women successfully learned their faith.

The simplification of the Mass would also increase participation and understanding within the laity. Thus, it was the duty of the council to shave away the old repeated actions accumulated over the centuries and bring it back to its origins. As, According to Timothy Kelly, "Before Vatican II, the Mass suffered from an alarming paralysis with so much of its ritual and formulas completely dependent on past ages."[29] It was now time for the "new" Mass to be a vital religious experience for modern man.

The formation of the commission suggests that the Pittsburgh diocese was excited about the changes that were issued by the Vatican. They were going to do everything in their power to implement these changes to enhance the experience of their laity. It is important to keep in mind that this was not the case in other regions as discussed earlier.

The main task of the commission and the desire of the diocese was to educate their lay people. As a result of the Mass being in Latin before Vatican II, many lay people did not understand what was occurring. Vatican II encouraged laity to

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[27] Timothy I Kelly, *The Transformation of American Catholicism the Pittsburgh Laity and the Second Vatican Council, 1950-1972* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 2009), 175.

[28] Ibid., 176.

[29] Ibid., 185.

study the Bible, and thus gain an understanding of what was occurring at Mass. Therefore, "the reforms imbued the new liturgies with hope and possibilities, with human interaction and understanding."[30] In the case of Pittsburgh, the Commission mandated its changes. Therefore, there was no confusion as Bishop Wright's direction was firm and concise.

The diocese of Pittsburgh was getting its parishioners ready for the reforms that the council was going to bring forward. In this sense, the diocese of Pittsburgh did its laity and priests a great service by implementing changes gradually, in order to avoid the resistance the reforms could have provoked if they were to be put in place all at once. Also, the commission worked regularly to break down clerical indifference and hostility to reforms and pushed the laity to become more involved.[31] These gradual steps towards reform benefitted Pittsburgh's faithful because, as was stated by the Liturgical Commission, "people cannot accept change that is too violent."[32] This was the way in which the commission reminded pastors that there were to be many reforms implemented that would last several years. Therefore, when the Vatican Council formed a commission to oversee that the liturgical reforms of the council were being implemented, the Vatican instructed the Pittsburgh diocese to further simplify the Mass, taking out a few prayers and the last gospel.[33] Pittsburgh's Catholics were ready for these changes and took them in stride because the Liturgical commission in the city had rightly prepared them for change.

Kelly's examination of three parishes in the city will allow for insight into how cohesive or divisive, change was in Pittsburgh. Kelly used the bulletins of the parishes to establish the reception of Vatican II's liturgical reforms. He found that the

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[30] Ibid., 181.
[31] Ibid., 182.
[32] Ibid., 191.
[33] Ibid., 191.

parish centered on ethnicity made no mention of liturgical changes for their laity. In contrast, the urban church made reference to the reforms and thanked its laity for their willingness to accept the changes of the liturgy. In addition, the suburban church made few references to liturgical changes, but did not acknowledge the changes introduced by the Vatican.[34] This lack of cohesiveness provides evidence of the wide spectrum of how liturgical changes were implemented in Pittsburgh.

The reformers sought to connect the liturgy to twentieth century culture, to make it relevant to Catholics in the 1960s. This goal was manifested with the use of the vernacular in the Mass. This would ensure the "modernization" of the Mass and promote lay participation to its fullest. During the council year, a number of bishops argued that some Latin should remain in the mass to demonstrate the universality of the Church, an argument that still exists today. Although leaving some prayers in the Mass in Latin would emphasize the universality of the church, what is distinct about Catholicism is its diversity. This is what is universal in the Church.

In Pittsburgh churches, the Mass transformed from a Latin ritual that was performed by priests to an English ritual that depended on lay participation for its success. In 1962 the Mass was a mysterious and distant ritual in which few lay people understood to its fullest. By 1965, the Mass had transformed into a ritual that many parishioners understood and embraced as one of the most sacred rituals of their faith. An analysis of the implementation of liturgical reform in Pittsburgh sheds light on the different ways in which liturgical reform was implemented in the United States. In order to comprehend the effects of Vatican II and its liturgical reforms around the world, we must next discuss the importance and implementation elsewhere in the world.

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[34] Ibid., 192.

Inculturation and Liturgical Reforms in Zaire

Vatican II affected Catholics all around the world. However, the way in which it affected countries and parishes differed from region to region. On the African continent, Vatican II opened the gates for societies to worship how they saw fit. African countries for decades struggled with Roman Catholicism and how to align it with their culture. European worship (Roman Rite) and culture was extremely different from that of African nations. Vatican II allowed for African countries to adopt new forms of worship; beginning the process of inculturation in several nations. Incarnation allows nations to be a part of the universal Church, and to hold the same "truths" in particular regions. Before Vatican II, the Church was universal with uniformity and after Vatican II, the Church is universal, but without uniformity. This is demonstrated in Zaire, present day Congo.

Vatican II liberated the African continent's powers. The context of anti-colonial revolution and independence from Rome was evident in Africa, specifically in Zaire. This is characterized by the decentralization of power, which had traditionally resided in Rome, giving autonomy to bishops around the world to make liturgical decisions based on their own country's culture and customs. This decentralization opened the door for bishops in all nations to begin a process of "liturgical inculturation"[35] that is seen all over the world. In order for inculturation to occur, the bishops of Africa called for liturgical form which allowed people to express its praise of God in many languages of its own culture. These elements served to bond the people of the Roman Catholic Church. The main concern of the Vatican was that

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[35] Eltin Griffin, "Rekindling the Liturgy," *The Furrow* 54, no. 9 (September 1, 2003), 503.

inculturation of the liturgy would create inauthenticity of the Roman Rite.

For decades before Vatican II, African nations had already begun the process of inculturation in their diocese. They did so because the Roman Rite, the Latin based style of worship, did not suit individuals in African nations. Even following the promulgations of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, African bishops were not satisfied with liturgical reforms because they were based on Western culture. Therefore, African bishops were required to bring a foreign tradition of the Roman Rite and mold it into worship that their people would understand and relate to.

Inculturation had the largest impact in Zaire. The influx of missionaries into Zaire in the previous centuries was extremely successful. As a result, today over fifty percent of Congolese are Catholics. Therefore, Vatican II had perhaps the most impact on this nation on the African continent. Although African bishops did not feel as though the liturgical reforms of the council suited its populations, "the theological implementation of the council was centered on the inculturation of Catholic theology in African Culture"[36]. The task at hand for African bishops was to engage their parishioners in a celebration that was centered on a European style of worship.

Although the bishops of Zaire were planning to adapt the Catholic liturgy to their people before the deliberations of Vatican II, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* did not provide for the inculturation of the Mass. However, once the documents of Vatican II were passed, the inculturation of the Zairian Mass began. For Griffin, inculturation is an encounter among three cultures: of the Bible, of the Christian tradition, and of the people whom the Gospel is proclaimed.[37] Following the

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[36] Massimo Faggioli, *Vatican II: The Battle for Meaning* (New York: Paulist Press, 2012), 61.

[37] Griffin, "Rekindling the Liturgy." 503.

formation of the Liturgical Commission in Zaire, the next issue that arose was to find the common elements which would have been accepted by all Zairians.

Following Vatican II, two approaches were adapted in order to begin the process of liturgical inculturation in Zaire. One was to model the liturgy around the chief, highlighting the role of the presider.[38] With the model of the chief, the presider was invested with so much authority that the celebration became a reflection of the authoritarian leadership that Zaire and other African countries experienced in the past.[39] Therefore, realizing that this style of liturgical inculturation would not properly allow for parishioner participation, as *Sacrosanctum Concilium* called for, it shifted the liturgy's attention to the laity.

Therefore, the liturgical commission used a model highlighting the African Assembly (union of African government officials) as the focal point. By doing so, this would take the authority away from the presider and place it with the assembly. This would ensure that the hierarchical structure of the Mass was replaced by one that focused on the laity. Bishops were expected to respect the basic structures of the Catholic liturgy, to use the Roman order of the Mass of 1969 as its basic text, to seek inspiration from Eastern liturgies and to introduce Zairian cultural values into the liturgy.

As a result, this liturgy remains Roman in spirit. The commission made only a few structural changes that reflect African cultural and religious values. As Egbulem points out, "the insertion of African ideas and symbols into the Roman liturgy does not give birth to an authentic African Liturgy."[40] In other words, because there was no radical change or creativity to the Mass in Zaire, it was not its own Mass. Although Egbulem is

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[38] Ibid., 41.
[39] Ibid., 41.
[40] Ibid., 43.

correct in his argument, it is evident that the Zairian bishops were not intending or permitting the abolishment of Roman Rite from the liturgy. Instead it was their aim to preserve Roman Catholicism and enhance it with that of their own culture. This is also evident as "the bishops were expected to respect the basic structures of the Catholic liturgy."[41]

Between 1975 and 1985, Zaire and Rome had many discussions about the liturgy allowing each parties to learn from the other. In Rome, it is clear that Vatican II's liturgical reforms did not allow the doors of reform to close and the Zairian bishops would ensure that their hopes for inculturation were met. Throughout the negotiations, the Roman delegation kept reminding Zairian bishops of Pope John Paul II's demand that, "sensitivity toward the unity of the World church"[42] be kept in mind throughout the process of inculturation in Africa.

Consequently, it is evident that the authority of the Pope from Rome continued to shape Catholicism around the world. Although, in some ways Vatican II was a liberal movement in the Church, the ultimate authority of the Pope was still in effect. Evidently, Vatican II allowed for inculturation, but we must ask if the interpretation of Vatican II by Pope John Paul II post-Vatican II allowed for the full inculturation of the liturgy in the Congo. It is not the aim of this work to discuss the views of Pope John Paul II; however, it is important to identify that he was theologically conservative and desired for a more centralized and authoritarian approach to Catholicism. Undoubtedly, this had some effect on the guidelines and later the approval of the Zairian Rite. Finally, on April 30, 1988, after much deliberation and debate, the Congregation for the Divine Worship gave the formal approval of the Zairian Rite of the Eucharist.

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[41] Ibid., 44.

[42] Ibid., 45.

Although it is evident that the Zairian Rite is distinct compared to the Roman Rite, we must ask ourselves if the bishops in Rome during the 1970's and 1980's stayed true to *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. Following extensive research, it is apparent that by forming the Zairian Rite of the Eucharist, the bishops in Rome did stay true to Vatican II. Without the promulgations of the liturgical reforms in the council, inculturation would not have been possible to the extent that it had reached in Zaire.

Inculturation did exist and manifest itself in Zaire as a result of Vatican II. Without Vatican II, inculturation may have existed but not to the extreme that it was able to exist after *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. Vatican II allowed for the reinterpretation of Christian theology, and the next step for Zairian bishops was for their liturgy to be shaped around the culture of its population. According to Magesa, "True inculturation is a deep experience in the life of the individual and the community."[43] Regardless of whether the Roman liturgy is still present in the Zairian Mass, it has incorporated that which is symbolic to the individual in Congo, to allow for better understanding of their faith. Zairian Christians "live their faith as truly African and truly Christian, without a split personality from divided loyalty."[44] Therefore, it is important that the Zairian Rite derive itself from the Roman liturgy in order to maintain universality within the Church that stretches to all corners of the world.

Conclusion

As Jay P. Dolan explains, "Religion lives and breathes in a specific time and place, in a particular culture; for this reason, it is shaped by the ideas, attitudes, values and forms that prevail in

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[43] Laurenti Magesa, *Anatomy of Inculturation: Transforming the Church in Africa* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2004), 145.
[44] Ibid., 143.

the society in which that religion lives."[45] Vatican II was the most important event in the history of the Catholic Church in the twentieth century, because it has caused clergy members and laity alike to question the teachings and practices of its two thousand year old tradition. As Massimo Faggioli claims, "Nobody doubts any longer that something happened at Vatican II, but what happened is not so obvious."[46]

The post-Vatican II period was the most visible example of the complexity of the relationship between the spirit and the letter of the council. Vatican II brought Catholics together, but also tore other Catholics apart in a battle for meaning. The basic texts reveal that there were decisions made, however, those decisions are constantly up for debate. When Vatican II gave space to this debate, in many ways it allowed for a deeper meaning of Catholicism.

The conclusion of the council did not lead to the conclusion of the debate. After the council, "the ideological spectrum of Catholic theologians on Vatican II seemed unanimous in their enthusiastic acceptance of the final documents and their view of the novelty of Vatican II."[47] However, what began as exuberance for the council quickly became disappointment among some, as a result of the slowness and indecision of the council's documents.[48] Therefore, some argue that Vatican II was a failure. "Traditional Catholics" in recent years, have grown vocal in denouncing the council as synonymous with disaster and chaos in the Church.[49] However, today it seems that the majority of laity and clergy accept the changes that Vatican II implemented. What is apparent is that the Catholic Church and Vatican II are not monolithic. However,

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[45] Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience,*423.
[46] Faggioli, *Vatican II*, 112.
[47] Ibid., 8.
[48] Ibid., 19.
[49] Ibid., 19.

Pope John Paul II attempted to eliminate the divide in the interpretations of Vatican II during his pontificate.

Between November 24 and December 8, 1985, Pope John Paul II summoned the Extraordinary Synod of Bishops to mark the twentieth anniversary of the conclusion of Vatican II. The Synod was called in order to celebrate Vatican II and to evaluate the application of the changes of the council in the past twenty years. In the same spirit of Vatican II, the secretariat of the synod sent out questionnaires to the attending bishops and used the responses as preparation for what would be discussed.

Pope John Paul II and the bishops set out to react to the tensions that had emerged during the global reception of Vatican II after 1965 with the final report from the Synod. With this, the bishops would also reveal and cement the long-lasting effects that the council had on the, "diverging hermeneutical tendencies present in post- Vatican II Catholicism."[50] In other words, the Synod discussed the conflicting reception of Vatican II's reforms and the legacy it had on the church twenty years later.

The conclusion of the Synod declared that the council was "a grace of God and a gift of the Holy Spirit, from which have come forth many spiritual fruits for the universal church of our time."[51] Therefore, the final report proclaimed, any attack on Vatican II would contradict the central conclusion of the Extraordinary Synod. Vatican II will forever be contested and debated, regardless of the 1985 Synod and its final report.

The main aim of this work is to demonstrate that the Roman Catholic Church is not singular or monolithic. There were several interpretations of the council and every Catholic, clergy and lay received the council differently. Furthermore, the evaluation of the Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum*

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[50] Ibid., 87.
[51] Richard P. McBrien, *The Church: The Evolution of Catholicism* (New York, NY: HarperOne, 2008), 212.

Concilium, reveals the variety of responses within the church. Clergy members and laity alike were eager and cautious during the implementation process, and implementation varied across different regions.

The example of Pittsburg and Zaire illuminates how Vatican II was received in various regions. These two separate geographic locations reveal different understandings and receptions of Vatican II from clergy and laity. Pittsburgh and Zaire are examples of different interpretations and implementations of Vatican II that have exposed the contestation and debate of the council. The inclusion of Pittsburgh and Zaire reveals the significance and impact that Vatican II had and continues to have on Catholics in these regions.

A focus on the council's liturgical reforms of Vatican II reveals an in depth view of how the laity received the council, not just those who passed its reforms. This is what is valuable. The advent of the council's liturgical reforms allowed for the first time, the participation of the laity, which was once a distant observer of its own faith. Although, many individuals may not understand or comprehend what Vatican II has done for the Church, and the laity, it is evident that many are aware of liturgical changes. This is because Vatican II and more specifically, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, will remain visible so as long as the faithful continue to attend the Mass.

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Collective Action after the Decline of U.S. Trade Unionism:
The Case of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers

BY ALEX COOK

On March 8, 2005, representatives from Yum! Brands signed a historic agreement with leaders from the Florida-based immigrant farm laborer organization Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) after a four year campaign. In this major victory for the CIW, Taco Bell agreed to take measures to ensure that its suppliers' workers were receiving adequate pay and were subject to fair working conditions. These agreements would have direct implications for tomato pickers throughout Florida who would reap the benefits of this historic agreement. Profoundly, the CIW's victory also occurred in a particularly abysmal period for organized labor. In the face of the demand for a cheap, flexible workforce, the aggressive reemergence of the private sphere, and the collapse of the political economic foundations upon which labor power rested, Trade unionism was no doubt in decline. Yet amidst all of this tumult, those who were once intentionally left out of the labor movement--the underpaid, exploited undocumented farmworkers—found victory. In what follows, I will examine the complex political, social, economic and historical developments that made this victory possible. Indeed, through this analysis I seek to illuminate innovative approaches for labor struggle in a time where labor power appears to be waning more than ever.

The political-economic dynamics that shaped the CIW's work can be traced back to the 1970s, with the rise of stagflation and its capacity to undermine the Keynesian economic program that largely structured labor prosperity in the post-war United States. Stagflation, a term that refers to a toxic mix of diminished output met with inflation, began in the mid-1960s, but became most pronounced in the 1970s. Throughout the '70s, the labor movement found itself in a state of peril, as its institutional niche

within the U.S.'s economic system was undermined. Stagflation presented an impasse for the Keynesian policies that maintained the labor peace and relative prosperity for the working class following World War II.[52] In response to stagflation, economic initiatives inspired by Keynesianism, which sought to maintain high wages and enfranchise labor power, were said to contribute to stagflation.

The demand to move away from Keynesian models implicated both the state and civil society. As Nelson Lichtenstein argues:

> The Keynesian programs of economic stimulation, whether through government tax policy or union wage advance, have worked best when the market coincided with a powerful, self-contained polity. In a more porous world of mobile capital, goods, and workers, such labor-liberal programs seemed more likely to generate inflation, trade-deficits, and job losses.[53]

Institutions at all levels of society created by a labor struggle that had previously sought to contain capital within a bound polity and redistribute its bounty with a level of equity, were inept in the face of demands to set capital free in an increasingly globalized economy. As Lichtenstein argues: "most analysts of globalization, both left and right, saw the growing power of market forces as decisive to the future of the trade unions and of all other institutions that stood in the path of a worldwide market in goods, money, and labor."[54] In this regard, stagflation enacted a scenario where the state and peripheral institutions needed,

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[52] Jeremy Brecher "American Labor on the Eve of the Millenium" in *Strike! Revised, Expanded, and Updated Version* (Oakland: 2014), 244

[53] Nelson Lichtenstein "A Time of Troubles" in *The State of the Union* (Princeton: 2002), 223.

[54] Jeremy Brecher, *Strike!,* 219.

were expected to be subject to the demands of capital in an unprecedented manner.

In the aftermath of stagflation, Labor was left with few avenues for mobilization, as Keynesianism's functionality was undermined by the renegotiation of the relationships between the state, civil society and capital. In the face of capital that demanded mobility and flexibility, labor's fixity and institutionalization within Keynesian structures, made it difficult to respond to capital's demands for flexibility and mobility. Indeed, the extent to which post-WWII prosperity made labor subject to the vicissitudes of capital, served as labor's Achille's heel.

In fact, rigidity and stability were central to the New Deal arrangement. Lichtenstein speaks to this rigidity, arguing that it characterized production for both labor and capital. According to Lichtenstein, "unionists defended a set of work rules, seniority rights, and job classifications designed to generate some sense of order and predictability within a work site context that could be both arbitrary and authoritarian in its decision-making."[55] As a result, once capital was set loose from the institutions that bound it, labor found itself strapped to the fluctuations of capital with very little recourse. Ironically, the downfall of Keynesianism demonstrated that a program that sought to control capital, was in fact, rigidly wedded to capital.

When labor unions found themselves subject to the vicissitudes of capital, one of the most destructive turns for organized labor in the 1970s emerged: unions began making previously unfathomable concessions with employers, in order to help firms remain "competitive."[56] In *Strike!* Jeremy Brecher

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[55] Nelson Lichtenstein, *State of the Union,* 241.

[56] Lichtenstein points out that while competition from abroad and plant relocation mobilized fundamental anxieties of the labor movement, many of these fears were unfounded. As Lichtenstein argues, the fears of a "global division of labor" that arose in the post NAFTA years have been somewhat

argues that in the aftermath of stagflation, "[c]ompanies hard hit by the recession began asking unions for concessions, which were often granted on the grounds that they were necessary for company survival."[57] This dynamic can be traced back to the Chrysler bailout, in which the federal government prevented Chrysler from falling into bankruptcy, provided that the firms enact wage cuts, layoffs, and numerous other cuts. Not only did employers accept this, but unions also campaigned to cut wages, and abandoned other long term projects to satisfy the firms.

The Chrysler bailout reflected a fundamental renegotiation in the relationship between labor and capital, as one of the most powerful unions in the auto industry agreed to substantial concessions for the perceived survival of the company. This would establish the trend of "enterprise unionism," where "workers are given powerful incentives to identify their economic well-being with the fate of the company."[58] However, this approach was not universally accepted and in many cases "enterprise unionism" would create profound rifts within the labor movement itself, as union leadership was often

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unfounded, and--quoting Paul Krugman--argues that "'the obsession with competitiveness is both wrong and dangerous,' chiefly used as 'a political device [and] as an evasion." While the movement of capital abroad was present, the threat of moving abroad it was more often used as a threat to discipline workers in a campaign to bust unions and cut wages wages in order to cut away at stagflation. Notably, the fears that were mobilized were largely based in perverse forms of racism, jingoism, and xenophobia amongst the ranks of labor. In many regards, the prevalence of this racism and reactionary conservatism largely worked to isolate the working class from important allies on the left and a democratic party that was already finding itself more and more responsive to management. Already alienated from the pro-management Republican party, the movement found itself with few allies in this period. [*Source:* Ibid., 222-3.]

[57] Ibid., 243.

[58] Ibid., 233.

willing to accept deals that were odds with the demands of workers.

The Austin P-9 strike waged against Hormel Foods workers represented by the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), is a profound example of the intra-union rifts enacted by "enterprise unionism", as leaders of the union were subject to the demands of employers. The effects of this rift were profound, as P-9 presents a case where despite ingenuity on behalf of workers, workers' demands were ultimately undermined by a union leadership bound to the demands of employers. The demands of workers failed, in part, due to the UFCW's rigid dependence on capital—a dependence that was fundamentally at odds with the needs of workers.

As was prevalent within the labor movement throughout the '70s and '80s, concessions proved to be the spark that ignited the initial Austin P-9's strike. In 1982, Hormel opened a new factory in Austin, Minnesota. Workers entered the factory on a previously-determined contract, which was full of concessions. However, when workers accepted the contract, they accepted it on the terms that there would be no further concessions. This promise would eventually break down as the UFCW negotiated contracts in Ottumwa, Iowa, which gave way to further concessions, breaking chain unity. The break spurred the Austin P-9 local to organize a new contract. While organizing the new contract, Austin P9 and its president Jim Guyette were faced with yet another round of preemptive concessions, as the UFCW aimed to make their wage demands on par with non-union plants.[59] When viewing the pressures that unions faced at the time, one can see why UFCW was led to capitulate to these concessions: trade unionists could not stop demanded lower

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[59] Kim Moody, *An Injury to All: The Decline of American Unionism,* (London:Verso, 1988). 314-6

wages and a more vulnerable workforce. However, these actions led the UFCW to turn workers into adversaries and ultimately undermine workers' demands.

The UFCW undermined the demands of laborers themselves, as it sought to discipline workers and enforce the uniform contract across the meatpacking industry. The attempt to discipline labor itself would ultimately have devastating effects for striking members of the Austin P-9 Local. Indeed, disjunction between P9 and UFCW International would be a leading contributor to the failure of the P-9 Local's strike, even as workers were raised to a level of radical consciousness and utilized original and transgressive tactics, including community mobilization and boycotts.[60] Seeking to break from the radicalism of the P-9 Local, and fearing the power of the strikers, UFCW officials began to denounce the Local publicly for "breaking chain unity."[61] For example, in January 1986, leaders of the UFCW would go on to *Nightline* with Jim Guyette, denouncing the strike. According to Kim Moody, "This step was unprecedented: a top official of an international union attacking a leader of a sanctioned strike on national television."[62] Following this attack, the UFCW would partake in a "literary attack" on P-9, turning some members of the Labor Left against the strikers.[63] Facing profound antagonism from the union itself, laborers would not have their demands met, as the UFCW would move

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[60] Kim Moody, *An Injury to All,* 320.

[61] Kim Moody speculates that this fear on behalf of the UFCW began four years prior to the strike, when members of the local would not accept a merger. Following the denial of the merger one P-9 official would tell local president Jim Guyette "You'll live to regret the day you turned this merger down." [*Source:* Ibid., 321.]

[62] Ibid., 321.

[63] Ibid., 322.

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on to agree with pre-established contracts with Hormel, the only gain being a one cent raise.

The case of the P-9 strike presents the profound difficulties of trade unionism within the Neoliberal context. Frighteningly, in readings such as those put forth by Kim Moody, it can be seen that the trade union structure itself proved to be the primary roadblock to the needs of workers reeling in a declining economy. The extent to which trade unions were bound to capital becomes painfully clear, upon recognition of the fact that trade unions were bound to capital's vicissitudes, even if that meant undermining the needs of laborers themselves.

In light of these abysmal trends of trade unionism, one can look to the CIW as a dynamic campaign that established new precedents for labor organizing efforts. In many regards, the CIW's work mirrors that undertaken by the Austin P-9 organizers, who themselves were responding to a new set of conditions put forth by management. However, unlike the Austin P-9ers, the CIW was victorious in its effort to achieve better wages and working conditions for workers. By examining the work of the CIW, most notably their Taco Bell boycott, it is apparent that this movement was able to take advantage of the same dynamics that caused such turmoil for trade unionists throughout the '70s and '80s. Notably, the CIW would do so by maintaining a structure that greatly differed from post-war trade unionism.

After its inception in the early 1990s, the CIW saw its greatest victory in 2005, after leveraging a four year campaign against Taco Bell. In this campaign, workers were responding to the deplorable wages and working conditions that migrant workers were subject to while picking tomatoes that were later sold to Taco Bell. Wages received by workers had not risen for tomato pickers since 1978--farmworkers had to pick 2 tons of

tomatoes in order to make $50.[64] There had also been widespread documentation of abuse and, in some cases, slavery on tomato farms. Looking to ameliorate their working conditions, the workers pursued a boycott campaign against Taco Bell, demanding that it assist subcontractors in paying higher wages and hold them accountable for maintaining decent working standards. After four years of organizing among farmworkers, and utilizing tactics that ranged from nationwide marches to hunger strikes, Yum! Foods, Taco's Bell's parent company, capitulated and agreed to the worker's demands. These demands included 1) an extra penny per pound harvested by workers (a 75% wage increase), 2) an agreement that Taco Bell would provide information to the CIW on how much they received from suppliers and wage receipts; 3) a guarantee that all wage increases would go to pickers; 4) language in the company's code of conduct ensuring that the company would prevent any cases of indentured servitude; and 5) that Taco Bell would support state laws that improved the condition of pickers.[65]

The campaign was marked by a number of crucial factors, which should all be understood as being embedded within the context of the political changes that arose in the aftermath of labor's decline in the Neoliberal period. Indeed, the CIW worked through and even made use of the barriers that formal trade union movements were unable to surpass. These included, the rise of corporate power, working with a highly flexible labor pool, and moving beyond the trade union model itself. These factors were reflected in the movement: the CIW

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[64] Immokalee: A story of slavery and freedom (2010), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zBc4cOg9-ks.
[65] Elly Leary, "Immokalee Workers Take Down Taco Bell in *Monthly Review* 57, No. 5, (October 2005), accessed November, 2 2014, http://monthlyreview.org/2005/10/01/immokalee-workers-take-down-taco-bell/.

did not target their employers (but rather a major corporation), the workers organizing were able to make use of the fact that they were a highly transient population, and--most importantly-- the CIW was not a formal or recognized union.

Indeed, the CIW's non-union structure served as a boon within the Taco Bell campaign, as agricultural work was not protected under labor law and traditionally had been a sector that was difficult to organize. As Beverly Bell notes, given the fact that workers picked up wages from numerous employers and were accounted for under labor law, "[t]hose who pick most of the produce consumed in the United States [were] in short, 'an employer's dream and an organizer's nightmare.'"[66] For the CIW, this "nightmare" was largely overcome by decentering and diffusing the "union" throughout a multidimensional community network. For example, while members were required to pay dues to the CIW, the workers also maintained access to a food cooperative.[67] Whereas labor was previously organized in rigid settings that were deeply intertwined with the workplace itself, the CIW emerged from a community network that fell outside of the workplace and addressed worker's needs on a permanent basis. Not only advocating for increased wages, but also demanding immigrants rights and the provision of necessary services, the CIW's position outside of the workplace provided them with victory, unlike industrial trade unions, which were rigidly attached to the workplace itself.

Utilizing politics outside of the workplace, the CIW was able to flip power relations and make corporations accountable to their workers. The CIW's decentralized structure made it incredibly dynamic and allowed it to confront the conglomerates that had provided such problems for trade unionism at the end

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[66] Beverly Bell, "Florida Farmworkers Build Unity Through Education and Action" in *Race, Poverty & Environment* 12, no. 2 (2007): 39.

[67] Elly Leary, *Immokalee Workers.*

of the 20th century. At a very technical level, the decentralized nature of the CIW allowed it to leverage a secondary boycott—a strategy where workers target a firm other than their employer, in order to pressure their employer to make a change. Here the CIW's status as a non-official union allowed it to utilize the secondary boycott, unlike recognized trade unions, which were barred from utilizing secondary boycotts by the Taft-Harley Act.

More substantively, however, the Taco Bell campaign was able mobilize a base outside of the workplace. Indeed, this public presence was deeply effective for the CIW. As one author notes, "[t]he take-to-the-streets put-your-money-where-mouth-is campaigns have moved the feet, hearts, and minds of multitudes in the United States, especially among immigrant rights networks and students."[68] The public image allowed for the CIW to mobilize a large and diverse base against Taco Bell.[69] Indeed, the CIW's status as a solidarity network that pervaded across numerous layers of public social life, provided them with the capacity to confront an external corporate power.

While the CIW's organizing structure proved itself dynamic, insofar as it was able to break from the traditional trade unionist model, it is also crucial to point to the social milieu in which the CIW flourished. Undoubtedly, in order to mobilize the public, the CIW had to confront the Family Values Economy that served as a necessary companion to neoliberal reforms. This was a substantial gesture, as the Family Values Economy, which arose in 1970s, historically served as a significant barrier to labor struggles.

In the aftermath of stagflation, the labor movement was not only confronted with the private sphere in economic terms, it was also confronted with values systems that facilitated the new economic arrangements. Amidst "enterprise unionism", a model

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[68] Beverly Bell, "Florida Farmworkers, 39.
[69] Ibid., 39.

of pacifying workers arose, which sought to manage them through systems of grievance control aimed at emotional well-being within the individual workplace. Labor disputes were to be settled through a model of "union-free harmony." Mirroring the harmony of a family, this program presented a means to keep worker's grievances within the workplace and to keep worker's voices strictly individualized.

While family values have always played a central role in mobilizing the labor movement, they were re-appropriated in this period to undermine the influence of collective trade unionism. In this approach, employees were stripped of collective rights and were presented with measures that relieved emotional stress and allowed one's own sense of well-being to be wrapped up with that of the company's.[70] Unions attempted to find a niche within this transition and saw the cooperative management scheme as a means of incorporating democratic principles into the workplace.[71] However, this attempt largely undermined the efforts of unions, as those who implemented the programs were largely hostile to the collective voice of unions and their demands for material gains.

Hence, trade unionists were not only undermined by economic trends, they were also confronted with value systems that privileged harmony within the workplace above all else. The valuing of harmony led to the vilification of the polemical, confrontational nature of collective bargaining. The workplace family could not be disrupted in the new Family Values Economy.

The CIW's success can be attributed to its ability to operate within the Family Values Economy. While the CIW was truly influential and bold, insofar as it sought to wield a secondary boycott against Taco Bell, it did not commit the taboo

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[70] Lichtenstein, 242.

[71] Lichtenstein, 243.

of disrupting the harmony of the workplace itself. Notably, given the precarious position of workers as undocumented, this was necessary; workers could have faced severe penalties if they confronted those they lived and worked in proximity to. Nonetheless, by going after Taco Bell through a secondary boycott, the workers did not disrupt the workplace family by attempting to shift private contracts with their employers. According to Bell, "CIW's campaigns rely on decentralized networks and go after the brand image, targeting the point of consumption rather than the point of production."[72] In this sense, the CIW was able to confront mega corporations such as Yum! Foods, but was able to do so in a manner that worked through the private sphere established in the late 20th century.

The CIW's ability to adapt to these social parameters played a substantial role in affecting its ability to enact change. Nonetheless, for some, this may be a controversial characterization of a movement that has been so lauded by progressives and the labor movement. Attributing the CIW's success, in part, to the Family Values Economy, could lead some to characterize the CIW as co-optative or even regressive. However, by pointing to the CIW's relation to the Family Values Economy I do not seek to label their work as co-optative; rather, I seek to emphasize the CIW's adaptability and dynamism in the face of dilemmas that trade unionism was not able to overcome.

When examining the CIW in all of its complexity, the possibilities that the CIW provided when seeking new approaches for labor mobilization should be considered. In examining the CIW, it appears that labor struggle will somehow have to respond to capital and the social milieus that capital fosters. In the case the CIW, there is no radical departure from organizing methods that respond to capital. The fact that Coalition was successful, in part, by responding to the demands

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[72] Bell, 39.

of capital itself, cannot be ignored. However, this does not mean that the CIW should be discredited.

One should not seek to establish the CIW's tactics as universally good or even applicable. Instead, it should be noted that the CIW's ability to respond to the changing demands of capital made them a significant case study for those seeking substantive change for labor. The CIW represented labor power's ability to move and adapt in the face of a foe that was constantly shifting. In this spirit, I wish to emphasize that in examining labor struggle, the aim should not be to establish universal methods, or rigid tools. Rather, struggles for labor must include structures of dynamism and adaptation so as to face the ever-changing challenges that capital presents.

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