PROGRAM

Southern Labor Studies Association
Biennial Meeting
Athens, GA
May 17-19, 2018

*Sponsors*

The 2018 SLSA has received generous support from:

The University of Georgia’s B. Phinizy Spalding Chair
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The Southern Historical Association and
The Southern Labor Archives
The University of Georgia Press

*Program Committee*

The SLSA would like to thank the members of the conference’s program committee:

Jonathan Bryant
Traci Drummond
LaGuana Gray
Cindy Hahamovitch
Owen James Hyman
Bob Korstad
Michael Law
Nikki Luke
*Accommodations*

The SLSA has secured block rates for two Athens hotels. You may use other area hotels but these are the closest to the conference and the only hotels within walking distance. To receive the block rate, you must reserve your room by **April 26th, 2018**.

**Holiday Inn Athens-University Area**

**197 E Broad St, Athens, GA 30601**  
The rate at the Holiday Inn is $109 per night for a standard room with two double beds or $119 per night for a deluxe room with one king.  
For reservations, call (706) 549-4433 or visit this [link](#). Mention the group code is **SLS**.

**Holiday Inn Express–Athens University Area**  
**513 W. Broad St., Athens, GA 30601**  
The rate at the Holiday Inn Express is $104 per night and includes breakfast.  
For reservations, call (706) 546-8122 or visit this [link](#). Mention the group code is **SLS**.

Room Sharing Option:  
SLSA members looking for a roommate may post a message at [slsa@duke.edu](mailto:slsa@duke.edu) or on the SLSA Facebook page.

*How to Get There*

**Shuttle from the Atlanta Airport**  
Groome Transportation runs a shuttle van to and from the Hartsfield-Jackson Airport which is just as quick as driving yourself. A round trip will run you $78. Reservations can be made by calling (706) 612-1155 or visiting the following link:  
[http://groometrans.hudsonltd.net/res](http://groometrans.hudsonltd.net/res)  
When selecting drop off/pickup locations, be sure to choose “Holiday Inn Broad St.” or “Holiday Inn Express”. The trip from the airport usually takes around an hour and a half, so plan accordingly (and if at all possible, try to avoid taking the shuttle during Atlanta rush hour).

**Rent a Car/Drive Yourself**
*Disclaimer: for all these routes (but especially from the airport), you would be well advised to consult Waze or Google Maps before taking off for traffic information and alternate routes. Avoid Atlanta rush hour at all costs.

**From Hartsfield-Jackson Airport (ATL)**
Rental cars are available in the ATL terminal. Follow signs after picking up your rental car to I-85N. Follow I-85N for 33 miles, then take exit 106 to GA-316 E. Continue on GA-316 E for 39 miles. 316 then turns into Epps Bridge Parkway, which you’ll continue on for 3 miles. Then bear right onto US-78 BUS E (this is essentially Broad St., the main drag that cuts through downtown Athens). Continue on US 78 BUS E for 3.3 miles. You’ll see the Holiday Inn Express (take a right on Newton) and shortly thereafter, the Holiday Inn (take a right on Lumpkin), on your right.

**From the North**
Take I-85 South to US 441 South (Exit #149) for approximately 20 miles. Go under the Athens perimeter. That road becomes MLK Jr. Boulevard. Turn Right onto North Avenue. Follow North Avenue into downtown Athens. The Holiday Inn will be on your left at Broad & Lumpkin St, and the Holiday Express will be farther down at Broad & Newton St.

**From the South**
From I-75, follow signs in Macon to exit 1A, US 129/441 North. Follow signs for US 441 into Athens. Take exit 8 off the loop, then take a left on Lexington Rd. Continue on that road into downtown. The Holiday Inn will be on your left at Broad & Lumpkin St, and the Holiday Express will be farther down at Broad & Newton St.

**From the East**
Traveling west from Augusta on I-20, take Exit 172 onto US 78 West. Follow US 78 West for 90 miles into downtown Athens. The Holiday Inn will be on your left at Broad & Lumpkin St, and the Holiday Express will be farther down at Broad & Newton St.

**From the West**
Take I-85N from Atlanta, then take exit 106 to GA-316 E. Continue on GA-316 E for 39 miles. 316 then turns into Epps Bridge Parkway, which you’ll continue on for 3 miles. Then bear right onto US-78 BUS E (this is essentially Broad St., the main drag that cuts through downtown Athens). Continue on US 78 BUS E for 3.3 miles. You’ll see the Holiday Inn Express (take a right on Newton) and shortly thereafter, the Holiday Inn (take a right on Lumpkin), on your right.

**Finding the Conference**

**The Venue**
The bulk of the conference will take at the Richard B. Russell Special Collections Building (300 South Hull Street, Athens, Georgia 30602; [http://www5.galib.uga.edu/russell/visit.html](http://www5.galib.uga.edu/russell/visit.html)) which is in walking distance of both
Holiday Inns. If needed, please consult the following campus map to orient yourself: [https://usg.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=10832e7927124404a7119df52872af84](https://usg.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=10832e7927124404a7119df52872af84)

**Walking**

*From the Holiday Inn (0.3 mi)*
Leaving the hotel, take an immediate right onto Lumpkin. Walk down Lumpkin until you see a crosswalk (with flashing yield signs on both sides of the road; *if you pass the Baptist Collegiate Ministries you’ve gone too far). Take an immediate right at the crosswalk and continue until you see a large library with a sprawling courtyard in front of it—that’s the Russell.

*From the Holiday Inn Express (0.3 mi)*
Leaving the hotel, take an immediate right onto Newton St. Continue for 0.2 miles, then take a left onto Waddell St, then a quick right onto S. Hull St. You should immediately see the imposing Russell Library structure on your left.

**Parking**
If you’re coming for the conference but not staying at one of the conference hotels, you can park your car in the parking lot next to the Russell Library. Enter the Hull St Deck (400 S. Hull St.) at the south entrance near Baxter St. When you reach the barrier, press the call button and tell the attendant that you’re attending the SLSA Conference. Note: you cannot leave your car there overnight.

**On-site Registration**
If you haven’t registered for the conference before your arrival, you’ll need to do so between 8am and 5pm on the second floor of the Richard B. Russell Library (which is where most of our sessions will be).

**Getting Around Town**
The hotels and the Russell Library are all within walking distance of downtown, but should you need a ride somewhere, Athens is serviced by both Uber and Lyft, as well as several taxi companies (United Taxi Cab: 706-549-0808; Golden Taxi: 706-543-5646). To get around on campus, feel free to hop on the UGA buses, which require no fee or ID to ride. Click the little bus icon on Google.maps to find your way around by bus. The “East/West” route picks up passengers at the boarding zone on South Hull St. near the Russell Library, along its many stops is the Georgia Museum of Art.

**Goings on Around Town**

*Eats*
The conference will provide lunch on Friday and Saturday to those who paid for them, and dinner on Friday night for all registrants. Coffee and munchies will be served through
the day. For other meals, there are many restaurants in town. We recommend the following:

**Within Easy Walking Distance**
- Trappeze Pub [http://trappezepub.com/](http://trappezepub.com/) (casual, solid pub food, extensive craft beer list)
- The World Famous [https://www.facebook.com/theworldfamousathens](https://www.facebook.com/theworldfamousathens) (hip bar/grill, known for its Chicken & Waffle Club)
- Dawg Gone Good Barbecue [https://www.yelp.com/biz/dawg-gone-good-bbq-athens-4](https://www.yelp.com/biz/dawg-gone-good-bbq-athens-4) (casual but tasty BBQ, eat it outside on their tables or take it to Little Kings across the street to enjoy with a beverage)
- Taste of India [http://www.indiaathens.com/](http://www.indiaathens.com/) (all you can eat lunch buffet (tread lightly), and a quiet, peaceful dinner can be had here)

**A Little Further**
- Weaver D’s [https://www.yelp.com/biz/weaver-ds-athens](https://www.yelp.com/biz/weaver-ds-athens) (an extremely unhealthy and delicious soul food joint made famous by REM, who named its eighth album after the restaurant’s motto—“Automatic for the People.”)
- The Grit [https://www.thegrit.com/menu---lunch---dinner.html](https://www.thegrit.com/menu---lunch---dinner.html) (the go-to vegetarian/vegan restaurant in town)
- Mama’s Boy [https://mamasboyathens.com/](https://mamasboyathens.com/) (super popular [but good] brunch spot, expect a long wait for a table)
- Pulaski Heights Barbecue [http://pulaskiheightsbbq.com/](http://pulaskiheightsbbq.com/) (best barbecue joint in town, although we’re having this on Friday night at the reception, but who knows maybe you’ll want seconds)
- Cali and Tito’s [https://www.yelp.com/biz/cali-n-titos-athens](https://www.yelp.com/biz/cali-n-titos-athens) (cash-only, indoor/outdoor patio seating, known for its Cuban sandwich, and it’s BYOB [w/a $2 fee] expect to wait in line for a decent stretch on a Saturday night)
- Automatic Pizza [https://www.yelp.com/biz/automatic-pizza-athens](https://www.yelp.com/biz/automatic-pizza-athens) (best pizza in town—NY-style, greasy, delicious, located in the hip Normaltown neighborhood; eat it there or have them deliver it to you next door at Normal Bar)
- 5&10 [https://www.fiveandten.com/](https://www.fiveandten.com/) (definitely upscale American food, also located in Five Points)

**Listen to Live Music**

Athens has a long and storied history as a hotbed of indie music, particularly in the 1980s, when local acts like REM, the B-52s, and Love Tractor. For the full experience, watch the
cult classic documentary Athens, GA: Inside/Out (https://www.amazon.com/Athens-GA-Inside-Out-MVD/dp/B001I9MPMS) Take the self-guided walking tour of Athens Music History (https://res.cloudinary.com/simpleview/image/upload/v1/clients/athens/CCTAthensMusicTour1_c7e5c9e2-cc1f-40ae-b428-b12c57c144e2.pdf) and hit up a show when you’re here, at…

- **The 40 Watt** (one of Athens’ oldest and most famous venues; played many times by the likes of REM, the B-52s, and many other famous Athens bands)
- **The Georgia Theatre** (Athens’ most popular venue, usually gets the biggest acts, was also played by REM before it burned down and was subsequently resurrected several years ago)
- **The Foundry** (a newer venue in a repurposed iron mill that specializes in folk, funk, and country acts)
- For smaller, more intimate venues with less famous acts, check out the Caledonia Lounge, Nowhere Bar; or Flicker Theatre & Bar.
- For a master list of concerts, check out Flagpole Magazine’s calendar

**Visit a Museum**

[Georgia’s Museum of Art](https://www.uga.edu/art_gallery/) is here in Athens on the UGA campus. Founded by Alfred Heber Holbrook in 1945, the Georgia Museum of Art is well worth a visit. As both an academic museum and the state's official art museum, it serves not only the University of Georgia population, but also the owners of its permanent collection—the citizens of Georgia—through award-winning exhibitions, publications and programming. Thirteen galleries house a large portion of the Georgia Museum of Art's permanent collection. Conference goers might be especially interested in the museum’s collection of folk art, and The Phoebe and Ed Forio and Martha and Eugene Odum Galleries, dedicated to decorative arts of the South including silver, pottery, textiles and furniture ranging from slat-back chairs to simply crafted and painted pieces. Check the website to see what temporary exhibits are being featured.

The [Lyndon House Arts Center](https://www.athens-clarkecounty.gov/lyndonhouse) is an Athens-Clarke County art center, adjacent to the Ware-Lyndon Historic House (at 211 Hoyt St.), an 1840s late Greek Revival home, furnished in period fashion. Come tour the house and visit the current exhibitions in the gallery.

Antebellum Athens was half slave and half free, and was home to some of the richest plantation owners in the region. One of those people—lawyer, author, educator, politician, military leader, and southern nationalist Tom Cobb—lived in a house that is now a museum at 175 Hill Street. The [1834 T.R.R. Cobb House](https://www.athens-clarkecounty.gov/lyndonhouse) was originally a four over four “Plantation Plain” home located on Prince Avenue in Athens. Cobb expanded the house as his law career flourished but he died in 1862, and his wife sold the house in 1873. It was then used as a rental property, fraternity house, and boarding house. In the path of the expansion of St. Joseph’s Church in the 1980s, the house was moved to the outskirts of Atlanta to Stone Mountain, GA (home of the KKK) in 1985. There the house languished for 20 years before being moved back to Athens in 2005. It was painstakingly restored to its 1850 appearance.
**UGA’s Archives and Libraries**

UGA’s Special Collections Libraries are all housed in the Richard B. Russell Building, where the conference will take place. In the Russell Building are three archives, all of which will be of interest to conference attendees:

**The Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies** is one of the best repositories for twentieth century southern political history in the country. It is home to the papers of many Dixiecrat segregationists and Democratic Party salons, including those of longtime Senate leader Richard B. Russell. For more information about the collections (or to schedule a tour, talk to Jill Severn (jsevern@uga.edu; 706-542-5766). To learn about the library’s burgeoning oral history projects, Christian Lopez is your man (clopez@uga.edu; 706-542-5782).

**The Hargrett Library**

Located within the Russell Building, the Hargrett Library houses a vast wealth of material, particularly collections of rare books and papers that document the history of the state of Georgia and UGA, as well as a voluminous collection of 1,500 historical maps. For further information about the library’s holdings and to schedule an appointment, contact Director Kat Stein (kshirley@uga.edu; 706-542-5484)

**The Walter J. Brown Media Archive & Peabody Awards Collection** is the place to go for all your historical audiovisual materials. Home to over a quarter-million titles in film, video, audiotape, transcription disks, and other formats dating back to the 1920s. The crown jewel is the Peabody Collection, which includes almost every entry for the broadcast award since 1940. For more information about the archive, reach out to Mary Miller (mlmiller@uga.edu; 706-542-4789).

**Ditch the Kids**

For the traveling parents, there are options. To find a student babysitter, who can mind your kids while you enjoy the conference, try Urban Sitter.

**“Archives Spa”**

Throughout the conference, archivists from the Russell Library and the Southern Labor Studies Archive will be on hand to meet with researchers potentially interested in their collections. No appointment is necessary.

**The Program**

*Thursday, May 17th, 2018: 12:00-1:30PM*

**Russell Library 268**
Meeting of SLSA Officers & Executive Board

Thursday, May 17th, 2018: 12:00-1:30PM  Russell Library 281
(closed session)

“Southern Labor Studies Association Dissertation Prospectus Workshop”

Doctoral students working in any related discipline will have applied to participate by January 15, 2018 by submitting a 1250-1750-word prospectus and a CV. A sample bibliography of up to 5 pages) of primary and secondary sources may also be submitted as a separate Word document. Each accepted applicant will meet with a committee of scholars who will provide feedback. The workshop is limited to ten students, each of whom will receive a $300 honorarium to help defray the cost of attending the conference plus a one-year membership in the SLSA. To apply, submit materials to David Anderson (davida@latech.edu).

Thursday, May 17th, 2018: 1:30-3:00PM  Russell Library 285

Roundtable: Building Unions at Southern Public Universities
Organizer: Tom Smith, CWA

This roundtable will discuss the Communication Workers of America’s innovative organizing at southern public universities from Tennessee and Georgia to Mississippi and Texas, building strong workplace organization for faculty and staff outside of traditional bargaining and organizing frameworks.

Participants:

Anne Lewis (alewis615@earthlink.net) is the higher education caucus co-chair and an executive board member of the Texas State Employees Union/CWA local 6186. A documentary filmmaker, Lewis served as associate director on “Harlan County USA.” Her films include “Fast Food Women,” “On Our Own Land,” “Morristown: in the air and sun,” and (with Mimi Pickering) “Anne Braden: Southern Patriot.” She teaches film editing at the University of Texas at Austin. Her latest film “A Strike and an Uprising (in Texas)” in part documents the organizing drive of campus workers in Nacogdoches.

Jessie Wilkerson (jessie.wilkerson@gmail.com) is an assistant professor of history and southern studies at the University of Mississippi. She is the author of To Live Here, You Have to Fight: How Women Led Appalachian Movements for Social Justice (forthcoming, University of Illinois Press), and she is currently
working with faculty and staff at the University of Mississippi to organize a Mississippi chapter of the United Campus Workers.

Tom Smith is Organizing Coordinator for the southeastern region of the Communications Workers of America. Politicized by the Global Justice Movement, Tom Smith has been involved in labor and community organizing for the past 18 years. He is a member and former officer of United Campus Workers - CWA Local 3865 at the University of Tennessee where he was employed in dormitory housekeeping and the main campus library. He is a lifelong Tennessean, who currently lives in Memphis Tennessee with his wife and their two amazing little-rabble-rousers.

Bob Hutton (hutton.bob@gmail.com) is senior lecturer of history and American studies at the University of Tennessee. He is the author of Bloody Breathitt: Politics & Violence in the Appalachian South (2013, University Press of Kentucky), and a member of United Campus Workers (CWA Local#3865) since 2010.

Thursday, May 17th, 2018: 1:30-3:00PM
Russell Library 277

Panel: Coal Dust Capitalism
Organizer: Dana Caldemeyer

The promise of profit attracted worker and investor alike to the coalfields. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mines used limited technology to turn out enormous amounts of coal that fueled American expansion in the industrial age. With low operational expense, nearly anyone could become a mine owner, but becoming rich through coal came at a cost. This panel examines some of these costs that came out of the drive for profit. Worker responses to employers’ wage-reducing tactics, competition between native-born and foreign mine owners, and the fruits of workers’ own efforts to own their own mines provide insight into how ambition and competition shaped life and work in the coalfields.

Chair and Discussant: Ken Fones-Wolf (kfoneswo@wvu.edu)

BIO: Ken Fones-Wolf is the Stuart and Joyce Robbins Professor of History, West Virginia University, where he teaches American working-class and Appalachian history. He is the author or coauthor of three books: Struggle for the Soul of the Postwar South: White Evangelical Protestants and Operation Dixie (University of Illinois Press, 2015), Glass Towns: Industry, Labor, and Political Economy in Appalachia, 1890-1930s (University of Illinois Press, 2007) and Trade Union Gospel (Temple University Press, 1989). He also serves as editor of West Virginia History.

Struggling to Find the Holy Trinity and za cheblem in the Hills and Hollows:
Catholic Immigrant Miners and Labor Protest in West Virginia’s Coalfields, 1880-1912”

William Hal Gorby, West Virginia University (William.Gorby@mail.wvu.edu)

Coal mining has historically been a rough, dirty, and dangerous job. While the usual image of a West Virginia coal miner might be of a native white male, in actuality, the coal boom of the late 19th and early 20th centuries attracted thousands of immigrant miners. Along with many African-American migrants, they made many of the rural counties of the state quite diverse.

Coal operators like Justus Collins promoted a “Judicious Mixture” of white, black, and foreign-born workers as a tool in their fight to prevent labor organizing by the UMWA. While this worked for a time, the shared oppression of the company town system and growing solidarity among the diverse workforce, led to protest. However, for immigrant miners this protest manifested itself early on in a variety of ways.

This paper will examine how Catholic immigrants responded to the coal company town system. I will look at three types of protest: informal work stoppages and actions, protests against Catholic priests, and immigrants’ roles in UMWA strikes after 1900. This paper will use examples mainly from the experiences of Italian, Polish, and Slovak miners and communities from several differing coalfields throughout the state. Hopefully this paper will shed some light on the diversity and labor history of many of these immigrant miners whose legacy in these rural counties has long since vanished like dust.

Bio: William Hal Gorby is a Teaching Assistant Professor of History, and Director of Undergraduate Studies at West Virginia University. His research examines the intersections between immigration, working class history, and Catholic religion in late 19th and early 20th century West Virginia. He is finishing a book under advanced contract through WVU Press titled “Re-Creating Polonia in the Upper Ohio River Valley: Wheeling’s Polish Immigrant Community and Identity, 1890-1945.” He also researched the history of the West Virginia Mine Wars, consulting on the research and script editing for the recent PBS American Experience documentary “The Mine Wars.”

The British-Miner’s Moment in West Virginia: Migration and Social Transformation in the New River and Pocahontas Coalfields, 1873-1912

Neil Humphrey, Auburn University

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, a wave of British coal miners migrated to the United States seeking work. Miners left for a variety of reasons, including falling wages, an oversupply of miners seeking work in Britain (including migrants from eastern Europe), dangerous working conditions, and dilapidated housing. Many of them ended up in the coalfields of southern West Virginia.

A small contingent of British migrants, born into working class families and who had worked in coal mines as children or adults (typically both) took advantage of the shortage of labor, lack of skilled miners, and low start-up costs to grasp control of the extractive industries in a number of prominent coal fields. Once arriving in the area throughout the
1870’s and 1880’s, an experienced miner could, after working for a few years, scout the land themselves and save up enough money to take out a lease on a parcel of land. The British miners who took advantage of this system for rapid social change rose to become coal barons, beating out American prospectors who increasingly encroached upon the coal fields as the evidence of the riches came to light.

Despite beating out American investment at first, more college educated Americans from wealthy, upper-middle class backgrounds migrated to the coalfields, setting up their own operations and combining their individual businesses into powerful, consolidated companies. British miners were consistently squeezed out, selling out their companies to American investors. Few British operators remained in business by 1912, and within another decade they were entirely absent. The period when multiple British coal barons held the most profitable, notable, and powerful collieries in southern West Virginia nevertheless constituted a unique moment in the history of coal mining in Appalachia, and left an indelible mark on both the physical geography and heritage of the land today.

Bio: Neil Humphrey (nzh0021@tigermail.auburn.edu) is a second year Master’s student at Auburn University working in the field of British social, cultural, and environmental history. His thesis examines Victorian responses to and experiences with exotic animals, primarily concentrated in London. He received his bachelors in history from Marshall University in Huntington, West Virginia.

Dual Bidding: Nineteenth-Century Cooperative Mines and the Non-Union Actions of "Good Union Men"
Dana M. Caldemeyer, South Georgia State College

In the late nineteenth-century, leaders like those in the Knights of Labor advocated abolishing the wage system and proposed a workplace structure through cooperatives that would give workers like coal miners a share of the profit rather than a set wage. The result, leaders believed, would bring greater equality, allowing the laborer to share in the benefits his or her toil produced. When these ideals were put into practice, however, the result was not always what labor leaders envisioned.

Throughout the South and elsewhere in the coalfields, union cooperatives pulled shareholders in competition with other mine owners and required that cooperatives lower production costs by cutting the same corners as the non-union mines. Survival of the union cooperative, then, often meant sacrificing the core ideals of their organizations. This paper examines the ways that these cooperatives at times worked against the larger mission of organized labor, pitting workers against each other and threatening union strength.

Bio: Dana M. Caldemeyer (dana.caldemeyer@sgsc.edu) is Assistant Professor of History at South Georgia State College. She studies late nineteenth century rural industrialization and agriculture. Her current manuscript, “Striking It Alone: Laborers, Farmers, and the Non-Union Spirit of the Gilded Age” examines farmer and laborer non-unionism in the late nineteenth century Midwest.
Roundtable: Construction in the South
Organizer, Bethany Boggess (bcboggess@gmail.com)

This roundtable brings together activists, organizer, academics, and public health professionals to discuss health, safety and organizing in the South’s construction industry today. Participants will present the results of a massive survey of construction workers conducted in six major southern cities, and share their firsthand knowledge of the greatest problems workers face and the campaigns waged to improve conditions.

Moderator: Jackie Cornejo (jackie@forworkingfamilies.org), Southern Region Equitable Development Strategist

BIO: Jackie Cornejo’s job is to support community-based groups and leaders in the South and Southwest. She previously worked at the Partnership’s affiliate LAANE for over 7 years as Project Director on the Construction Careers and Don't Waste LA campaigns. She has 10 years experience in social justice work in African American and Latino immigrant communities in Los Angeles that includes research, policy analysis and development, and coalition building on various issues, including food access, affordable housing, transportation, local hire, and the environment. Jackie holds a Master's Degree in Urban Planning from UCLA.

“Construction’s Dirtiest Occupation: Rebar Workers & Their Fight for Justice in North Carolina”
Julio Fernandez, organizer (juliojobswithjustice@gmail.com)

Workers who install rebar are frequently some of the industry’s most vulnerable and most precarious. Generally undocumented immigrants and workers with criminal backgrounds, rebar workers experience elevated injury rates and very low wages. Julio Fernandez, an organizer and former rebar worker, will present the ongoing campaigns to improve conditions for rebar workers in Tennessee and North Carolina.

BIO: Julio Fernandez is a natural organizer, with great passion for his work and strong sense of social justice. In 1999 he witnessed a white boss brutally beat a co-worker. This frightening experience was the beginning of a new life dedicated to the defense of labor and civil rights, particularly those of immigrants. So Fernández began splitting his time between work that paid the bills and working as a leader and volunteer in his community. He has worked or volunteered with the Tennessee Immigrant Rights Coalition, El Centro de Trabajadores Unidos en la Lucha, Worker Dignity, and SEIU. He is currently an organizer for Jobs With Justice.

“Rest Breaks & Access to Water in the Texas Construction Industry”
Jennifer Scott, Louisiana State University (jenscott@lsu.edu)
Workers Defense Project and construction unions lobbied for and won a city ordinance in Texas that required regular water breaks for construction workers in Austin, where summer heat indices are frequently over 100 degrees Fahrenheit. Jennifer Scott will present the findings of a quantitative analysis comparing access to rest breaks among construction workers in Austin and Dallas. Findings indicate the Austin’s low-cost ordinance significantly increased access to rest breaks for workers in Austin, including undocumented workers and workers in residential construction.

**BIO:** Jen Scott is an Assistant Professor in the School of Social Work at Louisiana State University. She joined the faculty after completing her PhD in Social Work at the University of Texas at Austin where she was a Graduate Student Fellow in the Urban Ethnography Lab and the Population Research Center. Dr. Scott’s research focuses on the experiences of people in poverty and immigrants in navigating their economic and social lives, as well as on the broader trends and sociopolitical determinants of poverty, inequality and migration.

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**Thursday, May 17th, 2018: 1:30-3:00PM**  
**Russell Library 281**

**Roundtable: Black Women’s History AS Labor History (Sponsored by AAIHS)**

Organizer: Keri Leigh Merritt, kerileighm@gmail.com

This roundtable seeks to reframe black women’s history AS labor history. Examining South in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries, it seeks to show how black women’s work has changed over time and space, from the days of slavery to modern-day rap and reality t.v. These scholars will explain why the field of labor history needs to be more inclusive – and why black women’s work, their history – should always be considered an important element of southern labor history.

**Chair:** Barbara McCaskill, University of Georgia (bmccaski@uga.edu)

**BIO:** Barbara McCaskill is a Professor of English at the University of Georgia and Associate Academic Director of UGA’s Willson Center for the Humanities & Arts. Her MA and PhDs are from Emory and her BA is from Columbus State University. Barbara is the author and editor of multiple books, including *Love, Liberation, and Escaping Slavery: William and Ellen Craft in Cultural Memory* (UGA Press, 2015), and *Post-Bellum, Pre-Harlem: African American Literature and Culture, 1877-1919*, a collection of essays that she edited with Caroline Gebhard. She has also written scores of articles and is the principal investigator for the Civil Rights Digital Library Initiative.

**Rashauna Johnson,** Dartmouth College (Rashauna.R.Johnson@dartmouth.edu)

Current scholarship is expanding the conceptual and spatial contours of black women’s labor, which in turn deepens our appreciation of both the scale on which they have been exploited and the scope of their political, social, cultural, and economic contributions. In my own work, I am interested in the ways that the productive and reproductive work that enslaved women and men performed in New Orleans at the turn of the nineteenth century was foundational to that cosmopolitan city’s transformation from colonial outpost of the Atlantic World to a capital of the antebellum U.S. South. In this roundtable, then, I have
two goals. First, I hope to meditate on the importance of labor history in black Atlantic and transnational studies (to “bring the sweat back,” to borrow Lara Putnam’s phrase). Second, I hope to think collaboratively about how attention to black women’s history does not simply expand labor history, but transforms its dominant conceptual frameworks and methodologies.

**Bio:** Rashauna Johnson is associate professor of history at Dartmouth College, where she teaches courses on slavery, the US and the world, and women and gender in the African diaspora. Her first book, *Slavery's Metropolis: Unfree Labor in New Orleans during the Age of Revolutions* (Cambridge, 2016), won the 2016 Williams Prize for the best book in Louisiana history and was a finalist for the 2016 Berkshire Conference of Women's Historians Book Prize.

**Jessica Marie Johnson,** Johns Hopkins University *(jmj@jhu.edu)*

Discussing black women’s history as labor history centers women of African descent as enslaved laborers across the south and the Atlantic world more broadly. I am interested in discussing what happens when labor history and southern history (particularly where they overlap in this conference) recenter enslaved African women and women of African descent as the model of the worker in the New World. Doing so, everything from the labor throes of reproduction to the agricultural labor engaged in by enslaved become spaces for critique and analysis. Focusing on enslaved and free women of African descent in eighteenth-century Louisiana, I am also interested in parsing the labor engaged in by black women on behalf of the plantation regime and the labor they engaged in to create and sustain the communities they would need to survive. What does it mean to see kinship as labor for enslaved women?

**Bio:** Jessica Marie Johnson is an Assistant Professor of Africana Studies and History at Johns Hopkins University. Her work has appeared in *Slavery & Abolition, The Black Scholar, Meridians: Feminism, Race and Transnationalism,* and *Debates in the Digital Humanities.*

**Keona Ervin,** University of Missouri *(ervink@missouri.edu)*

I will discuss the centrality of class politics and anti-capitalist critique to Black women's intellectual traditions in the twentieth century. Centering what Claudia Jones calls "superexploitation" and the political and economic category "Black women workers," their writings developed a powerful discourse that made critical interruptions and interventions into working-class, feminist, and Black liberatory politics.

**BIO:** Keona K. Ervin is Assistant Professor of African-American History and Faculty Affiliate in the Department of Black Studies at the University of Missouri-Columbia. Ervin is the author of *Gateway to Equality: Black Women and the Struggle for Economic Justice in St. Louis,* which was published by the University Press of Kentucky. A recipient of the Career Enhancement Fellowship from the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, she has published articles in *International Labor and Working-Class History, the Journal of Civil and Human Rights,* and *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture and Society.*
New Writing on Labor in the South: A Workshop

We propose a writing workshop that explores new research in southern labor history, with a focus on women, gender, and labor. The participants will pre-circulate papers—10-12 pages from articles that they are developing—with conference attendees. We see the workshop as an opportunity to get feedback from one another and from the expert, supportive historians who attend the SLSA. The session will begin with the authors briefly summarizing their articles and raising questions or concerns that they have. They will then take turns commenting on one another’s papers before opening the floor for audience feedback. Sarah McNamara is developing an article that examines Luisa Capetillo’s work as an anarcho-syndicalist and feminist activist who challenged the boundaries of empire and fought for Latinx labor rights across the U.S. South and the Caribbean between 1900 and 1920. Jessie and Joey Fink are co-authoring an essay that methodically examines the explosion of woman-led strikes in the South in the 1970s. Yuridia Ramírez’s will circulate her work in progress that examines the intersections of gender, labor, migration, and activism in North Carolina during the 1990s. We imagine the workshop leading to lively discussion about the various topics, but also broader conversation about the process of developing scholarly articles.

Moderator: Jenny Brooks, Auburn University (jeb0002@auburn.edu)

Joey Fink (joey.fink01@gmail.com) is currently a Visiting Assistant Professor of History at High Point University. She specializes in women’s/gender history, U.S. history, the history of labor and capitalism, and oral history theory and method. Her work has been published by Southern Spaces and in North Carolina Women, Their Lives and Times (UGA Press). She is working on her manuscript, The Many Norma Raes, which examines women’s leadership in the campaign to unionize the J.P. Stevens textile mills in the 1970s.

Sarah McNamara (sarahmc@tamu.edu) is an Assistant Professor of History at Texas A&M University where she specializes in Latinx, women and gender, labor, and oral history. In 2016, McNamara earned her Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Presently, she is at work on her first book, tentatively titled, “From Picket Lines to Picket Fences: Latinas and the Remaking of the Jim Crow South.” Her manuscript traces the transformation of Latinx politics and culture between the Great Depression and the Cuban Revolution in Ybor City, Florida by examining the choices immigrant Cuban and later American-born Latinas made to achieve political representation and social justice for themselves and their community.

Yuridia Ramírez (yuridia.ramirez@duke.edu) is a Ph.D. Candidate at Duke University. Her work examines Latinx history in the U.S. South and interrogates questions of immigration, labor, and race in the post IRCA era. With generous support from the Ford Dissertation Completion Fellowship she will defend her dissertation, El Nuevo Bajío in the New South: Race, Region, and Mexican Migration since 1980, in 2018.

Jessie Wilkerson (jessie.wilkerson@gmail.com) is Assistant Professor of History and Southern Studies at the University of Mississippi. In the 2016-2017 academic year she
was a fellow at the American Academy of Arts & Sciences where she worked toward completing her manuscript, *Citizen Caregivers: From the War on Poverty to Grassroots Feminism in the Appalachian South* (University of Illinois Press). Her work explores antipoverty, labor, welfare rights, and women’s movements in twentieth century Appalachia and the South.

**Thursday, May 17th, 2018: 3:15-4:45PM**  
*Russell Library 258*

**Panel: Confronting Poverty in the Deep South in the Post-Civil Rights Era**

Organized by Owen Hyman, Mississippi State University

This panel examines labor activists’ efforts to overcome poverty in southern agriculture and forestry in the decades since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Each of these economic sectors remained notoriously resistant to the implementation of equal opportunity provisions in the Civil Rights Act as well as federal workplace protections like overtime and workmen’s compensation. They consequently produced some of the most vulnerable workers in the South, including many who were subjected to lingering patterns of forced labor.

These papers highlight both the pitfalls and the potential for labor activism in the southern agro-industries in the Post-Civil Rights Era. Aaron Reynolds’s paper traces the state and federal supports for a system of agricultural peonage in Florida that culminated in Walter Brinson and Richard Leggett’s escape from a “slave labor camp” in tomato fields outside of Naples, Florida. As Reynolds shows, the resulting outcry over peonage led producers to turn to undocumented workers to sustain profits rather than pay just wages.

In contrast, Jennifer Standish’s paper shows how former members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee tapped anti-poverty programs like Head Start to build a bi-racial labor movement in the pulpwood forests of the Masonite Corporation in Laurel, Mississippi. She argues the shared dangers of pulpwood work “provided ample motivation for white workers to confront the economic consequences of racial violence, discrimination, and segregation” while reshaping local politics.

Finally, Beau Brodbeck’s presentation documents the benefits Guatemalan H-2B workers gain from seeking reforestation work in the United States. Drawing on interviews with dozens of workers, he demonstrates that reforestation work in the US has allowed for significant rural investment in agriculture and small business in Guatemala. Taken together, these studies track the transformation of southern agriculture and forestry over the last six decades in tandem with the adaptations of the region’s workers.

**Moderator:** James B. Wall, University of Georgia. (*jbwall@uga.edu*)

**BIO:** James Wall is a PhD Candidate at the University of Georgia, where he is completing his dissertation, “Settling Down for the Long Haul: The Struggle for Freedom Rights in Southwest Georgia, 1945-1995.” His research focuses on the role of black farming cooperatives in the Georgia Black Belt and their struggle to procure federal and private funding in the face of insidious local resistance and the end of the rural War on
Poverty. More specifically, he is currently writing an article about the plight of New Communities, Incorporated, a nearly 6,000-acre community land trust founded by veterans of the civil rights movement in Albany, Georgia. By examining the ways in which New Communities tried and ultimately failed to fund its farming operations, he highlights the brief window of opportunity presented to similar ventures across the South, where governors stifled ambitious black-run projects through vetoes that went largely unchallenged after Richard Nixon began dismantling the Great Society.

"’We see no peace on the job’: Labor Violence inside the Immokalee Tomato Growers’ ‘Camp Happy,’ Naples, Florida, 1965.”

Aaron Reynolds, Ph.D., Austin Community College (areynold@austincc.edu)

In January 1965, Walter Brinson and Richard Legget reported escaping a “slave labor camp” outside of Naples, Florida. FBI investigations concluded that the Immokalee Tomato Growers Company operated a farm known as “Camp Happy,” where company men and state agencies facilitated a complex system of labor trafficking, fraud, and violence against workers. Throughout the inter-war years migrant workers suffered terrible conditions, stooping, picking, and hauling heavy produce across burning sun-drenched fields. Extreme weather damaged crops. Shrewd employers depressed wages. Violent foremen charged exorbitant fees for provisions and attacked and sexually assaulted workers with impunity, shrouded in the invisibility of rural commercial farm landscapes.

Growers argued that the delicacy of tomato crops, dynamic weather, and global competition required them to take advantage of migrant labor. Yet, Reports from laborers and FBI files depict a gruesome regime at Camp Happy including wage theft, beatings, sexual exploitation, obstruction of justice, and death, all of which existed in the context of pro-business, anti-regulatory political culture at the state and federal level. By the 1960s workers like Legget and Brinson, activist citizens, and civil rights organizations made up a grassroots effort to make peonage labor abuses more visible in the modern civil rights era. In the post-war era, American citizens avoided peonage labor though undocumented workers continue to suffer the historical force of Peonage. The transformation of nature, labor, and consumption in the context of a republican federalism that fails to protect people from wage theft, indebtedness, poverty and involuntary servitude, will continually perpetuate Peonage labor regimes in the U.S. and around the globe.

Bio: Aaron Reynolds is an environmental and labor historian who teaches at Austin Community College. He earned his PhD in 2012 from the University of Texas, Austin, where he completed the dissertation “A Long Quavering Chang: Peonage Labor Camps in the Rural-Industrial South, 1905-1965.”

"The Lessons of Laurel": White Community Labor Organizing after the 1965 Civil Rights Act

Jennifer Standish, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (jstand@unc.edu)

This paper is on interracial coalition building among black and white pulpwood haulers and factory employees working for the Masonite Corporation in Laurel, Mississippi in
the wake of the Civil Rights Movement. The organizing project, called Grassroots Organizing Work (GROW) and dedicated to combatting racism in the working-class white community, was carried out by two former members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) who were later employed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). Using anti-poverty programs like Head Start as an access-point to the white working-class community of Jones County, Mississippi, GROW activists eventually facilitated interracial coalitions among pulpwood haulers across the Deep South. Full of heavy machinery, falling timber, and hiding rattlesnakes, pulpwood hauling and factory work for the Masonite Corporation was dangerous work. Because of this, it provided ample motivation for white workers to confront the economic consequences of racial violence, discrimination, and segregation. As this paper will demonstrate, the effect of GROW’s coalition building was seen not only in union activities but in the local political arena as well.

By examining the impact of the abolishment of Jim Crow on Southern labor, and following the trajectory of white Civil Rights activists alienated by Black Power, this paper ultimately studies the impact of the Civil Rights Movement on local Southern communities. In this project, I examine questions with which Civil Right activists themselves grappled, including the effectiveness of coalition building and the unfinished issue of economic inequality. This project also engages recent work by scholars of African-American history on the new forms that racial inequities have taken after the formal abolishment of Jim Crow in the 1960s. Considering the continued prevalence of interracial coalition building in contemporary United States political and economic activism, studying the history of this organizing project has particularly timely significance.

Bio: My name is Jennifer Standish, and I am a second year Ph.D. student at the University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill studying under Assistant Professor William Sturkey. My studies focus on African-American history, the Civil Rights Movement, and Labor Activism in the United States. I am currently conducting research on the GROW project for my Master’s thesis, which will be completed in the fall semester of the 2017-2018 academic year.

"Immigrant Labor in the U.S. Forest Industry: The Experience of Guatemalan Communities Exporting Labor?"

Beau Brodbeck, Alabama Cooperative Extension (brodbam@auburn.edu)

Much of the labor used in forest planting in the United States (US) is provided by migrant workers. The overall purpose of this presentation is to examine how the opportunity to work in the US affects migrant workers in their home communities. The specific focus of this study is on migrant workers from Guatemala who work in the southeastern US (South) under H-2B visas issued by the US Department of Immigration.

Migrant workers constitute 84% of the forest management labor in the southern forest industry. H-2B labor provides relatively cheap, productive, and reliable labor that enables the forest products industry to remain competitive. Over the past decade concerns
regarding the treatment of H-2B workers have surfaced and as a result, the exploitative aspects of this industry have been explored. The positive impacts on the livelihoods of forest workers, however, have not been well documented.

The purpose of this study is two-fold: First, to explain why immigrant labor from Guatemala participates in the H-2B program; and second, to describe the impacts that earnings associated with H-2B forest employment have on the livelihoods of workers, their families, and communities. This qualitative study using semi-structured interviews with laborers, their families and community leaders spent a total of eight weeks speaking to over 40 laborers in four separate Guatemalan villages.

Results indicate H-2B forest workers are shown to migrate largely as a result of poor labor markets in their communities and the presence of persistent and chronic poverty. The impacts of remittances associated with H-2B forest work are seen in improvements to nutrition, housing, healthcare and long-term investments in agricultural lands, microenterprise, and education. The outcome is an alternative perspective of a controversial program providing a more holistic understanding of a multinational and multicultural relationship for more well-informed policy.

BIO: Beau Brodbeck (brodbam@auburn.edu) is a forester in the Alabama Cooperative Extension program at Auburn University who is writing a livelihood study of reforestation workers in the H2B visa system.

Discussant: Laurie Green, University of Texas at Austin (lbgreen@austin.utexas.edu)

BIO: A 1999 PhD from the University of Chicago, Laurie B. Green is an Associate Professor of History at the University of Texas at Austin. Her book, Battling the Plantation Mentality: Memphis and the Black Freedom Struggle, won the Philip A. Taft Labor History Award and was a Finalist for the 2008 Liberty Legacy Award. She is currently working on a book project titled, “The Discovery of Hunger in America: The Politics of Race, Poverty, and Malnutrition, 1965-1975.”
The relationship between laborers, freedom, and race during this period demonstrates that the Deep South's labor history can help us understand much of the twentieth century's problems.

**Moderator: Scott Huffard**, Lees-McRae College (huffardr@lmc.edu)

**BIO**: Scott Huffard is an Assistant Professor of History at Lees-McRae College in western North Carolina. He has a PhD from the University of Florida and his research deals broadly with the history of capitalism and southern history in the late nineteenth century. His work has appeared in The Journal of Southern History and Southern Cultures and he is currently finishing revisions on his first manuscript, Dixie Derailed: Railroads, Capitalism, and Mythmaking in the New South. The book is under advanced contract with the University of North Carolina Press and it will hopefully be released some time in 2018.

"Reconstructing Socioeconomic Relations in the Alabama Black Belt: Tenantry, Wage Labor, Unionization, 1865-1871?"

Bertis English, Alabama State University in Montgomery (benglish@alasu.edu)

This paper examines the historical background, 1871 founding, and untold legacy of a Black labor organization in Perry County. The organization, called the Perry County Labor Union, was the only one of its type in Alabama during the state's post-Civil War Reconstruction, commonly understood to have lasted from 1865 to 1874. Several founders of the union--Alexander H. Curtis, James K. Green, Greene S. W. Lewis, William R. Pettiford--were or would become leading Black social, political, and economic activists throughout the region and the country and not simply in the state. The Perry County Labor Union was an incubator for their activism.

**BIO**: Bertis English is professor of history at Alabama State University (ASU) in Montgomery. English, the first African American to earn a Ph.D. degree from Auburn University, has served as associate dean and as acting dean of the ASU College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, edits the International Journal of Africana Studies, and chairs the minorities committee of the Southern Historical Association. English is a former president of the Southern Conference of African American Studies, Incorporated; is a board member for the National Council for Black Studies; and sits on editorial boards including the Journal of African American Studies, the Journal of Race and Policy, and the Griot: The Journal of African American Studies. The University of Alabama Press accepted for publication his recent manuscript, tentatively called “Civil Wars and Civil Beings: Perry County, Alabama, 1860–1875,” whose research was underwritten in part by a grant awarded by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

“White Gold to Black Gold: African American Labor and Louisiana’s Early Petrochemical Industry”

Robin McDowell, Harvard University (rmcdowell@g.harvard.edu)

In the decades following the Civil War in southern Louisiana, the relationships between formerly enslaved Africans and African Americans, immigrant workers, white workers and yeoman farmers, and the shrinking white aristocracy were in constant flux. This
instability was reflected in the erosion of the carceral geography of the sugar plantation as the land itself was divided, re-sold, and consolidated. This consolidation of land, along the shifting and volatile boundaries of racialized labor, laid the groundwork for what would become rural Louisiana’s oil, natural gas, and petrochemical industries of the twentieth century. At the very same time that anxieties over the tenability of the old sugar plantation regime and new systems of tenant farming and wage labor took hold, less visible and portentous capitalist speculation began by both property-owning and property-seekers over natural resource extraction. The formerly enslaved toiled in both the sugarcane fields and the bordering swamps, laying miles of pipeline to potential oil fields. African American workers were hired to do unskilled labor, while primarily white workers were trained to use the new drilling, pumping, and refining technologies for oil. While sugar and oil seem so different, their industrial evolution in Louisiana is part of the same long arc of agrocapitalism. This paper demonstrates that histories of racialized labor, commodities, and industry are inseparable, particularly those of sugar and oil. To this day, actively cultivated sugarcane fields surround the belching towers of Louisiana’s petrochemical industry. This paper will engage a variety of primary and secondary sources including tourist guides, state correspondence, documents of the towns of Norco, Morgan City, and Jennings, documentation of early industrial infrastructure, and publications of U.S. Department of the Interior, American Refinery Company, and Northern Oil Refinery Company.

**BIO:** Robin McDowell is Ph.D. student in African and African American Studies at Harvard University with a primary field in History. She holds an M.F.A. in Design from the University of Texas at Austin and a B.A. in Fine Arts from The University of Pennsylvania. Her current work focuses on race, labor, and capitalism in Louisiana’s River Parishes in the 19th century. This research is influenced by ongoing work in New Orleans as a community organizer, French Quarter tour guide, and graphic designer.

**Experiencing the “Boisterous Clause”: What Good is the Contract Anyway?**
William Horne, George Washington University

Immediately following emancipation, former enslavers tried out a number of schemes to avoid paying wages to African American workers. The most famous of these, the Black Codes, are rightly notorious, but less visible devices of elite exploitation arguably played a greater role in “reconstructing labor” in postwar Louisiana. This paper examines one of these—the “boisterous clause” in postwar contracts—which gave white elites sweeping authority to terminate the contracts of their African American workers without compensation. The basis of the clause was behavioral and allowed former enslavers to decide if Black laborers were too rowdy, and thus undeserving of the fruits of their labor. Rooted in white supremacist fantasies about African Americans, the clause became a common mechanism through which elites accessed unfree labor after the demise of slavery.

**BIO:** William Horne is a PhD candidate at The George Washington University and editor of *The Activist History Review* researching the relationship of race to labor, freedom, and capitalism in post-Civil War Louisiana. His dissertation, “Carceral State: Baton Rouge and its Plantation Environs Across Emancipation,” examines the ways in which white
supremacy and capitalism each depended on restricting black freedom in the aftermath of slavery.

**Discussant: Brian Kelly, Queens University Belfast** (B.Kelly@qub.ac.uk)

**BIO:** Brian Kelly is former director of the After Slavery Project, an international research collaboration exploring race, labor and politics in the post-emancipation Carolinas. He is the author of the award-winning *Race, Class and Power in the Alabama Coalfields* (Illinois, 2001) and co-editor of *After Slavery: Race, Labor and Citizenship in the Reconstruction South* (Florida, 2013). He teaches at Queen's University Belfast.

**Thursday, May 17th, 2018: 3:15-4:45PM**

**Roundtable: “Anti-Unionism: Conservative, Liberal, or Both? A Roundtable on Against Labor: How U.S. Employers Organized to Defeat Union Activism”**

**Organizer:** Robert H. Woodrum

How have American employers organized to maintain managerial control and prevent unionization? This central question informs *Against Labor: How U.S. Employers Organized to Defeat Union Activism*, an essay collection recently published by the University of Illinois Press. Editors Rosemary Feurer and Chad Pearson argue that employers created local and national networks, pursued political and legal avenues, and continuously struggled to blunt the effects of worker organizing, from the years following the Civil War through the end of the 20th Century. Essentially, the editors argue, employers acted as a distinct class that embraced an expansive ideology capable of incorporating the seemingly contradictory rhetoric of conservatism, Progressivism, and even New Deal liberalism. This interdisciplinary roundtable, featuring leading scholars from History, Law and Sociology, will examine key issues raised in this provocative new book.

**Moderator:** Robert H. Woodrum, Perimeter College of Georgia State University-Decatur Campus (rwoodrum1@gsu.edu)

Robert H. Woodrum is the author of *Everybody Was Black Down There: Race and Industrial Change in the Alabama Coalfields* and several essays on race relations in the labor movement. He teaches History at Perimeter College of Georgia State University in Decatur, Georgia.

**Panelists:**

Rosemary Feurer (rfeurer@niu.edu) is the author of *Radical Unionism in the Midwest, 1900-1950*. She is completing a manuscript titled *Labor Rights and Freedom Struggles in Illinois Coal Communities, 1890-1935*. A co-editor of *Against Labor*, she teaches History at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, Illinois.

Tami J. Friedman (tfriedma@brocku.ca) has authored essays on economic restructuring and its relationship to labor, business, and politics. She is working on a book manuscript,
Communities in Competition: Capital Migration and Plant Relocation in the U.S. Carpet Industry, 1929-1975. She teaches History at Brock University in Ontario, Canada.

Chad Pearson (CEPearson@collin.edu) is the author of Reform or Repression: Organizing America’s Anti-Union Movement as well as essays examining labor conflicts and open shop movements. A co-editor of Against Labor, he teaches History at Collin College in Texas.

Chris Rhomberg (rhomberg@fordham.edu) is the author of The Broken Table: The Detroit Newspaper Strike and the State of American Labor and No There There: Race, Class and Political Community in Oakland, California. He has also published essays on race, labor and urban politics. He teaches Sociology at Fordham University in New York.

Ahmed White (ahmed.white@colorado.edu) is the author of The Last Great Strike: Little Steel, the CIO, and the Struggle for Labor Rights in New Deal America. He has published numerous essays on the intersection of labor, criminal law and concept of the rule of law. He teaches Law at the University of Colorado Law School in Boulder, Colorado.

Thursday, May 17th, 2018: 3:15-4:45PM

Changing Racial-Ethnic and Physical Landscapes: Food Processing and the U.S. South

This panel places the work of emerging sociologists and historians of animal processing in conversation to discuss how such industries (poultry, pork, and catfish) are transforming the US South. These papers work across disciplines to address questions of labor and the environment through the intersecting frameworks of race, gender, immigration, and geography. For each panelist, positionality takes precedence, as analyses emerge from ethnography and oral history, centering the perspectives of various animal processing and farm workers. In effect, these papers argue for the importance of the study of each of these industries through the lens of labor and environmental relations “from below” and asks: How are these industries shaped by changes in immigration and enforcement? What is the significance of continuing white supremacy in the US South, and how has it impacted racial formation on the processing line? How have struggles for Black liberation influenced the meanings Black women place on their work in the catfish hatcheries and poultry plants? How might workers’ narratives about the pace and structure of the working day challenge industry-level arguments of labor-shortage? How is the exploitation of workers connected to the degradation of local landscapes, and what are the effects?

“Contested Encounters: Making Sense of Social Relations in a Slaughterhouse”
Vanesa Ribas (vribas@ucsd.edu)
Immigration to nontraditional destinations in the U.S. has gained considerable attention in recent years. Responding in part to growing demand for workers in the agroindustrial labor market, Latin American and Latina/o migrants have settled throughout the American South and established themselves as an important segment of the rural workforce in agriculture, animal farming, and meatpacking industries. The social and economic incorporation of these newcomers in a region defined by white supremacy and Black subordination is a topic of interest to scholars of race both in the South and beyond. Drawing on sixteen months working as a meatpacker in a North Carolina slaughterhouse, I investigate the intergroup dynamics between migrants and native-born workers, showing how the experience of oppressive exploitation mediates relations between Latina/o migrants, African Americans, and whites. Challenging conventional accounts, this research reveals the continued significance of white supremacy in the emerging arrangement of group statuses, experiences, and relations in a vastly transformed ethnroracial landscape.

BIO: Vanesa Ribas received a B.A. from Sarah Lawrence College in 2002 and her Ph.D. in Sociology from The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2012. Her research interests include international migration, race relations, and work. She has conducted ethnographic research on social relations between Latinos and African Americans in the meatpacking industry of the American South. She is currently working on a book manuscript based on her dissertation, titled “On the Line: The Working Lives of Latinos and African Americans in the New South,” which questions conventional theories of intergroup competition and conflict.

Monica Gisolfi (mgisolfi@gmail.com)

This paper examines the environmental consequences of industrial poultry production in Upcountry Georgia. In 1935, Georgia farmers produced half a million chickens. By 1951, they raised 88.6 million. The rapid growth of the industry had dire environmental consequences. As the industry grew, piles of dead chickens, manure, and offal could be found on farms, fields, beside processing plants, and in municipal sewage systems. In addition to poultry manure, the poultry industry unleashed pesticides, hormones, and antibiotics into the air and water. Poultry production polluted the soil, air, and water. Rapid growth and lack of regulation meant that waste—in a range forms—spread unchecked. In short, poultry integrating firms treated the land and its inhabitants with reckless disregard.


“I Am All for the Struggle”: Black Women and Southern Meat Processing
LaGuana Gray (laguana.gray@utsa.edu)
Studying black women who process poultry in Louisiana/Arkansas and catfish in Mississippi reveals much about the intersection of black women’s work and personal lives and how they define themselves and are defined as laborers. This paper will most closely look at women in the catfish processing industry in the Mississippi Delta who organized local plants and led a successful strike. The importance of place in their understanding of black liberation and activism was particularly important. One of the strike leaders, Sarah White, has quite often articulated what it meant to be a black woman in Mississippi, from the same county as Fannie Lou Hamer, continuing in an activist tradition. Through the eyes of White and her co-workers and buttressed by stories from black women in poultry processing, this paper elucidates how black women used their paid work as a vehicle to improve and transform their community and family work.

**BIO:** Dr. LaGuana Gray is an associate professor in the Department of History at the University of Texas at San Antonio, where she is also affiliated with the African American and American Studies Programs and the Women’s Studies Institute. Dr. Gray specializes in African American, labor, southern, and women’s history. Her first book, *We Just Keep Running the Line: Black Southern Women and the Poultry Processing Industry* was published by LSU Press in November 2014 and was the recipient of the J. G. Ragsdale Book Award, recognizing the best non-fiction historical study of the history of race relations in Arkansas history. She is currently researching the role of black women in unionizing and conducting a strike of Delta Pride Catfish, a company that began in the Mississippi Delta.

“We’re basically livin’ here!” Speedups, Slowdowns, and Time, Work-Discipline at the Poultry

Carrie Freshour (crf64@cornell.edu)

Industrial poultry production continues to experience exponential growth, fueled by the opening of global export markets and rising demand for processed chicken. While this has meant greater profits for the largest processing companies, Tyson, Pilgrim’s Pride, Purdue, it has also drastically increased labor demands. Line speeds have risen from 35 birds per minute (bpm) in 1970 to 91 bpm in 1990, and today, plants operate at dizzying speeds, of 145 birds slaughtered every minute. This is still not fast enough for the USDA’s Food Safety and Inspection Services (FSIS), who, since 2012, have advocated increasing line speeds to 175 bpm. While jobs in poultry processing remain desirable for the benefits and a relatively “good” hourly wage, workers’ own valuation of their work has greatly deteriorated based largely on the production demands of the working day that keep workers from having any “life” outside of the plant. This paper argues for a revaluation of the oft-cited labor shortage argument mobilized by the poultry industry to justify the recruitment of undocumented and refugee workers as well as current trends toward automation. Underlying these claims are political motivations that dismiss worker resistance and organizing against speedups and subsequent attempts to discipline workers’ lives both inside and outside the plant walls.

**BIO:** Carrie Freshour is a PhD candidate in Development Sociology at Cornell. Her current research focuses on the gendered and racialized practices of social reproduction among Black and Latina poultry plant workers with political implications for the US
labor movement. This research reflects her broader interests in the political economy of food work and processes of racialization in the American South.

Commentator: Leon Fink

BIO: Leon Fink is the Editor of Labor: Studies in Working-Class History and Distinguished Professor Emeritus, University of Illinois, Chicago. His most recent works include: Labor Justice Across the Americas (2018) and The Long Gilded Age: American Capitalism and the Lessons of a New World Order (2016).

Thursday, May 17th, 2018: 5:00-6:00PM

Reception in Honor of Leon Fink (Sponsored by University of Georgia History Department)

Thursday, May 17th, 2018: 6:00-7:15PM

Roundtable Discussion Honoring Leon Fink’s Retirement from Teaching
Organizer: Robert Korstad
Moderator: Cindy Hahamovitch, University of Georgia

Presenters:

Anne E. Parsons, University of North Carolina at Greensboro (aeparson@uncg.edu)

BIO: Anne Parsons is an assistant professor of history, where her work focuses on contemporary U.S. history, the history of social welfare, and museum studies. Her writing has appeared in a range of publications, including the Journal of Illinois History, Radical History Review, and Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads. She is currently writing a book titled Return of the Asylum: Deinstitutionalization and the Rise of Prisons. The book explores how the deinstitutionalization of mental hospitals intersected with the rise of mass incarceration, showing how one form of confinement and stigmatization has in effect been replaced by another.

Jefferson Cowie, Vanderbilt University (jefferson.cowie@vanderbilt.edu)

BIO: Jefferson Cowie is a social and political historian whose research and teaching focus on how class, inequality, and work shape American capitalism, politics, and culture. His books include: The Great Exception: The New Deal and the Limits of American Politics, Stayin' Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class, and Capital Moves: RCA’s Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor. Jeff is the James G. Stahlman Professor of History at Vanderbilt University.

Scott R. Nelson, University of Georgia (srnelson@uga.edu)
BIO: Scott Nelson is the UGA Athletics Association Professor of the Humanities at the University of Georgia. He is the author of three single-authored books—Iron Confederacies (UNC Press), Steel Drivin’ Man (Oxford), and A Nation of Deadbeats: An Uncommon History of America’s Financial Disasters (Knopf)—one co-authored book—A People at War: Civilians and Soldiers in America’s Civil War—and one kid’s book—Ain’t Nothing But a Man. Steel Drivin’ Man won four national prizes including the Merle Curti Prize for the best book in US Social and Cultural History and the National Award for Arts Writing. Business Week named A Nation of Deadbeats a best business book of 2012. His latest project is a history of the international consequences of the postbellum American food revolution.

Comment: Leon Fink, University of Illinois at Chicago

Thursday, May 17, 2018: 7:30-8:00PM

Dinner on your own.

Thursday, May 17, 2018: 9:00-?

Meet new members at Little Kings Shuffle Club (a bar)-your dime.
223 W Hancock Ave, Athens, GA 30601

Friday, May 18, 2018: 8:30-10:00AM

Panel: "The Material Culture of Exploitation"
Organizer: Libby Cook (libbycook@gmail.com)

"Exploitations of Black Capital: Interpreting the Various Intersections of Free and Enslaved Skilled Labor Upon the Southern Landscape"

This panel explores the visibility of labor within material culture. Each paper offers a case of a particular object, exploring the object's “biography” and examining it in relation to the labor that created or maintained it. Taking into account the individual labors, both skilled and unskilled, enslaved and free, reveals far richer histories for these objects than allowed for in classical decorative arts or consumption-based material culture analyses. The privy on the Capitol Square in Richmond, Virginia, shifts from a utilitarian structure to one in which individual manners dictate the presence of labor in a space used by all members of Richmond's community. An iron fireback reveals the industrial landscape of a Piedmont plantation in North Carolina, where enslaved individuals operated iron furnaces and produced fashionable goods for market. The reinterpretation of a historic room interior not only captures the contributions of enslaved craftsmen, but also offers insights into engaging this history within a museum setting. Collectively, the papers that compose this panel reinterpret the material past with an eye toward rediscovering the dirty work that created it. This not only creates a
richer understanding of the objects examined, but also begins to restore the lost contributions of the men and women who created them.

Moderator: Dr. Mary Hoffschwelle, Middle Tennessee State University
(mary.hoffschwelle@mtsu.edu)

BIO: Mary S. Hoffschwelle is Director of MT Engage and Professor of History at Middle Tennessee State University. She is the author of The Rosenwald Schools of the American South (University Press of Florida, 2006) and Rebuilding the Rural Southern Community: Reformers, Schools, and Homes in Tennessee, 1900-1930 (University of Tennessee Press, 1998). Her current research on Jeanes teachers includes the article “A Black Woman ‘in Orthority’: Claiming Professional Status in Jim Crow Alabama” in the Journal of Southern History (2015). She collaborates with several Rosenwald school alumni and preservation groups, including the Gibson County Training/Polk Clark School Alumni Association whose school is the subject of her recent article “‘Federally-Connected’: Impact Aid and Black Schooling in Milan, Tennessee” in the Tennessee Historical Quarterly (2016).

“This Practice of Negroes Going at Large’: Free Black Registrations, Labor, and Gender in Antebellum Virginia”

Elizabeth Wood, The College of William and Mary

In 1793, the Virginia General Assembly passed the first law requiring all free people of color to register with their local courts and to renew that registration every one to three years. The court clerk would record a person’s description and present a copy of the certificate to the registrant, attesting to free status in a society that presumed blacks to be enslaved. Between 1794 and 1865, court clerks in Petersburg, Virginia generated thousands of these certificates. Neither compliance nor enforcement of the registration law was ever absolute, and free African Americans who complied were motivated by both coercion and choice. As only free blacks could legally hire their own labor, one important way free African Americans used their registration certificates was to facilitate employment, especially employment that required mobility. Thus, the documents render some forms of labor more visible than others. Watermen, for example, traveled to locales where they were unknown, while clothes washers operated more locally and more informally. Free men of color were far more likely to list an occupation on their certificates than women were, and men were also more likely to be apprehended, jailed, and temporarily deprived of their livelihoods than women were. Though both free men and women of color were required to register and both engaged in gainful employment, the registration certificates reveal gendered experiences of racialized freedom.

BIO: Elizabeth Wood (ejwood@email.wm.edu) is a Ph.D. candidate in the history department at The College of William and Mary. She is currently working with
professors Melvin Ely and Hannah Rosen to complete her dissertation entitled The Family Politic: African American Gender and Belonging in Virginia, 1793-1865. Her research examines the ways in which ideas and practices surrounding gender, sexuality, and family formation shaped free black experience in pre-Civil War Virginia. She was a 2015 Virginia Historical Society Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship recipient. Her research has been supported by William and Mary’s Office of Graduate Student Research and the Morton Fund through the William and Mary History Department. She is also the 2017 recipient of the Ed Crapol Award in Modern U.S. History at William and Mary and the OAH President’s Travel Fund for Emerging Historians.


Torren L. Gatson, Middle Tennessee State University (tlg5i@mtmail.mtsu.edu)

Often credited as the cradle for trade and commerce in the inland south, the Piedmont region of North Carolina sustained a remarkable business of iron ore production. Iron works such as Vesuvius furnace of Lincoln County produced beautifully crafted iron objects as well as other useful resources. The production of iron ore is a laborious task. Men often risked their lives to produce such objects. Currently on display at The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA) is a fire back from the Vesuvius furnace. One of the furnace’s founders, notable Revolutionary War General Joseph Graham, amassed considerable wealth from these rich iron deposits. Such economic fortunes were sustainable only due to enslaved workers. Vesuvius Plantation possessed a large number of slaves. Yet, scholarship on the industrial work of slaves has been all but forgotten in the historiography of Vesuvius iron plantation. Recently, an account ledger from Vesuvius Plantation surfaced. The purpose of this research is to use the Vesuvius iron works and specifically MESDA’s decorative fireback, to explore an uncharted area of Southern American history. This research is twofold as it first seeks to demonstrate that, in fact, there were slaves who participated in the production of iron ore at the site. Secondly, this research will position the South as a major player in the industrial realm of the nineteenth century. By focusing on these two angles, the research will explore the intersections of race, class, and the harsh climate of producing iron ore in the inland South. Ultimately, this research will unearth and accurately contextualize the enslaved experience at Vesuvius Plantation while identifying the “dirty work” needed to operate an iron blast furnace in the backcountry of North Carolina.

BIO: Torren Gatson is a PhD candidate at Middle Tennessee State University (MTSU) and one of the university’s three nationally selected Dissertation Fellows for the 2017-2018 academic year. He also is serving as an adjunct professor at MTSU. His research focuses on United States history with an emphasis on African American history. His dissertation chronicles the efforts of the NAACP to combat unfair housing and how those efforts coupled with the Federal Housing Administration shaped the southern landscape for African Americans.
“If these Walls could talk: Interpreting the enslaved narrative through an architectural interior of a Quaker Home in Southampton County, Virginia”

“Tiffany Momon, Middle Tennessee State University”

Between 1803 and 1810 Robert Ricks of Southampton County, Virginia commissioned master builder Edmond Godwin of Isle of Wight County, Virginia to build an addition to his simple two-room cabin home. In doing so, Godwin and his workers including enslaved men and free black apprentices added a parlor and a dining room transforming the house to a two-story I-House with a one and a half story addition. The architectural interior from the parlor of this home now resides in the collections of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA) as the Courtland Room. Not only did the change in the Ricks home reflect a sudden change in wealth for Robert Ricks who went from owning a few enslaved individuals to owning about thirty, but it also reflects the labor of the enslaved individuals and free black apprentices involved in the construction of the home. This research explores the apparent invisibility and purposeful anonymity of the enslaved men and free black apprentices whose labor contributed to the construction of the Courtland Room. By centering the labor of the enslaved and apprentices in the interpretation of the room, the room takes on a more profound meaning allowing them to take credit for their labor and removing the two-hundred plus years of silencing and crediting only the white builder for the totality of the work. Through this lens, this research also examines the interpretation of museum architectural interiors and challenges historians and the public to consider these spaces from the perspective of the laborer. Architectural interiors such as the Courtland Room are evidence of the presence of enslaved and apprenticed labor, and therefore the story of this labor should be a part of the story that the room conveys.

**BIO:** Tiffany Momon ([tiffanymomon@gmail.com](mailto:tiffanymomon@gmail.com)) is a doctoral student at Middle Tennessee State University studying under the advisement of Dr. Carroll Van West and the MTSU Center for Historic Preservation. Her doctoral research focuses on the architecture and landscape of historically black colleges and universities examining human choice and ideology in architectural styles as well as African American placemaking through the manipulation of existing white spaces. Her research interests include 19th century African American history, African American architects and architecture, and the history of post-emancipation education among African Americans.

**Discussant:** Dale L. Couch, University of Georgia ([dcouch@uga.edu](mailto:dcouch@uga.edu))

**BIO:** Dale L. Couch is curator of decorative art at the Georgia Museum of Art in Athens. He was a senior archivist at the Georgia Archives for 27 years, where he provided consultation for exhibitions at the High Museum of Art, the Atlanta Historical Society, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Colonial...
Williamsburg Foundation and other institutions. In 2008 he was a recipient of the Governor’s Medal in the Humanities. He holds a B.S. in History from the University of South Carolina where he also completed extensive graduate work in Art History. He is a graduate of the Archives Institute (Emory University), the Institute for Southern Material Culture (University of North Carolina), and has completed additional graduate course work at Georgia State University, Atlanta. He lectures frequently on topics relating to decorative arts, and has published a number of exhibition catalogs and symposium proceedings. Last year he published an analysis of a seventeenth century turned chair that revised furniture history: *Provenance and Profile — The Rediscovery of the Earliest Known Southern Chair* (Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts, 2015). He emphasizes the use of cultural history as a tool with which to frame research questions related to material culture.

**Panel: Transforming the Dirty South: Land Use, Labor, and the Racial Politics of Southern Industry**  
Organizer: Owen James Hyman (ojh2@msstate.edu)

This panel examines the ways industrialists have tried to reshape the South’s race and labor relations by remaking the region’s landscapes. From the Civil War to the Cold War, the South’s business class responded to environmental devastation, labor activism, and demands for social justice by leveraging their control over the environment. Leaders from industries ranging from tourism, to forestry, to nuclear power generation all sought to detach the region from its reputation as a dirty, depressed, and violent place through a transformation of the countryside. William Bryan’s paper examines the rise of tourism in the South after the Civil War. Although it was long considered an antidote to the destruction wrought by extractive industry, Bryan shows that tourism depended upon the privatization of public space and the closing of the commons. Moreover, the boom in southern recreation created a new demand for cheap labor that led business owners to deliberately undermine the independence of black workers. Owen James Hyman’s paper likewise begins with the environmental degradation, in this case in the cut-over forests of Mississippi. His work highlights how lumbermen sought to stem the tide of the Great Migration by developing an effective agriculture on the cut. This paternalism did not extend to politics, however, leading industrialists like Lamont Rowlands and the Delta Council to attempt to break the environmental foundations of black politics in the state. Finally, Caroline Peyton’s study traces the racial implications of the nuclear power “building spree” that swept the South after the 1950s. As Florida governor LeRoy Collins suggested, the “atomic talisman” held the power to break the “backward” image the region held in the rest of the nation. Instead, it simply proliferated environmental racism. As these papers show, “clean” fixes to the South’s social ills too often served to reinforce long-established racial hierarchies.

**Moderator:** Jeremy Zallen, Lafayette College (zallenj@lafayette.edu)
Bio: Jeremy Zallen completed his PhD at Harvard University in 2014. That same year, he joined the faculty of Lafayette College as an assistant professor of History. He is currently the Barra Postdoctoral Sabbatical Fellow at the McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania where he is working on completing his book manuscript, *American Lucifers: Makers and Masters of the Means of Light, 1750-1870*, under advance contract with the University of North Carolina Press. *American Lucifer* is a social history of light arguing that—behind the famous and celebrated inventions and science—the surprisingly violent work and struggles to produce, control, and consume the changing means of illumination over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries transformed slavery, industrial capitalism, and urban life in profound, but often hidden ways. In particular, *American Lucifers* explores the worlds built around the practices and products of whaling, turpentine, coal gas, meatpacking, phosphorus matches, and petroleum.

“Resisting Environmental and Social Permanence in the Tourism Industry at the Height of Jim Crow”
William D. Bryan, Georgia State University (williambryan@gmail.com)

Tourism has long had a reputation as a “clean” industry. Because nineteenth-century tourists were eager to visit natural wonders or salubrious landscapes, tourism promoters often supported efforts to preserve wild, healthful, or unique environments—setting the industry apart from other enterprises and making it seem “green.” In the decades after the Civil War, when manufacturing and extractive industries were visibly exhausting stocks of natural resources, New South promoters latched onto tourism as a so-called “permanent industry” that could contribute to longterm economic growth by drawing on renewable resources like climate and scenery. Yet preservation of the natural environment for tourism went hand-in-hand with the preservation of the New South’s exploitative racial hierarchy. As developers privatized natural landscapes for the benefit of tourists, they also deliberately sought to maintain a steady pool of low-wage workers for their resort businesses by undermining the independence of African American laborers. This paper shows how the recreation industry cut off black residents from land and water that had been common resources for generations, and replaced this commons with a “privatopia” that marketed nature to wealthy visitors. In short, the supposedly clean tourism industry helped to lock Southern laborers into “dirty work” that exploited people, cordoned off the landscape for the benefit of the wealthy, and limited the access of African American workers to green spaces of leisure—except on the job. Even so, black workers contested their exclusion from Southern landscapes of leisure. This paper focuses on how African American workers in the tourism industry challenged resort owners and developers by promoting their own visions of environmental and labor equity, even at the height of Jim Crow. William D. Bryan is an environmental historian who teaches at Georgia State University. He earned a Ph.D. in 2013 from Penn State, and is completing his first book, *The Price of Permanence: Nature and Business in the New South* (forthcoming 2018, University of Georgia Press), which explores how nature conservation shaped the American South after the Civil War.

"From Evergreen to Lily-White: Reforestation and White Supremacy in
This paper argues the greening of the South’s cut-over, burned-over forests was inseparable from lumbermen’s efforts to transform the region’s racial politics. After World War I, and again during World War II, planters and industrialists scrambled to mobilize their cut-over lands as a resource for stemming the Great Migration. As they worked to fix black agriculturalists - and thus potential forest workers - below they Mason Dixon Line, they simultaneously tried to reshape party politics from the ground up. World War I left the lumber industry with deep anxiety regarding the future availability of cheap labor in the South. Foresters, businessmen, and federal scientists addressed this problem as early as Armistice Day, 1918, when they convened the Cut-Over Lands Conference of the South to call for “colonization” of black farmers and veterans on former timber land. Mississippi lumbermen Horatio S. Weston and Lamont Rowlands were both enthusiastic supporters of this model who sponsored industrial education to improve the lives of black farmers living on the cut. Yet they were also dedicated to creating a “Lily-White” Republican Party in Mississippi by uprooting the patronage networks the bi-racial “Black and Tan” party had been building in the forests of the Gulf South since Reconstruction. By World War II, planters in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta faced similar labor concerns. The Delta Council responded by developing a hardwood forestry program aimed at supplementing sharecropper income and thereby keeping workers in the South. The initiative likewise sought to weaken the position of black leaders calling for land redistribution in the region. Placing race at the center of these narratives helps us understand reforestation not as a radical break from earlier forms of destructive land use but instead as part of a continuum of interventions on both sides of the color line meant to defend white supremacy.

BIO: Owen James Hyman is a PhD candidate at Mississippi State University, where he is completing a dissertation entitled “The Cut and the Color Line: An Environmental History of Jim Crow in the Deep South’s Forests.” His work is supported by fellowships from the Forest History Society, the Southern Labor Archives, and the Department of Black Studies at UC Santa Barbara, where he is a dissertation fellow.

"Waving the Atomic Talisman: Labor and Nuclear Power in the American South”
Caroline Peyton, Cameron University

Hovering over the river bluffs and kudzu swarmed hills of Port Gibson, Mississippi, Entergy’s Grand Gulf nuclear power plant embodies the “strange juxtaposition” of industry and southern landscape. When plans for the plant were announced, the predominantly African-American community oscillated between optimism and skepticism. Officials promised a poor, rural county additional tax revenue and employment, an attractive prospect for a place with few economic levers and an average per capita income of $1,860. Others questioned who would ultimately benefit from the plant’s presence given the state’s long history of betraying black citizens. These concerns echoed similar debates happening throughout the South about nuclear power, class, race, labor, and the environment. Traditionally, the region’s nuclear history has been framed
through a Cold War lens, focusing on defense installations. That’s one part of a much larger vision to transform the South into a nuclear-oriented region and the nation’s “energy breadbasket.” In 1956, Florida governor LeRoy Collins urged others to “wave the atomic talisman.” By harnessing nuclear power on an unprecedented scale, Collins implied that southerners might ward off the region’s unsavory reputation as backwards in its economy and its race relations. The South’s environmental advantages—ample land, plentiful water, and low-seismicity, made a nuclear future tenable. By the 1970s, southern utilities had embarked upon a building spree, and even with scaled back construction efforts, the American South soon possessed more nuclear reactors than any other region. These developments changed how southerners get their electricity, altered local environments, and highlighted divisions between those that build power plants, those that operate them, and finally those communities living near reactors. By uniting labor and environmental history, this paper examines an overlooked but consequential aspect of the modern South, while also considering the broader connections to the labor and energy politics of the 1970s.

**BIO:** Caroline Peyton ([cpeyton@cameron.edu](mailto:cpeyton@cameron.edu)) is an environmental historian who teaches at Cameron College. She earned her PhD from the Department of History at the University of South Carolina, where she completed the dissertation "Radioactive Dixie: A History of Nuclear Power and Nuclear Waste in the U.S. South, 1950-1990." Her research interests include twentieth-century U.S. politics and culture, the American South, environmental history, and the history of technology.

**Discussant:** LaGuana Gray, University of Texas, San Antonio ([laguana.gray@utsa.edu](mailto:laguana.gray@utsa.edu))

**BIO:** LaGuana Gray is an associate professor of history at the University of Texas at San Antonio. Her book *We Just Keep Running the Line: Black Southern Women and the Poultry Processing Industry* (LSU Press, 2014) won the J.G. Ragsdale Book Award in Arkansas History.

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**Friday, May 18, 2018: 8:30-10:00AM**

**Russell Library 285**

**ROUNDTABLE: Dirty Work in Southern Appalachia**

**Organizer:** Keri Leigh Merritt

This roundtable seeks to create an open discussion of dirty work in Appalachia – including physically dirty work, work that is violent or seemingly unethical, and work that is demoralizing or demeaning. We will hear about topics ranging from labor repercussions of Civil War era loyalties to late nineteenth century violence to how middle-class workers slipped back into the lower-class. With a panel comprised of scholars of different time periods, the roundtable surely will provide varied perspectives on class and power in America’s southeastern mountain range.

**Moderator:**

Keri Leigh Merritt, Independent Scholar
Keri Leigh Merritt (kerileighm@gmail.com) works as an independent scholar in Atlanta, Georgia. Her research focuses on race and class in U.S. history. Her first book, Masterless Men: Poor Whites and Slavery in the Antebellum South, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2017. She has also co-edited a book on southern labor history with Matthew Hild (Reconsidering Southern Labor History: Race, Class, and Power, University Press of Florida, Summer 2018).

Participants:

Kate Dahlstrand, University of Georgia, will discuss how Civil War loyalties determined access to opportunity in East Tennessee's postwar experience and how the region branded itself to outside investors differed from the local perspective. Carpetbaggers were welcomed as long as thoughts of Reconstruction did not include social reform towards race. Unionist strongholds rejected Confederate veterans from making their way back home to East Tennessee by way of denying participation in local economies.

BIO: Kate Dahlstrand (katharine.dahlstrand25@uga.edu) is a PhD Candidate in the history department at the University of Georgia. She studies loyalty in Appalachia and how Civil War demonstrations of loyalty held long-lasting repercussions in the post-war years. She is currently writing her dissertation under the direction of Dr. John Inscoe, entitled "Loyalty and Locale: Secession, Civil War, and Reconstruction in East Tennessee."

T.R.C. Hutton, University of Tennessee, will be approaching the subject of "dirty work" in Appalachia by discussing the uses of violence by elites in Appalachia, as it pertains to my research on the Reconstruction and "long Gilded Age" period[s].

BIO: Bob Hutton (hutton.bob@gmail.com) is senior lecturer of history and American studies at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville. He is the author of Bloody Breathitt: Politics & Violence in the Appalachian South, which won the Weatherford nonfiction book award in 2014. He is currently working on a history of the University of Tennessee.

Brad Wood, Duke University, will discuss the rubber workers of Gadsden, Alabama, who over the past three decades have been ruthlessly extorted by their employer (Goodyear) to give up the middle-class lives they used to enjoy. The story of the rubber workers (and Gadsden in general) challenges the narrative that blames the late-twentieth century ascendancy of capital on the white working class.

BIO: Brad Wood (brad.wood@duke.edu) is a doctoral candidate at Duke University working under the direction of Sarah Deutsch. He has a Masters in History from the University of Georgia, where he helped to founded its legendary history of capitalism reading group. He grew up in a working class home in the mountains of Virginia.

Friday, May 18, 2018: 8:30-10:00AM                         Russell Library 281
Panel: Dirty Classrooms: Precarious and Coerced Intellectual Labor at the University

Organizer: Claire Raymond

This panel, with individual papers by Erin Hatton, Eric Fure-Slocum, and Claire Raymond, and with Elizabeth Shermer as chair/discussant, interrogates the dirty work of non-tenure track teaching, and graduate student research labor, at research universities. While university teaching and researching are generally considered desirable positions, the situations of non-tenure track professors and graduate student researchers within the university often entail structural powerlessness and shame. This panel defines “dirty work” as work that involves suppression of the laborer’s voice and agency, creating a second-class status within the social world of the workplace, along with erasure or invisibility of the laborer’s work. Hatton’s paper, developing the concept of “social coercion,” discusses graduate student research as coerced labor, while Fure-Slocum focuses on the condition of unending precarity that attends non-tenure track positions within the university, addressing also the rise of organized resistance to exploitative employment. Raymond’s paper develops a cultural studies concept of social dirt, attending to the symbolic structures of shame that shape the social sphere of non-tenure track faculty positions.

Moderator: Elizabeth Shermer, Loyola University

“Invisible Dirt: Non-Tenure Track University Teaching”

Claire Raymond, University of Virginia (claireraymond@virginia.edu)

At research universities, non-tenure track faculty are culled from the same pool as tenure-track faculty, having completed doctorates. But unlike tenure-track faculty, non-tenure track faculty face an array of humiliating and exploitative practices, even as their students rarely know that the professor does not have health insurance, stable employment, a living wage. Universities do not advertise the difference between the compensation and treatment of tenure-track and non-tenure track faculty. As one definition of social dirt is that which is kept secret, out of public discourse, non-tenure track teaching interestingly fits that category. Often, non-tenure track faculty teach without contractual security beyond a given academic year, disempowered to speak about abusive treatment from administration, students, or other faculty, and vulnerable to employment termination without justification. Doing the same work as tenure-track faculty, non-tenure track faculty inhabit a denigrated social class, or even caste, as such placement is deeply resistant to change within the university. Cultural anthropologist Mary Douglas makes the argument that what is considered “dirty” does not derive from realities of health and bodily safety but instead emerges from cultural categories that create a symbolic repertoire of “dirt:” that which must be cast out, refused. This paper develops from Douglas’s theory of dirt, and Julia Kristeva’s theory of the abject, to understand the dirt of the work, within the university, of non-tenure track teachers. Under sway of unwritten
social codes that enforce silence, with non-tenure track faculty not included in departmental meetings and denied vote in departmental decisions, non-tenure track faculty inhabit the world of the university as a kind of social dirt, dirty by dint of a socially-coded suppression of voice. This paper analyzes the symbolic framework of, and gives voice to, the social parameters of this almost invisible dirty work.

Bio: Claire Raymond is the author of five books on feminist theory, aesthetic theory, and poetics, including *Witnessing Sadism in Texts of the American South: Women, Specularity, and the Poetics of Subjectivity*, and *Women Photographers and Feminist Aesthetics*; and five books of poetry (under the name Claire Millikin). Since 2007, she has taught as a non-tenure track Lecturer at the University of Virginia. Before coming to Virginia, she lived off-the-grid in rural coastal Maine.

“Labor Coercion in the Academy: Graduate Students in the Sciences”
Erin Hatton, University at Buffalo-SUNY (ehatton@buffalo.edu)

In this paper I examine graduate student researchers in the sciences as a stratum of contemporary labor coercion. Drawing on in-depth analysis of 20 interviews with graduate students (and another 100 interviews with prisoners, workfare workers, and student athletes), I delineate the particular form of labor coercion such workers face, which I call "social coercion," and situate it in the context of neoliberal precarity.

Bio: Erin Hatton is associate professor of sociology at the University at Buffalo (SUNY). She is the author of *The Temp Economy: From Kelly Girls to Permatemps in Postwar America*, a cultural history of the temporary help industry, which analyzes its role in the rise of the new economy. She is currently finishing a book on contemporary labor coercion, titled *Between Work and Slavery: Coerced Labor at the Boundaries of American Citizenship*.

“Precarious Academic Labor: Insecurity and Organization”
Eric Fure-Slocum, St. Olaf College

Reports about the rising share of contingent faculty are no longer news. The drive toward “flexibility” in academic employment is unremitting, as in other neoliberal workplaces. With adjuncts now doing the bulk of the teaching, precarity defines the working conditions in colleges and universities. Job insecurity and professional isolation, along with inadequate resources, have become ever-present for a growing number of faculty. Many contingent faculty juggle multi-campus gigs, often without the necessary tools to teach (e.g. offices) and to remain active as scholars (e.g. sabbaticals, research accounts). Insufficient compensation is the one predictable element as the gulf widens betweenadjuncts’ pay and the salaries of tenured professors and administrators. Course-by-course and one-year contracts once were viewed as a form of academic apprenticeship. After years of frustration on a crumbling job market, many scholars now have settled in for the long-haul on this precarious non-tenure track. The uncertainties inherent to contingent employment, as well as the false hopes accompanying precarity, severely limit career options and tarnish interactions with tenured colleagues, undermining the pretense of an
egalitarian academic workplace. All of this occurs at a time when higher education is under increasing political scrutiny and cultural scorn, placing claims to academic freedom on a shakier foundation for all, but especially contingent faculty. Even so, we see many examples of contingent faculty and allies addressing this profound change in academia, pushing back or providing alternatives. Through organizing, collective bargaining, employment policy proposals, and support from professional organizations, adjuncts have begun to challenge their precarious status, seeking a semblance of security in the academic workplace. Contingent faculty have been working with labor unions on metro-area organizing campaigns and to form collective bargaining units on campuses throughout the country. Gains have been notable in recent years due to an upsurge in organizing and recent National Labor Relations Board rulings, especially those opening the door to unionization at private universities and religiously affiliated institutions. In contrast, right-to-work laws and conservative initiatives at the state and federal levels threaten to undermine collective bargaining units in higher education. Finally, some academic and professional organizations have begun to address contingent faculty concerns, reworking the policies and cultures of these associations. Each of these challenges to precarity seek to make the costs of “flexibility” increasingly evident. In this paper, I approach the topic of contingent academic labor from multiple perspectives, offering a national-level profile, detailing individual experiences, pointing to collective efforts to this form of academic precarity.

**Bio:** Eric Fure-Slocum (furesloc@stolaf.edu), a twentieth-century U.S. labor and urban historian, is the author of *Contesting the Postwar City: Working-Class and Growth Politics in 1940s Milwaukee* (Cambridge University Press, 2013) and co-edited a collection of essays on labor scholars’ public engagement, *Civic Labors: Scholar Activism and Working-Class Studies* (University of Illinois Press, 2016). He teaches as a non-tenure track associate professor at St. Olaf College (Northfield, MN), where he helped to establish the college’s academic civic engagement program and serves as the mentor for college’s first cohort of Posse scholars. In addition to graduate student organizing and contingent faculty advocacy on campus, he chairs the contingent faculty committee for the Labor and Working-Class History Association.

**Discussant:** Elizabeth Shermer, Loyola University

**Bio:** Panel Chair and discussant Elizabeth Shermer (ellietandy@gmail.com) is an Assistant Professor of History at Loyola University. She teaches course in twentieth-century United States history, with an emphasis on the fields of capitalism, business, labor, political ideas and ideology. She is the author of *Sunbelt Capitalism: Phoenix and the Transformation of American Politics*, and with Nelson Lichtenstein is co-editor of *The Right and Labor in America: Politics, Ideology, and Imagination*.

*Friday, May 18, 2018 10:15-11:45AM Russell Library 258*

This panel examines institutional interventions in Southern agricultural labor practices and the responses to those interventions. From the Progressive Era, through the Truman Administration, and into the 1970s, government and industry have attempted to exert influence in shaping the South’s agrarian labor force. In Florida orange groves, Texas cotton fields, and Louisiana forests, these attempts have been met with responses ranging from indifference to violence. These responses highlight important changes that have taken place within the region; demographically, environmentally, and politically, as well as the persistence of problems among Southern laborers.

Moderator: Evan P. Bennett, Associate Professor, Florida Atlantic University

Bio: Evan Bennett is a historian of the American South whose research focuses on the intersections of rural, environmental, and labor history. He is author of When Tobacco Was King: Families, Farm Labor, and Federal Policy in the Piedmont (University Press of Florida, 2014). He is also co-editor of Beyond Forty Acres and a Mule: African American Landowning Families since Reconstruction (University Press of Florida, 2012). Evan is currently pursuing two projects. The first is a history of small crossroads of Cedar Grove, North Carolina, in order to understand the dynamics of change for black rural southerners in the twentieth century. The second is a cultural, labor, and environmental history of the Florida Straits.

“Tick, Tick, Boom: Dynamite, Cattle Ticks and the Southern Agrarian Bombing Campaign, 1906-1925”

David “Mac” Marquis, William & Mary

The timber industry was one of the pillars of the South’s transition to industrial capitalism in the early twentieth century. Beyond the ability to simply earn profits for timber companies, this industry played a role in the development of national and international economies through the provision of timber for railroad construction in the US, Mexico, and beyond. The timber companies were highly leveraged and were thus encouraged to maximize production as quickly as possible in order to pay off their debt. This resulted in a strategy called “cut and run,” which entailed the total devastation of millions of acres of virgin forest with little to no concern for workers or the region’s economic future. It was a dirty business.

These same companies attempted to further maximize their profits by attempting to sell this denuded acreage to cattle ranchers. However, there is tick endemic to the Southern US that sickens and even kills cattle that lack relative hereditary immunity. As the federal government discovered the tick’s role in the disease they created a program to eliminate the tick in 1906. This program and the interests of the timber companies and cattle ranchers collided with interests of the regions yeoman farmers. This collision of interests resulted in one of the largest bombing campaigns in US history. This paper explores the
struggle between the yeoman farmers and the ranching interests as well as its effect on the development of the Southern economy.

Bio: David “Mac” Marquis (djmacmarquis@gmail.com) is a third year PhD candidate at the College of William and Mary. After leaving behind a 20+ year career as an activist and a worker in various blue-collar industries, Mac returned to academia to pursue a lifelong passion. Mac is currently studying the Southern forest products industry and its effects on the implementation of industrial capitalism in the Southern U.S. He is also an editorial assistant for Labor: Studies In Working Class History of the Americas.

“’Happiness is an Orange Grove:’ Attempts to Reform and Regulate Migrant Labor in Florida’s 1970s Citrus Industry”

Terrell Orr, University of Georgia

The presence of migrant laborers in Florida is hardly unusual. For much of the 20th century, Florida had been a frequent stop in the migrant stream that traveled annually up and down the Atlantic coast. The citrus industry of central Florida was particularly reliant on this seasonal, pliable supply of laborers to work their groves. If the presence of these laborers was not unusual by the 1970s what was was the intense scrutiny that had been placed on the state and growers by the mass media. Exposé documentaries by CBS in 1960 and NBC in 1970 hit public perceptions of the industry and the state government equally hard. Alongside this publicity, in the late ‘60s and ‘70s, much of south and central Florida faced especially cold winters, killing crops and giving industry leaders a sense of impending crisis. At the state level, a relatively progressive governor, Rubin Askew, was elected in Florida. This confluence of events triggered a concerted effort on the part of the state government, the citrus industry (Coca-Cola and independent growers) and labor unions to finally address Florida citrus’s “migrant labor problem.”

This talk will explore two of these institutional attempts to address public outcry over the conditions of citrus laborers: the state government’s Migrant Labor Program and Coca-Cola’s Agricultural Labor Project. Both aimed to reform migrant laboring conditions in an institutionally specific manner, for their specific ends and both failed in accordingly unique ways. The state government aimed for, ultimately, the “uplift” laborers from their precarious position through education, job training and relocation. This would circumvent the crisis in legitimacy the state government faced if conditions did not change or deteriorated. Coca-Cola, on the other hand, attempted to keep workers in the fields, but to turn them into full time employees, with above-standard housing, benefits, healthcare and ultimately allowing a union contract with the United Farm Workers. The paper argues that the different responses to the perceived crisis followed from the different institutional rationalities that were at work within the state government and the industry.

Bio: Terrell Orr (Terrell.Orr@uga.edu) is a PhD student in History at the University of Georgia. He is interested in histories posed at the intersections of labor, business and economic history in the New South. His thesis, completed at the University of Central Florida, examined the WWI-era Florida phosphate industry as one such intersection. He
is now researching the use and abuse of migrant labor and state economic policy in Florida agribusiness, specifically citrus.

“Truman’s Commission on Migratory Labor and the Postwar Limits of Labor Liberalism”

Andrew Hazelton, Texas A&M International University

After World War II, the “emergency” Bracero Program in agriculture persisted as growers claimed American workers could not be recruited to the nation’s temporary farm jobs. Reformers in the religious, liberal, and labor movement communities criticized the persistence of the program and its deregulation into a direct grower-to-farmworker contracting process between 1947 and 1951. However, as postwar agricultural labor practices consolidated, these critics found little traction as guestworkers and undocumented immigrants continued to arrive on the nation’s farms, providing a perfect tool for employers to hold down wages and defeat organizing drives.

In 1950 and 1951, critics of the nation’s farm labor regimes found an opportunity in the Commission on Migratory Labor. President Truman appointed the commission to examine the problem of migrant laborers and their relationship to guestworker programs and undocumented immigration. Although the commission heard testimony from numerous advocates and activists and recommended sweeping reforms to labor relations in U.S. agriculture, its report and recommendations were dead on arrival, as Congress had begun debate to establish the Bracero Program on an even firmer footing that would endure until 1964.

This paper argues that the failure of the Commission on Migratory Labor represents a critical moment in the postwar limits of labor liberalism. While the criticisms of farm labor relations and the suggested reforms to remedy them foreshadowed the changes of a generation later, the political economy of the country had shifted decisively to the right. The “shrug” that greeted the commission’s work was part of the broader turn away from the labor-driven activism of the New Deal and wartime economies, as well as an outgrowth of the initial political limitations of the more militant labor liberalism of those years. Without any traction at the policy level, farm labor advocates and activists would have to seek new ways of framing their demands for farmworker justice.

Bio: Andrew Hazelton (andyjhazelton@gmail.com) is an assistant professor of history at Texas A&M International University in Laredo, Texas. He has two current projects, a book manuscript on the Bracero Program, organized labor, and Mexican migration, and an oral history project on Laredo and the border region that he runs at TAMU. His article, “Farmworker Advocacy through Guestworker Policy: Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell and the Bracero Program,” ran in the Summer 2017 issue of the Journal of Policy History.

Discussant: Andrew Herod, Distinguished Research Professor of Geography, University of Georgia.
Bio: Andrew Herod (aherod@uga.edu) is Distinguished Research Professor of Geography at UGA, Adjunct Professor International Affairs and of Anthropology at UGA and the Director of the UGA à Paris Study Abroad Program. Herod is a human geographer and political economist interested in how the economic geography of capitalism is made. Within that broad description, he has been particularly focused upon exploring how working people play active roles in shaping economic landscapes under capitalism and how, in turn, the physical and ideological form of the landscape can sometimes enable and sometimes constrain the possibilities for working people’s actions. He is internationally recognized as one of the most important scholars writing on the global economy and processes of globalization. He is perhaps best-known for his work on “labor geography,” a field he essentially created in the 1990s that looks at the geographical organization of work and employment. Herod investigates workers’ economic and political behavior and how that behavior, in turn, shapes organizations’ economic evolution.

Friday, May 18, 2018: 10:15-11:45AM
Russell Library 285

Panel: Crises of Social Reproduction in the US South: Gender, Race, and the Precarities of Daily Life

Organizer: Jennifer Bickham-Mendez (William & Mary)

A legacy of second-wave-feminist theoretical projects, the concept of social reproduction continues to represent a useful analytical tool for capturing and rendering visible the undervalued, gendered and racialized labor, and material social practices that “sustain production and social life in all its variations” (Katz 2008). As a contemporary locus for neoliberal restructuring and given the legacies of the brutally oppressive, racialized and gendered labor regimes developed through the enslavement of Black Americans, the US South presents a meaningful site for the critical examination of current crises of social reproduction. The papers in this panel examine these phenomena in depth with particular attention to the intersecting dynamics of race, gender, and immigration status as they shape and frame the precarities of daily life.

Moderator: Carrie Freshour (crf64@cornell.edu)

BIO: Carrie Freshour is a PhD candidate in Development Sociology at Cornell. Her current research focuses on the gendered and racialized practices of social reproduction among Black and Latina poultry plant workers with political implications for the US labor movement. This research reflects her broader interests in the political economy of food work and processes of racialization in the American South.

“Fear and Belonging in the “Nuevo” South: Latina Immigrant Mothers in Williamsburg, Virginia”

Jennifer Bickham Mendez, The College of William & Mary
In this paper I draw on nearly a decade and a half of engaged, ethnographic research with the mostly undocumented, Latino/a immigrant community in Williamsburg, Virginia, the members of which largely hail from Mexico and the Northern Triangle of Central America. This paper will explore immigrant women’s engagement in social reproductive activities in order to analyze their implications for the politics of belonging in a context of heightened immigration enforcement. In particular I will explore the ways in which women’s culturally ascribed, care-taking role involves their entering and navigating unfamiliar institutional spaces in order to meet the reproductive needs of their families. In so doing they must engage with powerful institutional actors in hospitals, social services, clinics, apartment complexes and schools and confront the fear that making use of community resources could alert authorities to their or their loved one’s immigration status. In the car dependent Williamsburg driving becomes a necessity for meeting the needs of daily life, and women learn to drive, despite lacking drivers licenses. They assume risk of encounters with police and face their fears of apprehension by immigration officials. In cases in which their sons and spouses are deported or detained, they hold families together and take on the role of sole breadwinner in their households. Despite their exclusion on multiple fronts as undeserving “others” and the fears stemming from deportability that they face on a daily basis, by creating community, adapting to social life in Williamsburg, and establishing homes for their families; these women emerge as significant agents of belonging.

Bio: Jennifer Bickham Mendez (jbmend@wm.edu) is Professor of Sociology at the College of William & Mary. Her current work focuses on the experiences of incorporation and exclusion of Latin American immigrants and their families in Williamsburg, Virginia. Her published work has appeared in various academic journals including, Social Problems, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Gender and Society, and Mobilization as well as in numerous edited volumes. She is the author of From the Revolution to the Maquiladoras: Gender, Labor and Globalization in Nicaragua (2005 Duke University Press) and the co-editor (along with Nancy Naples) of an anthology entitled: Border Politics: Social Movements, Collective Identity, and Globalization (2015 NYU Press).

“Bureaucracy, Slow Death and the Globalization of Social Reproductive Labor at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill “

Mike Dimpfl, Duke University

Today, bodily and built-environment cleanliness norms are intensifying, with particularly negative impact on certain kinds of workers common to, though largely invisible in, institutional spaces like university campuses. Using research based on UNC Chapel Hill campus, this paper explores the ways in which fast-paced demographic changes in the housekeeping department worked alongside particular institutional policy changes targeted to state employees in general and housekeepers at UNC in specific to end decades of hard-won labor organizing gains. What was once a department of predominantly African American women from local communities was remade. Today, more than 40% of UNC’s front-line housekeepers are members of a nascent and growing group of refugees from Burma new to the surrounding community. Tracing the department’s history back to 1990, it is possible to see specific bureaucratic and
administrative changes that worked alongside the department’s demographic shift in hiring to prevent the possibility of ongoing labor solidarity for the university’s lowest paid employees. The effect has been a reformulation of the plantation labor practices that have long lingered on campus. What was once brute force has been remade as bureaucratically-facilitated slow death. In this paper, I will discuss the specific changes to the employee grievance policy and the scope of a new work management system to illustrate how conditions in the department mobilize the language of human resources, specialization and student health to control and abuse the men and women working 24 hours a day to make university life habitable for its more celebrated and visible citizens.

**BIO:** Mike Dimpfl (mikedimpfl@gmail.com) is a feminist cultural geographer whose research looks at the intersection of so-called “dirty work” labor economies, social reproduction, institutional power and US cultural obsession with cleanliness. He is currently working on a project tracing the relationship between housekeepers, undergraduate students, and university administration at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. His work uses ethnographic data from one-on-one interviews with college students and housekeepers, alongside archival records to trace 25 years of institutional regime change, with a particular eye to the effects of major demographic and policy shifts in the department during that time.

“Valuing Reproductive Labor: Relations among multiple forms of labor in the families of foreign-born workers in the U.S. South”

David Griffith, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC

Historically in advanced capitalist economies, employers tend to view reproductive labor as a drain on productive labor when workers, primarily women, have to rearrange schedules and miss work due to the responsibilities of reproductive labor. Yet scholars have shown that reproductive labor often subsidizes productive labor, especially when reproductive costs are born in the foreign communities of immigrant workers. Employers in the U.S. South have used immigrant workers since prior to the founding of the United States, although through much of the 20th century these workers were confined to the southern reaches of the South, in what are today southern Texas and Florida and, in some cases, isolated labor camps further north. Since the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, the practice of employing foreign-born workers has spread into new destinations across the South, fueling the growth of immigrant labor in food processing, construction, agriculture, forestry, and other low-wage, hazardous industries. These workers, today and yesterday, have maintained connections between their home communities and Southern homes, creating linkages between reproductive labor in the U.S. and abroad and a variety of other forms of labor (e.g. peasant, affective, and exchange labor). Drawing on research in the seafood and poultry industries, this paper considers how these connections influence the value of different forms of labor in terms of workers’ senses of wellbeing.

**Bio:** David Griffith (griffithd@ecu.edu) is a Thomas Herriot College of Arts & Sciences Distinguished Professor of Anthropology at East Carolina University and director of the Institute for Coastal Science and Policy. He has written extensively on low-wage labor in poultry, seafood, fishing, and agriculture, much of the work focusing on foreign contract
labor. His current research among guestworkers in Canada and the United States spans Guatemala, Mexico, Ontario, and the coastal corridor from Virginia to Texas. He also works in Germany on the incorporation of Middle Eastern and African refugees into rural German labor markets.

"Pesticides, Agro-Environmental Racism, and Social Reproduction in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta"

Brian Williams, University of Georgia

In this paper, I situate the chemical intensification of agriculture in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta within the context of plantation racism and the Black freedom struggles in Mississippi. I emphasize the material and semiotic entanglements of cotton—fashioned as a crop besieged by synthetic fabrics and pests—with the defense of the plantation as a site of anti-Black politics. Agricultural chemicals were sold and justified as means of both protecting profits and defending the life of cotton. Pesticides intensified violence against Black lives and social reproduction, I argue, at a moment when Black freedom struggle activism challenged the roots of plantation racism. Within the context of agrarian racism in the Delta, persistent agro-industrial discourses of "clean fields", "crop life", and the triumph of technology over hunger take on a new meaning. I suggest that situating pesticide intensification historically and geographically can shed light on the ways that agro-industrial technologies encode violence against social reproduction.

Bio: Brian Williams (brianilliams@gmail.com) is a PhD Candidate in Geography at the University of Georgia. His work sits at the intersections of critical race theory, environmental justice scholarship, and political ecology. Drawing on oral history, archival research, and participant observation, he is working on a dissertation examining the development and deployment of pesticides in the United States South as an ongoing technology of environmental racism.

Discussant: Will D. Bryan, Georgia State University

BIO: William D. Bryan (williamdbryan@gmail.com) is an environmental historian who focuses on the relationship between nature and economic development, sustainability, tourism, and the American South. He is completing his first book, Nature and the New South, which explores how the conservation of natural resources shaped economic development in the South in the years after the Civil War.

Friday, May 18, 2018: 10:15-11:45AM  
Russell Library 277


Organizer: Veronica Martinez-Matsuda

Agricultural workers literally got their hands dirty working long, hot hours in often unsafe conditions and for very little pay while the agricultural industry and relevant government entities touted American agriculture as cutting edge and modern, and a
model on the global stage. During the twentieth century, the U.S. agricultural system in the Southwest functioned in part by imposing a heavy influence on the federal government and a reliance on a steady supply of undocumented and otherwise disenfranchised migrant workers. The papers on this panel explore the concept of dirtiness in agricultural history by examining the ways in which people became complicit and/or implicated in the dirty politics and illicit aspects of the agricultural system. From the disillusionment of New Dealers whose idealistic programs were increasingly adulterated by growers’ incessant attacks and the exigencies of World War II, to the creation of a political economy of racial capitalism in mid-century agriculture resulting from the rise of a new farm system centered on the guestworker regime, to the work of labor smugglers who helped migrants cross the U.S.-Mexican border to pick crops in U.S. agriculture fields, these papers show how growers achieved their agendas while still managing to keep their hands “clean” and ensure the availability of workers who labored under dirty conditions.

Moderator: Cindy Hahamovitch, University of Georgia

BIO: Cindy Hahamovitch (cxhaha@uga.edu) is the B. Phinizy Spalding Distinguished Professor of History at the University of Georgia. A historian of international and US labor migration, she is the author of The Fruits of Their Labor: Atlantic Coast Farmworkers and the Making of Migrant Poverty, 1870-1945 (UNC Press, 1997) and the triple prize-winning, No Man’s Land: Jamaican Guestworkers in America and the Global History of Deportable Labor (Princeton University Press). She is working on the history of human trafficking in labor over the past two centuries. She is the past president of the Southern Labor Studies Association and the Reviews Editor for Labor: Studies in the Working Class History.

The Bracero Program and the Political Economy of Agriculture’s Racial Capitalism

Andrew Hazelton, Texas A&M International University

This paper examines the Bracero Program from the perspective of racial capitalism. It argues that after New Deal policies precipitated the decline of sharecropping and tenant farming in the South, Southwestern growers formalized a new guestworker regime based on their prior experiences with and exploitation of racialized ethnic Mexicans. This model expanded to the entire nation and coincided with a period of growing economic concentration in agriculture and geographic and economic shifts in agricultural commodity production. Despite significant dissent, the program was virtually unassailable until the late 1950s, indicating the unanimity of the farm lobby, executive branch administrators, and what I term the congressional “farm bloc.” The converging trends of agricultural concentration, the formalization of the guestworker regime, and the political unity it fostered among the program’s supporters all combined to create structures of racial exploitation on the nation’s largest farms that are durable and confounding for those seeking to improve farmworker conditions.
BIO: Andrew Hazelton (Andrewj.hazelton@tamiu.edu) is an assistant professor of History at Texas A&M International University in Laredo, Texas. He has two current projects, a book manuscript on the Bracero Program, organized labor, and Mexican migration, and an oral history project on Laredo and the border region that he runs at TAMIU. His article, “Farmworker Advocacy through Guestworker Policy: Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell and the Bracero Program,” ran in the Summer 2017 issue of the Journal of Policy History.

“From Manzanar to Mexico: Laurence I. Hewes and the Farm Security Administration’s Political Transformation in 1942”

Verónica Martínez-Matsuda, Cornell University, ILR School

This paper will offer a closer understanding of the political contradiction New Deal officials encountered as they were forced to adjust their existing programs and policies to accommodate World War II agricultural labor demands. To best underscore the shift taking place and the impact it had on existing conditions, the paper will focus on the experiences of Laurence I. Hewes who was the Farm Security Administrations’ Region IX Director (covering California, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada). In 1942, Hewes, a mostly progressive New Dealer, was charged with the task of helping to manage Japanese American internment by coordinating the temporary operation and sale of Japanese American farmlands in California. He also facilitated a farm-leave program that allowed growers across the country to hire Japanese American internees as farmworkers. Months later, Hewes was sent to Mexico to organize a wartime emergency farm labor importation program, better known as the Bracero Program. Because Hewes was quite public about his disapproval of internment and sought to protect Mexican guestworkers with fair labor contracts, American growers quickly labeled him a “Jap-lover” and an agitator. Yet, despite his attempts to protect farmworkers interests, in both historical contexts, corporate agricultural interests won out and the dirty politics of farm labor relations grew emboldened.

BIO: Martínez (Vm248@cornell.edu) is an Assistant Professor at Cornell University’s ILR School, where she teaches courses on U.S. Immigration and Labor and Working-Class History. Her current research examines the role of the federal Migratory Labor Camp Program in the lives of migrant farmworker families. More generally, she’s interested in the intersections between labor and citizenship, particularly immigrants’ social movements and cross-racial organizing efforts for improved living and working conditions. Her forthcoming book, Building Migrant Citizenship: Race, Rights, and Reform in the U.S. Farm Labor Camp Program, 1935-1947 will be published in 2018 by the University of Pennsylvania Press and its “Politics and Culture in Modern America” series.

“The Boatmen at the Border: Anti-Smuggling Laws and Enforcement during the Mid-Twentieth Century”

Cristina Salinas, University of Texas at Arlington
Fulfilling the labor demands of a South Texas agricultural industry, at the cut-rate wages growers desired, required workers to cross the U.S.-Mexico border in large numbers during certain times of year. Workers often crossed at night, and paid young men and boys to ferry them across a yet undammed river in small boats or other forms of rickety transport. Because of the geographical fixity of their part of the process, smugglers were easy targets for Border Patrol officers who knew where to find them. This paper will consider the differential law enforcement approaches to capturing and prosecuting smugglers based on race. Law enforcement officers charged Mexican smugglers more frequently than white smugglers, and treated farmers, whom they caught engaging in the exact same behavior, as completely distinct from smugglers. This distinction was reflected in emerging immigration law that further criminalized smugglers while exempting and protecting farmers. In this paper I will examine the smuggler as part of a category of hated middlemen who rhetorically shouldered the blame for many the ills of the intersecting systems of immigration and agricultural production during the middle of the twentieth century.

**BIO:** Cristina Salinas (csalinas@uta.edu) is an Assistant Professor of History at the University of Texas at Arlington and teaches courses in Mexican American history and ethnic studies. Her book, *Managed Migrations: Growers, Farmworkers, and U.S.-Mexico Border Enforcement During the Twentieth Century* is under contract with the University of Texas Press and will be published in 2018.

**Discussant:** Tim Henderson, Auburn University at Montgomery

**BIO:** Timothy J. Henderson (thender1@aum.edu) is a professor of history at Auburn University Montgomery and the author of several books on Mexican history, including *A Glorious Defeat: Mexico and Its War with the United States* (H&W, 2007) and *The Mexican Wars for Independence* (H&W, 2010).

*A Conversation with Wiley Cash (UNC Asheville) and Jacquelyn Dowd Hall (UNC-Chapel Hill).*

Wiley Cash is a best-selling, North Carolina-based novelist with a deep interest in the region’s past. His forthcoming book, *The Last Ballad,* tells the story of the Ella May Wiggins, the singer, spinner, single mom, and martyr of the 1929 Loray Mills Strike in Gastonia, North Carolina. The book tells Wiggins story – of how she moved from the mountains to a mill village, became a mill worker, about his kids, about her poverty, about racial boundaries, and how she became a union supporter – from shifting points of view. All of them, as Cash explains, pay “tribute to the thousands of heroic women and men who risked their lives to win basic rights for all workers.” Jacquelyn Dowd Hall (jhall@email.unc.edu), co-author of the award-winning and field-defining, *Like A Family: The Making of the Southern Cotton Mill World,* will engage Cash in a conversation about his novel, about his inspiration, about the “sources” he used, and about writing fiction about the past and the search for deeper truths.
Chair, Bryant Simon, Temple University

**BIO:** Bryant Simon ([brysimon@temple.edu](mailto:brysimon@temple.edu)) is professor of History at Temple University. He is the author of *A Fabric of Defeat: The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910-1948* and more recently of *The Hamlet Fire: A Tragic Story of Cheap Food, Cheap Government and Cheap Lives*. He is the co-editor with Jane Dailey and Glenda Gilmore of *‘Jumpin’ Jim Crow’: Southern Politics from Civil War to Civil Rights* and with Jim Giesen of *Food and Eating in America: A Documentary Reader*. He is currently a research scholar at the German Historical Institute in Washington, DC.

**BIO:** Jacquelyn Dowd Hall ([jhall@email.unc.edu](mailto:jhall@email.unc.edu)), Julia Cherry Spruill Professor Emeritus, UNC-Chapel Hill is past president of the Organization of American Historians, the Southern Historical Association, and the Labor and Working Class History Association. She is a specialist in southern history with a focus on women, race, and labor and was the founding director of UNC’s Southern Oral History Program. In 1999, she was awarded a National Humanities Medal in 1999 for her leadership of the program and her efforts to deepen the nation’s understanding of and engagement with the humanities. Among her award-winning publications is “The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past,” *Journal of American History* (2005), which remains one of the most widely cited and assigned overviews of the movement. Her latest book, *Writing a Way Home*, is forthcoming from W.W. Norton in 2019.

**BIO:** Wiley Cash ([wileycashauthor@gmail.com](mailto:wileycashauthor@gmail.com)) is the *New York Times* best selling author of the novels *The Last Ballad*, *A Land More Kind Than Home*, and *This Dark Road to Mercy*. He currently serves as the writer-in-residence at the University of North Carolina-Asheville and teaches in the Mountainview Low-Residency MFA. He lives with his wife and two young daughters in Wilmington, North Carolina.

For more on *The Last Ballad*, see [https://www.harpercollins.com/cr-105601/wiley-cash](https://www.harpercollins.com/cr-105601/wiley-cash)

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**Friday, May 18, 2018: 12:00-1:15PM**  
Russell Library 285


Speaker: Maurice Hobson, Georgia State University ([mhobson@gsu.edu](mailto:mhobson@gsu.edu))

**BIO:** Maurice Hobson is an Assistant Professor of African American Studies and Historian at Georgia State University. He earned his BA at the University of Alabama at Birmingham where he also played fullback for the Blazer Football team. His PhD in history is from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. His research interests are grounded in the fields of African American history, 20th Century U.S. history, African American studies, oral history and ethnography, urban and rural history, political
economy, and popular cultural studies. He is the author of The Legend of the Black Mecca: Politics and Class in the Making of Modern Atlanta with the University of North Carolina Press.

Friday, May 18, 2018: 1:30-3:00PM

Panel: Implementing Policy in the Racially-Rigid New South
Organizer: Michael Murphy

This panel examines the manners in which the South implemented regional and embraced national policies and trends to establish and maintain a racially rigid society while attempting to achieve economic, social, and professional aims contained in the ideas and goals of creating a New South. While the three papers focus on enduring historical subjects-race, class, and gender-they also highlight the ways in which these three subjects provide a better understanding of the bottom-up way the South established and applied budding policies concerning three distinct technological systems and societal institutions-prisons and convict leasing, state hospitals and asylums, and the professionalization of public health nursing in the New South.

Chair: Kevin Johnson, Grambling State University

BIO: Kevin Boland Johnson (johnsonkev@gram.edu) completed his doctorate in American history at Mississippi State in 2014. An assistant professor at Grambling State University in North Louisiana, Johnson is conducting research for his first book about the desegregation of revenue sports at southern state universities and about the missing history of all-black secondary schools in the South.

“Verging on What the Original Bedlam Must Have Been Like”: The Mississippi State Lunatic Asylum in the New South, 1878-1910

Michael Murphy, Mississippi State University

In the state’s 1878-79 biennial report on the Mississippi State Lunatic Asylum, the newly appointed superintendent Dr. Thomas J. Mitchell described the institution as “verging on what the original Bedlam must have been like.” He linked such disorder to the state’s Reconstruction government and contemporaneous health matters, specifically, the Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1878. Along with his comments on the Reconstruction state government’s impact on the Mississippi State Lunatic Asylum, Mitchell’s description illustrates the inauguration of a period, on a national level, during which state hospitals and asylums transitioned from temporary, rehabilitative places to permanent catchall depositories for the insane. Patients shifted from curable and largely temporary to incurable and permanently institutionalized. This national shift in the institutionalization of the insane provided Mississippi officials and authorities the opportunity to establish and maintain a closed, racially-segregated segregated society. By utilizing the state of Mississippi’s biennial reports throughout the late-19th and early-20th centuries, archival
material from the Mississippi Department of Archives and History and various universities’ archives throughout Mississippi, and regional and state periodicals, I will examine the role state hospitals and asylums played in establishing and maintaining a closed, segregated society not just in Mississippi, but throughout the region in an period known as the New South.

**BIO:** Michael Murphy ([mtm227@msstate.edu](mailto:mtm227@msstate.edu)) is a PhD candidate in the department of history at Mississippi State University. His dissertation is tentatively titled “Inhospitable in the Hospitality State: The Mississippi State Lunatic Asylum’s Utilization to Establish and Maintain a Closed, Segregated-Society in Mississippi, 1878-1965.” He is a co-author and co-creator of ‘A Shaky Truce’: Starkville Civil Rights, 1960-1980, a digital history project dedicated to highlighting the voices and participants of the modern African-American Civil Rights Movement in Starkville, Mississippi, which has earned numerous awards, including the Mississippi Historical Society’s 2016 Oral History Award. Michael has or is scheduled to present research at several conferences, including the Southern Regional Conference for the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine, the Southern Historical Association, and the Society for the History of Technology. While at MSU, Michael has been advised by Jason Morgan Ward in United States, Southern, and African American history.

"The Curse of Cane: Sugar and Its Unsweet Legacy in the Life and Labor of Texas Convicts, 1871-1920"
Jermaine Thibodeaux, University of Texas-Austin

Sugar and coerced labor, specifically black convict labor, provided the foundation for the development and expansion of the Texas “Prison Empire.” Throughout much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, sugar was big business along the winding bayous of southeast Texas. There, the fertile soil and tropical-like climate yielded an ample supply of cane that ultimately rivaled the sugar produced domestically in places such as Louisiana and Hawaii, and to some, Texas sugar surpassed Caribbean sugar in terms of its quality. Moreover, this precious commodity also gave birth to numerous capitalist ventures in the region, and for Fort Bend County, Texas, cane production launched the start of a profitable sugar refinery, Imperial Sugar Company, which today, bears the distinction as the state’s oldest extant business enterprise. Though Texas sugar growers never produced the quantity of cane as their Louisiana neighbors, sugar cultivation proved quite lucrative and indeed useful to a state in constant economic distress and swarming in social chaos, either real or imagined. Sugar, furthermore, allowed Texas to dabble in leasing out the state’s swelling convict population to labor-hungry and profit-driven sugar planters from 1871 until 1883. And after a turbulent yet fruitful decade of leasing out its mostly black, male convict population, the state moved to purchase its own massive sugar plantations throughout the so-called Sugar Bowl and reaped quite a financial windfall from the labor of its bound lot. Simply, sugar helped build and sustain the state’s prison system while exacting undue misery on thousands of black men along the way. Furthermore, this paper explores how sugar cultivation in Texas emerged as one of the least desirable forms of agricultural labor from slavery through the 1920s. This backbreaking work, which was deeply intertwined in
longstanding racial and gendered logics, emerged as the vilest punishment endured by Texas prisoners. Convicts deplored working the sugar fields so much that they invented stunning rebukes of the labor practice in the form of prison work songs. Ultimately, I argue that sugar work was no sweet deal. It allowed for the racial and gendered segregation of the prison workforce and reinforced slavery-era assumptions about both blackness and masculinity.

**BIO:** Jermaine Thibodeaux (jthib@utexas.edu) is currently a doctoral candidate in the Department of History at the University of Texas-Austin. A native of Houston, Texas, Jermaine attended Cornell University, where he was selected as a Mellon-Mays Undergraduate Research Fellow. After earning an A.B. in History, with a certificate in the law and society program, Jermaine returned to Texas to pursue graduate studies. He plans to complete a dissertation that interrogates the role of the Texas sugar industry in the development and expansion of the state's prison system. His work will also examine the phenomenon of black male incarcerations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and how it affected Black Texans and their communities. His intellectual interests also broadly consider notions of masculinities, criminality, slavery and racial capitalism. He is advised by Professor Daina Ramey Berry in U.S and African-American history.

"A ‘Pitiable Picture’: Alabama and Mississippi Public Health Nursing and Maternal Health Care in the 1920s”
Nancy Traylor-Heard, Mississippi State University

In February 1925, Dr. Felix J. Underwood, the Director of the Mississippi State Board of Health Bureau of Child Hygiene and Welfare, described the maternal health care situation in Mississippi. He exclaimed, “What could more pitiable picture than that of a prospective mother housed in an unsanitary home and attended in the most critical period by an accoucher, filthy, and ignorant, and not far removed from the jungles of Africa….” According to Underwood, this was the state of maternal health for half the white and all African American mothers and infants in his state. Like Mississippi, Alabama public health officials also sought to educate mothers and provide antepartum, intrapartum, and postpartum care. The Promotion of the Welfare and Hygiene of Maternity and Infancy Act of 1921 allowed states like Alabama and Mississippi to hire public health nurses and other health officials to assess the status of maternal and infant health and work to improve maternal and infant mortality rates. Alabama and Mississippi public health nurses made home visits and held conferences to teach women, who they viewed as dirty and ignorant, how to eat nutritious foods and promote cleanliness. The nurses also worked with midwives to teach them how to incorporate hygienic practices. The public health nurses and other public health officials viewed their working conditions as dirty and saw African American mothers as inherently deplorable and superstitious. By utilizing primary sources from the Alabama Department of Archives and History, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, and newspapers, this paper will contend that in the 1920s, public health nurses emerged in the south to teach maternal and infant hygiene to poor whites and all African Americans to combat high mortality rates caused by unsanitary conditions.
**BIO:** Nancy Traylor-Heard ([njt50@msstate.edu](mailto:njt50@msstate.edu)) is a PhD candidate in the Department of History at Mississippi State University. Her dissertation is titled “‘Save the Women and Children’: American Democracy and Maternal and Children’s Health Care, 1917-1969.” She was a 2016 Reynolds-Finley Fellow at the University of Alabama at Birmingham and 2016 President of the Gamma-Nu Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. In addition, she has presented at numerous conferences including the Southern Historical Association’s annual meeting and the Society for Military History’s conference.

Commenter: Alan Draper, St. Lawrence University

**BIO:** Alan Draper ([adraper@stlawu.edu](mailto:adraper@stlawu.edu)) is the Michael and Virginia Ranger Professor of Government at St. Lawrence University where he has taught since 1982. He received his Ph. D. from Columbia University and has published in the areas of labor history, the history of the civil rights movement, and in Comparative Politics. He is currently working on a biography of Robert Moses the civil rights leader.

Friday, May 18, 2018: 1:30-3:00PM  
Russell Library 277

**Panel: Women, Bound Labor, and the Dirty Work of the Household**

This panel considers the many ways in which women’s household labor intersected with or was dependent upon bound labor. Outside of a few notable monographs, female domestic work has received little scholarly attention, and even less when that work is considered in the context of bound labor. These four papers illustrate that women were central to negotiating and expropriating domestic labor both within the household and without, and that such arrangements were crucial to the economy and to establishing social hierarchies. Alexandra Finley moves outside of the household to consider the importance of so-called household labor to the antebellum slave market and the broader cotton economy. Shannon C. Eaves’s paper is about the sexual exploitation of enslaved women as the extent to which “concubines” shaped the conditions of sexual servitude.

**Moderator:** Elizabeth Eubanks, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

**BIO:** Elizabeth ([eblevin2@vols.utk.edu](mailto:eblevin2@vols.utk.edu)) is a PhD candidate at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville studying Colonial and Early American history. Under the direction of Dr. Christopher Magra, her dissertation focuses on the performance of gender norms in the eighteenth-century Atlantic World. Elizabeth focuses on the extension of benevolence in colonial Charleston as an example of gendered performance. Through the specific example of benevolence in Charleston, larger themes about the performance of gender norms throughout the Atlantic World can be investigated.

“Female Labor in the Dirty World of the Antebellum Slave Trade”  
Alexandra Finley, Mississippi State University

My paper examines the “dirty work” of domestic labor in the “dirtiest” of markets, the
antebellum slave market. While the debate over capitalism and slavery has received much attention from historians recently, their scholarship has focused almost entirely on the work of men in developing financial networks. This presentation uses two case studies of women who performed service labor in the domestic slave trade. By comparing the work of women in two very different situations - one white wife of a slave trader and one enslaved woman - who both sewed clothes for slave traders, I highlight the ways in which race and class affected perceptions and monetization of women’s “household” work. I also use these examples to show that “dirtier” forms of physical labor were just as important to the expansion of the southern economy as the more “respectable” labor of businessmen and bankers.

BIO: Alexandra Finley (axfinl@email.wm.edu) is a Assistant Professor of History at Mississippi State University. She received her PhD from the College of William & Mary in May 2017, where her dissertation focused on the economic contributions of women’s domestic, sexual, and reproductive labor to the antebellum slave trade. She has an upcoming article in the September issue of the Journal of American History, “‘Cash to Corinna’: Domestic Labor and Sexual Economy in the ‘Fancy Trade.” Finley received her B.A. from the Ohio State University in 2010 and her M.A. from the College of William & Mary in 2012.

“Concubines, Fancy Girls, and Kept Women: Exploration of Enslaved Women’s Agency Within the Confines of Concubinage in the Antebellum South”
Shannon C. Eaves, University of North Florida

Historians have long debated how to best characterize long-term sexual relationships between enslaved women and white men. Some argue that the element of exploitation can never be removed from sexual liaisons between enslaved women and white men. Others argue that it does a disservice to female slaves not to consider their ability to resist sexually exploitive situations or pursue interracial sexual relationships, specifically for the purposes of challenging social norms or securing protection and economic security. In regard to sexual servitude, or concubinage, some scholars have even contended that some enslaved women knowingly entered into concubinage with expectations of receiving material benefits. In this paper, I contend that this last argument is effective in expanding our understanding of enslaved women’s agency, but fails to foreground the power dynamic that existed between male slaveholders and their concubines. It also obscures the meaning of the word “concubine” within the context of Southern slavery. A concubine was most often a sexual servant; some slaveholders purchased enslaved women solely for this purpose. Moreover, analyses that contend that enslaved women actively pursued concubinage rarely employ the testimony of enslaved women. White men’s wills and petitions for manumission—which are the sources largely used to make these arguments about enslaved women’s agency—shed more light on white men’s power and less on enslaved women’s ability to negotiate and secure physical and economic security for themselves and their families. In this paper, I will explore sources produced by enslaved women, ranging from legal documents to slave narratives and interviews, to shed new light on enslaved women’s agency and how they perceived their
ability to shape the conditions of sexual servitude and long-term sexual liaisons with white men.

**BIO:** Shannon C. Eaves (shannon.eaves@unf.edu) is an Assistant Professor of History at the University of North Florida. She currently serves as the 2017-2018 Race and Gender Postdoctoral Fellow at Rutgers University. Her current book project *Illicit Intercourse: How the Sexual Exploitation of Enslaved Women Shaped the Antebellum South* uses the sexual exploitation of enslaved women as a lens for exploring the intersecting influences of race, gender, and power on the day-to-day interactions and negotiations between slaveholders and the enslaved during the antebellum period. Eaves received her Ph.D. in US History from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2015.

“Bound to the Fire: Enslaved cooks in Virginia households.”
Kelly Fanto Deetz, Randolph College.

Kelly Deetz will present work from her new book, *Bound to the Fire*, which uncovers the hidden voices of the men and women who cooked for their enslavers. Enslaved cooks were highly skilled, trained and professional, creating meals that made Virginia known for her cuisine and hospitality. They were at the core of the Virginia’s domestic and culinary pride as well as the center of the plantation community. Archaeological and historical records reveal the centrality of the cook’s role, and the material culture exemplifies how cooks created a black landscape within a white world and were able to share this unique space with the large enslaved population. This interdisciplinary examination of Virginia’s enslaved plantation cooks advances our collective understanding of their contributions to American culture and cuisine, while rendering examples of their dignity, pain, resistance, and perseverance throughout enslavement.

**BIO:** Kelley Fanto Deetz ([deetz@berkeley.edu](mailto:deetz@berkeley.edu)) is an archaeologist and historian and earned a B.A. in Black Studies from The College of William and Mary, as well as a M.A. in African American Studies and Ph.D. in African Diaspora Studies from the University of California at Berkeley. She specializes in nineteenth-century African American culture, African Diaspora archaeology, and public history. Deetz is currently a Visiting Assistant Professor at Randolph College, in Lynchburg, Virginia and the author of *Bound to the Fire: How Virginia’s Enslaved Cooks Helped Invent American Cuisine* (University Press of Kentucky, 2017).

**Discussant:** Jennifer Palmer, University of Georgia

**BIO:** Jennifer L. Palmer ([palmerjl@uga.edu](mailto:palmerjl@uga.edu)) received her doctorate at the University of Michigan in History and Women’s Studies in 2008. She is currently an Associate Professor at the University of Georgia. She is the author of *Intimate Bonds: Family and Slavery in the French Atlantic* (U of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), which received the Mary Alice and Philip Boucher Prize from the French Colonial Historical Society. Her articles have appeared in journals including *French Historical Studies* and *Gender & History*; and she has contributed to edited volumes on gender and work, testamentary practice, and Protestantism. She has recently presented work at the University of Michigan Institute for the Humanities; the Law and Humanities Workshop at Columbia University; and
conferences of the AHA, the Association of Caribbean Historians, and the French Colonial Historical Society. She is currently studying emotion in the context of slavery, and gender and property in the French Atlantic world.

Friday, May 18, 2018: 1:30-3:00PM

Russell Library 285

Special Presentation: Manual Scavenging, a Caste-Based Occupation in India

Introduction and Comparative Context: Jay Driskell

BIO: Jay Driskell (drjaywdriskell@gmail.com) is a researcher and historical consultant, whose clients have included the Smithsonian Institution, The Civil Rights and Restorative Justice Project, the National Labor College, and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. He is the author of two books. His first book, *Schooling Jim Crow: the Fight for Atlanta’s Booker T. Washington High School and the Roots of Black Protest Politics* (University Press of Virginia, 2014), traces the changes in black political consciousness that transformed a reactionary politics of respectability into a militant force for change during the fight for black public schools in Atlanta, Georgia. His most recent book is a history of sanitation workers written for the Teamsters’ worker education department and it chronicles the workplace struggles of urban sanitation workers since the 19th century.

Speaker: Vimal Kumar, Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Mumbai

India has the second largest scavenging population in the world after China. Although the exact number of manual scavengers remains disputed, the 2011 census showed that there are between 800,000 to 1,000,000 people are engaged in manual scavenging in India (The New Indian Express, 2013). Scavenger communities are known by the different names in the India; Bhangi, Hadi, Thotti, Mehter, Dhanuk, Valmiki, Chuhra and Balmiki (Haryana). Whatever they are called, they are placed in the lowest rung of the Hindu caste hierarchy (Freed, 1970) and are trapped into performing ‘unclean’ occupations through the generations. The overarching conceptual identification of these occupations intersecting with communities is explored here through a focus on manual scavengers. Manual scavenging refers to the removal of human waste/excreta using brooms, tin plates and baskets from the dry latrine and carrying it on head to disposal and the people engaged doing it are referred as manual scavengers. Contemporary debates pertaining to the exact name of these communities is disputed and remains contested. For the purpose of this article the author would use the neutral English category of ‘scavenger’. The government of India also uses the term “Safai Karmachari” in Hindi language which in English translates as manual scavenger. As a continuation of this a National Commission for Safai Karmacharies was formed by the government to look into issues of the scavenger community.

In Indian caste based society, identity, social status and respect of communities/people are directly related to the occupation they are ascribed to perform. Work and occupation such as manual scavenging is given the lowest status in the society. India is also known as “Hindustan” and this is the most common word in Indian society. The meaning of
‘Hindustan’ is the country of Hindus. Therefore, large populations of India are influenced by the Hindu religion and belief, following the Hindu code and ideas which have been set out by the controversial Hindu law giver Manu and is commonly known as “Manusmriti”. These ideas, as described by Blunt (1981), hold that a particular caste group will be engaged in a particular type of work or profession based on their birth and descent. This theory is still widely accepted by a very large orthodox section of Hindu society.

However, on the issue of scavengers, Gandhi while trying to reverse the caste hierarchy ended up describing and eulogizing “The Ideal Bhangi” in the Harijan on 28th November 1936. His message romanticized the issue of manual scavenging writing in 1936 that ‘a Bhangi (Scavenger) does for society what a mother does for her baby. A mother washes her baby of the dirt and insures his health. Even so the Bhangi protects and safeguards the health of the entire community by maintaining sanitation for it’(Gandhi 1936). Still, after nearly 70 years of independence the Prime Minister Mr. Narender Modi, then the minister of the state of Gujarat, repeated the same argument that Gandhi made and tried to romanticize the issue of manual scavenging. In his book ‘Karmayog’ Modi (2007) wrote: ‘Scavenging is a “Spiritual Experience”’ (IBNLive, 2013). These two statements from two political leaders of India confirms the prevalence of a Casteist mindset in society which perpetuates a romantic notion of the scavenger community.

This presentation will discuss the problems of caste politics, untouchability, and everyday violence against the scavenger community. Its particular focus is on caste-based occupations’ productive role in dynamic caste relations and how caste-based occupation plays a crucial role in maintaining the caste system? How manual scavenging is romanticized by the national leaders in the past and in presently on the name of ‘Clean India Campaign’ program in India.

BIO: Vimal Kumar (Vimal_msw@rediffmail.com) is the founder of Movement for Scavenger Community (MSC), an organization committed to the eradication of manual scavenging in India and bringing education and awareness to the existing scavenger community. Under MSC he also operates the Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Youth Study Center which provides career counseling and a small library to disadvantaged students in Haryana. As a Ph.D. scholar in social work with a focus on "Caste violence" at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Mumbai, he was awarded the Young Professional Fellowship from the Dalit Foundation in 2008. Vimal holds a Bachelor of Arts and Master of Social Work from the University of Kurukshetra in Haryana. He was awarded by DAAD research fellowship in 2016 under Student Exchange Program with Westfalische Wilhelms - Universitat Muenster (WWU), Germany. He is also Acumen Fellow at Acumen Funds. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g6xcJEIukhE

Friday, May 18, 2018: 1:30-3:00PM

Roundtable: Writing and Performing Labor History: New Perspectives on the Hamlet, NC Chicken Plant Fire
This session looks at the September 3, 1991 fire at the Imperial Foods chicken processing plant in Hamlet, North Carolina that killed 25 workers. The history of the fire has been told in songs, poems, plays, novels, films, and in a new book by the historian Bryant Simon. In “Writing and Performing Labor History” we will hear from Simon and playwright Howard Craft as well as listen to "Hamlet Chicken Plant Disaster" by Jello Biafra and Mojo Nixon; watch excerpts from the film, Hamlet: Out of the Ashes, and hear a reading of excerpts from David Rigsbee’s, "Sonnets to Hamlet.” The audience will be asked to share their thoughts on how different forms of presenting history contribution to our understanding of the actual events.

Chair: Robert Korstad, Duke University

BIO: Robert Korstad (rkorstad@duke.edu) is Professor of Public Policy and History at Duke University and Associate Director of the Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equity. His publications include To Right These Wrongs: The North Carolina Fund and the Battle to End Poverty and Inequality in 1960s America (coauthor, University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth-Century South (University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Remembering Jim Crow: African Americans Talk About Life in the Segregated South (coeditor, The New Press, 2001); and Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World (coauthor, University of North Carolina Press, revised edition, 2000).

Panelists: Bryant Simon, Temple University (brysimon@temple.edu)

BIO: Bryant Simon is professor of history at Temple University. He is the author most recently of The Hamlet Fire: A Tragic Story of Cheap Food, Cheap Government, and Cheap Lives. His previous books include, Boardwalk of Dreams: Atlantic City and the Fate of Urban America (2004), and Everything but the Coffee: Learning About America from Starbucks (2009).

Howard Craft, Duke University

BIO: Howard Craft (crafthlc@gmail.com) is a poet, playwright and arts educator from Durham, N.C. His most recent work is Orange Light, a play about the Hamlet fire

Viewing/Listening:
Jello Biafra and Mojo Nixon, "Hamlet Chicken Plant Disaster"
Excerpts from Hamlet: Out of the Ashes
Excerpts from David Rigsbee, "Sonnets to Hamlet"

Friday, May 18, 2018: 3:15-4:45PM
Russell Library 258

Panel: The Right (Not) to Work: Coerced Labor of Convicts, Idle Prisoners, and
Circus Workers
Organizer: Anne Lessy

This panel explores the question of labor coercion in America from the late nineteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries, probing the varied sites and conditions in which labor is compelled. The papers consider the intersections of labor, race, and the environment in the history of Georgia’s convict leasing system; reframe the American mobilization during World War II through the lens of prison labor; and explore the boundaries between coerced labor and performance through the men, women, and children who worked under circus tents. Drawing together these different contexts, this panel seeks to re-conceptualize the meaning of free and unfree labor in modern American history.

Chair and Discussant: Greta de Jong, University of Nevada, Reno

BIO: Greta de Jong (gdejong@unr.edu) is a professor of History at the University of Nevada, Reno. She completed her BA and MA degrees in New Zealand, and her PhD at Penn State University. She is the author of A Different Day: African American Struggles for Justice in Rural Louisiana, 1900-1970 (2002) and Invisible Enemy: The African American Freedom Struggle after 1965 (2010). Her most recent book, You Can’t Eat Freedom: Southerners and Social Justice after the Civil Rights Movement (2016), examines black southerners’ struggles for racial and economic justice in the context of agricultural labor displacement after the 1960s.

“All Dirtied Up with the Rosin’: Coerced Labor in the South’s Piney Woods”
Fraser Livingston, Mississippi State University (fraserlivingston@gmail.com)

In 1907, a Chattooga County Sheriff’s Deputy arrested an African American man named Smith McCuthens for gambling in northwest Georgia. The court found McCuthens guilty, and the county judge charged the defendant a $200 fine. It was a harsh comeuppance for a young African American convicted of a crime in the post-Reconstruction society. While convict leasing was common throughout the South, it was illegal in Georgia to lease convicts out of the county where they had been convicted. It was also illegal to lease prisoners convicted of misdemeanors in any function other than public works. Yet, nine months later McCuthens was three hundred miles south in a private and remote operation that generated capital with only convict labor and longleaf pines. This paper analyzes the forced labor of convicts in the South who toiled in longleaf-grassland biomes to produce naval store products like turpentine, tar, rosin, and pitch. The longleaf pine once stretched across ninety million acres of the southern coastal plain, but by the beginning of the twentieth century half of the longleaf had been depleted. The burgeoning naval stores industry reached vast longleaf forests in north Florida and south Georgia at the time that Jim Crow violence and subjugation reached its apogee. By analyzing the geography of labor, of men and women like Smith McCuthens who the state sent to rural turpentine farms, this paper considers the connections between race, the environment, and labor.

BIO: Fraser Livingston (fraserlivingston@gmail.com) is a PhD student at Mississippi State University. His work examines the environmental history of the southern coastal
plain, specifically the interactions between humans and nature in the longleaf-grassland eco-region—a massive sixty to ninety million-acre territory that once stretched from Virginia to Texas. He is concerned with changes to the region in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, and the ways in which science, nature, and Jim Crow interacted to mold the contours of the modern South.

“Profound Industrial Revolution Took Place in Our Prisons: Prison Labor and Privatized Parole in Wartime Maryland”
Anne Lessy, Yale University

“No phase of the home front... was more impressive than the profound industrial revolution which took place in our prisons since the summer of 1942.” The Maryland Commissioner of Corrections expressed this sentiment while extolling the carceral system’s contributions to regional wartime production. Through the lens of midcentury Maryland, this paper explores an understudied aspect of the American homefront, the mobilization of prison labor. As part of the state’s public works initiatives, Maryland opened the Roxbury State Penal Farm during the Second World War in a bid to combat ‘idleness’ among prisoners. State officials played a key role in lobbying President Roosevelt to sign an executive order allowing states to bypass recent prison reform laws and revive contract prison labor during the war emergency. The state further authorized the release of select prisoners into the custody of private companies, with freedom contingent on their laboring for predetermined employers. As a result, Maryland emerged as one of the leading producers of prison-made commodities, for both commercial and public enterprises, creating new labor imperatives for the state’s growing carceral system. This paper probes the boundaries of free and unfree labor in the context of the modern welfare-warfare state.

BIO: Anne Lessy (anne.lessy@yale.edu) is a PhD student in History at Yale University, focusing on the politics of race and gender at the intersection of labor and the welfare state in twentieth century America. Her current research examines coercive labor regimes and narratives of unemployment abuse in the midAtlantic during the 1940s. She is founder and convener of the Histories of the Carceral State Working Group at Yale. Prior to graduate school, she developed strategic campaigns to support new organizing at SEIU 32BJ.

“A Cannibal by Profession”: Coerced Labor and Performance in the Circus”
Andrea Ringer, University of Memphis

The circus dominated the American cultural landscape in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It brought massive and “exotic” shows to small towns across the U.S. as it traveled to a new city every day during a typical 200-day annual tour. But it also brought thousands of workers who set up and performed in the tented cities. Some workers pulled in a significant income through carefully negotiated contracts as they performed seemingly impossible feats under the big top. The circus’s working-class was more transient, often jumping between shows within a single season. But they formed the backbone of the circus industry without any guaranteed wages. This paper focuses on
coerced labor in the circus that was most often found in the sideshow tents. Men, women, and children from around the world often found themselves in exploitative contracts. Some workers, like George and Willie Muse, found themselves locked into a contract as child laborers that left them with years of unpaid wages. Other workers, like the Sioux prisoners taken on a European tour for a Wild West reenactment, entered into coerced contracts created by the shows and made possible by the state. While the circus generally made its workers into spectacles by providing the public nearly all-access glimpses into their lives, sideshow workers often underwent the most significant emotional labor with stereotyped performances of themselves and their family. By looking at this subset of circuses laborers, this paper rethinks the boundaries between worker and performer.

**BIO:** Andrea Ringer ([alringer@memphis.edu](mailto:alringer@memphis.edu)) is a PhD candidate at the University of Memphis where she studies U.S. history, immigration, cultural history, business history, and labor history. Her dissertation asks questions about the circus as a workplace and the history of its transnational migrant laborers. Using more than a dozen archives from across the country, trade journals, and hundreds of local newspapers, her work explores how the relevancy of the circus depended on the blurred lines between worker and performer. Her previous publications explore punitive justice and prison privatization, and she currently has two articles based on her dissertation currently in revision.

Friday, May 18, 2018: 3:15-4:45PM  Russell Library 277

**Panel: Race, Labor, and Racialism in the Turn of the Century Deep South**

Organizer: Keri Leigh-Merritt

In papers spanning the last half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, these scholars explore different kinds of worker exploitation and resistance in the lower South, showcasing the radicalism and diversity of the region. Although slavery had ended, the plantation system still dominated the Deep South, and the area’s poorest workers – African Americans, poor whites, and immigrants – all fought to secure a more economically just society by organizing. Whether through Louisiana’s early petrochemical industry, Alabama’s very powerful Knights of Labor movement, the adoption of socialism by sharecroppers in Alabama and Tennessee, or the Tampa banana-handlers unions, these historically oppressed workers pro-actively fought to secure and protect their rights as laborers.

**Moderator:** Matthew Stanley, Albany State University

"**Pioneers of the Alabama Labor Movement: Nicholas Byrne Stack and the Knights of Labor**"

Matthew Hild, Georgia Tech ([matthew.hild@hsoc.gatech.edu](mailto:matthew.hild@hsoc.gatech.edu))

The organized labor movement in Alabama did not begin, in any significant and lasting
sense, until the national organization the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor entered the state in 1878. But after some initial success among coal miners, the Knights nearly disintegrated in Alabama by 1884. In that year, Nicholas Byrne Stack, a native of Ireland who had come to the United States as a child, and worked as a young man in New York, Ohio, and Mexico, came to Blocton, Alabama, and began working for the Cahaba Mining Company. Having joined the Knights of Labor in 1876, Stack soon became active in the Alabama labor movement. During the mid-1880s, he played a significant role in the beginning of organized labor’s efforts to eradicate the convict lease system and child labor in the state—efforts that would not find significant success until the twentieth century—and he also helped to reinvigorate the Alabama Knights of Labor. In 1887 Stack became the first State Master Workman of the Alabama Knights, and by that summer Alabama would have the highest Knights membership of any state south of the Ohio River. The Knights would last longer in Alabama than in most other states and lay the foundation of the state’s modern labor movement. Using labor and mainstream newspapers and manuscript collections (including Stack’s papers at the University of Alabama), this paper will examine Stack’s leadership in building the Knights of Labor and the labor movement in Alabama.

**BIO:** Matthew Hild ([matthew.hild@hsoc.gatech.edu](mailto:matthew.hild@hsoc.gatech.edu)) is a lecturer in the School of History and Sociology at the Georgia Institute of Technology, where he earned his Ph.D. in the History, Technology, and Society program in 2003. He also teaches courses in history at the University of West Georgia. His first book, *Greenbackers, Knights of Labor, and Populists: Farmer-Labor Insurgency in the Late-Nineteenth-Century South*, was published by the University of Georgia Press in 2007. His forthcoming books are *Reviving Southern Labor History: Race, Class, and Power*, a collection of essays edited with Keri Leigh Merritt, and *Arkansas’s Gilded Age: The Rise, Decline, and Legacy of Populism and Working-Class Protest*.

**“Pulpit in the Cotton Field: Socialism and the Social Gospel in the Depression South”**

Michael Law, Auburn University

The organization of share and tenant croppers in the Inter-war period required a multifaceted voice to lead. While an assortment of actors attempted collectivizing farm workers in the South during the era, among the most successful was the radical corner of the (mostly Protestant) church. Much has been made of the usefulness of the Black churches for organizing croppers in the region. White church leaders, on the other hand, tended toward a more reserved stance, if not hostility toward labor organization. While the Social Gospel made fewer inroads below the Mason-Dixon, there were exceptions. The most notable of these was perhaps also the most ironic. Vanderbilt University’s Divinity School housed transformative teachers like Alva W. Taylor and Willard Uphaus. From their classrooms emerged a unique brand of churchmen, who would not venture into denominations and churches, but out among the workers of the south, both Black and White. By doing the “dirty work” of the churches in the era, they coalesced a labor movement among share and tenant croppers failed by both secular movements and the
traditional conservative church, and ushered a new wave of transformed Social Gospel to reckon with both Jim Crow and industrialization. By aligning with, and often joining groups like The Alabama Sharecroppers Union, and the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, they brought the church out into the fields, and kept foothold for the church in its attention to the workers."

**BIO:** Michael Law ([lawm@uga.edu](mailto:lawm@uga.edu)) is a historian and archivist. He works for the University of Georgia Library, and teaches history at the University of North Georgia. He is ABD at Auburn University.

**“Strength in Bunches: Organizing Tampa’s Banana Docks”**

Evan Bennett, Florida Atlantic University

From the 1920s to the 1980s, handling bananas was the dirtiest of the dozens of dirty jobs on Tampa’s waterfront. Sweltering heat, tight conditions, heavy bunches, speeded work, and close oversight made the work undesirable; the occasional banana spider hiding in the bunches added to the terror. As in other places, the work attracted African American workers with few other options. Hardly just the strong backs employers wanted, however, these workers proved to have strong minds. In the mid-1930s, they formed Local 1402 of the International Longshoremen’s Association and, under the leadership of Perry Harvey, Sr., gained recognition in 1937. From this position, Harvey and other union members became important leaders in Tampa’s Civil Rights struggle. This paper will examine the organization and activities of ILA Local 1402, a heretofore unexplored topic, to push our understanding of the political importance of the South’s waterfronts into the mid- and late-twentieth century.

**BIO:** Evan P. Bennett ([ebennett@fau.edu](mailto:ebennett@fau.edu)) is associate professor of history at Florida Atlantic University. He is the author of *When Tobacco Was King: Families, Farm Labor, and Federal Policy in the Piedmont* (UPF, 2014) and co-editor of *Beyond Forty Acres and a Mule: African American Landowning Families since Reconstruction* (UPF, 2012). He is currently writing an environmental history of Tampa Bay. He is also treasurer of the Southern Labor Studies Association.

**Discussant:** Matthew Stanley, Albany State University

**BIO:** Matt Stanley ([matthew.stanley@asurams.edu](mailto:matthew.stanley@asurams.edu)) is assistant professor of history at Albany State University in Albany, Georgia, where he teaches courses slavery, the Civil War and Reconstruction, revolutions and social violence, and the long civil rights movement. Stanley's research interests include race, class, regionalism, Civil War memory, and film history, and his first book, *The Loyal West: Civil War and Reunion in Middle America* was published by the University of Illinois Press in early 2017. His current project examines Civil War memory in the U.S. labor movement during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.
Roundtable: New Directions in the Study of the Latino/a South
Organizer: Cecilia Márquez

This roundtable brings together emerging academics across disciplines to talk about the new directions in the study of the Latino/a South. Now that nearly a decade of literature has been produced on the “Nuevo” South, this interdisciplinary group of scholars will analyze how new scholarship on this region expands, challenges, and transforms this body of literature. Bringing together Political Science, American Studies, Latino/a Studies, and History, the four participants will each address the larger contributions of their books and projects to the field. Topics covered in this roundtable include: southern distinctiveness, the role of Latino/as in shaping questions of region and Latino/a cultural production in southern spaces as a mode of identity and community formation, and how migration and imperialism shape Latina working-class feminisms. The roundtable will also examine how the history of geography and race intertwine for the purposes of excluding racialized others as not belonging as evidenced in the regional proliferation of restrictive immigration laws targeting Latino/a immigrants. The methodological and topical diversity of this new scholarship demonstrates the exciting new directions in the study of the Latino/a South. Through conversation this roundtable will provide an intellectually generative space to discuss the major debates in the study of Latino/as in the U.S. South across thematic and disciplinary difference.

Moderator: Perla Guerrero

BIO: Perla M. Guerrero (perlamguerrero@gmail.com) is Assistant Professor of American Studies and U.S. Latina/o Studies at the University of Maryland, College Park. Her research and teaching interests include relational and comparative race and ethnicity with a focus on Latinas/os/xs and Asian Americans, space and place, immigration, labor, U.S. history, and the U.S. South. She has received multiple awards including two from the Smithsonian Institution to be a Postdoctoral Fellow at the National Museum of American History (NMAH) and one from the Ford Foundation. Guerrero has published numerous book chapters and articles and presented her work in nationally and internationally. Guerrero’s first book, Nuevo South: Asians, Latinas/os, and the Remaking of Place, grapples with the legacies of southern history and the diversification of the U.S. South and will be available November 2017.

Cecilia Márquez (marquez@nyu.edu) is an Assistant Professor in Latino/a Studies in NYU’s Department of Social and Cultural Analysis. Her first book project, The Strange Career of Juan Crow: Latino/as and the Making of the U.S. South, 1940-1970, examines the social and cultural history of Latinos in the post-World War II South. She traces the history of Latino/as, primarily Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans, during the demise of Jim Crow segregation and their transformation from an ethnic group to a racial one. Her work helps historicize contemporary Latino/a migration to the U.S. South and emphasizes the importance of region in shaping Latino/a identity.
Yalidy Matos (matos.yalidy@gmail.com) is an Assistant Professor of Political Science and Latino and Caribbean Studies at Rutgers University- New Brunswick. Her research and teaching interest include immigration, race and ethnicity, cultural and political geography, and Latino politics. Yalidy is currently working on her first book, *The Moral Geography of Whiteness*, where she examines contemporary geography of immigration laws and policies and argues that these policies should be understood within an historical context that recognizes the centrality of racial formations and the connections between different racial projects in the continual imagining of America and Americans.

Sarah McNamara (sarahmc@tamu.edu) is an Assistant Professor of History at Texas A&M University where she specializes in Latinx, women and gender, labor, and oral history. In 2016, McNamara earned her Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Presently, she is at work on her first book, tentatively titled, “From Picket Lines to Picket Fences: Latinas and the Remaking of the Jim Crow South.” Her manuscript traces the transformation of Latinx politics and culture between the Great Depression and the Cuban Revolution in Ybor City, Florida by examining the choices immigrant Cuban and later American-born Latinas made to achieve political representation and social justice for themselves and their community. McNamara’s work has received support from the American Historical Association, the Tulane Center for the Gulf South, the American Libraries Association, and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Iliana Yamileth Rodriguez (iliana.rodriguez@yale.edu) is a PhD candidate in the American Studies department at Yale University. Her research interests include migration, culture, and labor as related to Latina/o communities in the United States South. Her dissertation examines the formation of the Mexican community through migrant narratives about (in)formal networks, institutions, and cultural practices in metropolitan Atlanta, Georgia between 1985 through 2016.

**Friday, May 18, 2018: 3:15-4:45PM**

**Russell Library 281**

**Roundtable: Truckers, Millworkers, and Adjuncts: How technology and migration challenge labor organization**

**Moderator:** Adrienne Petty, College of William and Mary

**BIO:** Adrienne Petty (adrienne.petty@gmail.com) is an associate professor of history at William & Mary. She is the author of *Standing Their Ground: Small Farmers in North Carolina Since the Civil War*.

Miriam Frank

Unions struggling to organize the southern textile industry began to see some success late in the twentieth century. Queer rank-and-file workers were rarely “out” on the job or in the community but some did participate with their workmates on organizing campaigns. Despite constant pressure from professional union-busters, workers found ways to maintain solidarity. Bosses responded to demands for collective bargaining by seeking out opportunities to run away. New technologies would enable efficient shipments of production to work sites overseas.

**BIO:** Miriam Frank ([mf5@nyu.edu](mailto:mf5@nyu.edu)) is the author of *Out in the Union: A Labor History of Queer America* (Temple, 2014). She taught Humanities courses in the Liberal Studies program of New York University for more than 30 years and continues to lecture and publish widely on women’s labor history and LGBT union issues.

"Operation Black and Blue: October 2017's trucker rally in DC and its labor movement implications."

Anne Balay, Haverford College

Truckers have made the case for years that they are over-regulated and micro-managed. My forthcoming book explains why they think this, and describes how and when regulation got directed onto the individual trucker, rather than the industry fat cats. The problem in fighting back has been that truckers are divided and dispersed, geographically and otherwise. They are planning a large protest in DC this October, and I will attend. This paper will report on that event, focusing on attempts truckers make to organize across lines of race, sexuality, gender, religion, and immigration status. We hear so much about the white working class, which never existed, especially in the South. This paper is my ethnographic exploration of how a particular section of working-class folks comes together (or not) to bring about changes in culture and policy. Going forward, this process is one with wide-ranging implications.

**BIO:** Anne Balay ([annegbalay@gmail.com](mailto:annegbalay@gmail.com)) teaches at Haverford College. Her first book (*Steel Closets: Voices of Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Steelworkers*) won prizes from Lamda Literary, the American Studies Association, and the National Women’s Studies Association. Her second book will be released in fall 2018, and is called *Semi Queer: Stories of Gay, Trans, and Black Truck Drivers*.

"Adjunct Professors are Migrant Laborers"

Robert Ovetz. San Jose State University

The adjunctification of higher education faculty and automation of teaching through online courses has raised the specter of the deskilling of academic labor. Academic labor is being gradually reoriented to “competency” and “project based” based learning which can be quantified, broken up, rationalized, and surveilled. While adjunctification has received increasing attention automation has not. Academic workers can learn from the struggles of other contingent workers to develop new strategies and tactics.
BIO: Robert Ovetz (robert.ovetz@sjsu.edu) has a Ph.D. from the University of Texas-Austin. He researches and writes about the politics of class conflict and the crisis of capitalism at the turn of the 20th century and the politics of the adjunctification of academic labor. Ovetz, is a lecturer in political science at San Jose State University. His forthcoming book When Workers Shot Back will be published by Brill in 2017.

Friday, May 18, 2018: 5:00-6:00PM  Miller Learning Center 102

Keynote Address: “Heard it on the Grapevine: Slave Labor, Mobility, and Power in Antebellum America”

Susan O’Donovan, University of Memphis (odonovan@memphis.edu)

BIO: Susan Eva O’Donovan is Associate Professor of History at the University of Memphis. She is a former editor with the Freedmen and Southern Society Project, the co-editor of two volumes of Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867 (University of North Carolina Press, 2008 and 20013), and author of Becoming Free in the Cotton South (Harvard University Press, 2007). In addition to co-editing American Nineteenth-Century History and co-directing the Memphis Massacre Project, she is an OAH Distinguished Lecturer. She has been the recipient of several awards, including the James A. Rawley Prize, the Dunavant University Professorship at the University of Memphis, and fellowships at the Newberry Library and the Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition. She is currently at work on a political history of slaves.

Friday, May 18, 2018: 6:15-8:30PM  Memorial Hall Ballroom

Dinner and Reception, featuring music by the Red Oak Southern String Band and food from Pulaski Bar-B-Q (including veggie options). (free with conference registration)

Sponsored by the Southern Historical Association

Saturday, May 19, 2018: 8:30-10:00AM  Russell Library 258

Panel: Prehistories of the southern textile industry: race, power, and labor in the 19th century
Organizer: Elijah Gaddis

The last two decades have seen the southern piedmont begin reckoning with the legacy of its century and a half of textile industry histories. Redevelopment and destruction have taken its toll on a landscape once littered with brick monoliths that produced millions of yards of fabric and generations of employment. Historians too have delved into the history of these places over the past few decades, producing important monographs on
the experience of textile mill life and work. These visions of the future and reconstructions of the past are complicated by a history whose more distant temporal origins have hardly been explored. This panel, whose periodization roams from the late eighteenth century to the last decades of the industry’s domination of the southern landscape, outlines those early defining moments and their legacies for understanding the history and future of southern textile work. Focusing principally on the 19th century South, these three papers examine the ways in which social and political power was defined and enacted around the founding and operation of textile mills. In particular, each of these studies explores the early defining racial politics of mill work and the ways in which it helped solidify racial divisions at work and more broadly.

Moderator: Traci Drummond, Southern Labor Archive (tdrummond@gsu.edu)

Traci JoLeigh Drummond, MSIS, CA, has been archivist for the Southern Labor Archives at Georgia State University in Atlanta since 2007 and is responsible for managing the Archives, grant writing, donor relations, acquisition of collections, digitization and oral history projects, and performing outreach to labor, university, and academic communities. She holds a Master’s of Science in Information Studies from the University of Texas at Austin and has maintained certification with the Academy of Certified Archivists since 2005.

“Within and Without: Race, Class, and Poor Whites in the Antebellum Southern Textile Industry”
Zachary S. Daughtrey, Metropolitan Community College-Blue River

In 1830, the editor of the Edgefield (South Carolina) Hive, Abner Landrum, declared that the South “[h]ad been most reluctantly driven to the manufacturing business which they would most anxiously have avoided, but which now in self-defense they are compelled to pursue.” The conservative landed gentry of the South had always regarded industrialists as strangers to southern society and were “outside men of capital.” The Nullification Crisis of 1832-33 deepened the southern antipathy toward large-scale industry. The maturing industrial sector of the North called for tariff protection from the federal government, while in the South it seemed that federal favoritism of manufacturing over agriculture was to be obtained at the expense of slaveholders. Compounded by years of disappointing cotton prices suffered in the cotton growing areas of the South, southerners felt increasingly exploited by northern industrial interests.

The South did not remain idle in its industrial pursuits as factories, most notably textile mills, were established throughout the Piedmont during the antebellum period. Nevertheless, the creation of a manufacturing sector in the southern states did not result in changes in the economic and social structure of southern society. Industrialization, accordingly, remained paternalistic in character and fundamentally influenced by the institution of slavery. “Industrialism in [the South] developed within our social framework,” wrote one southerner. “Hence, it had many sectional peculiarities—some of them strangely anti-social to visitors from other parts of the land. Ours was a patriarchal system, not only in the family but also in politics and economic life. This might have
been expected among a people predominantly agricultural and stratified in society. Industrialism within our borders sprang from this mind-set.” In summation, as historian Tom Downey asserts, “Slaveholders sought manufacturing. They did not seek a manufacturing society.”

My paper seeks to explore how antebellum southern industrialists sought to introduce manufacturing into the South while staying true to the rigid racial and social hierarchy that was the cornerstone of the Old South’s society. Furthermore, utilizing contemporary scientific, religious, and historical thought, my paper investigates why the landless, migratory group comprising the majority of the South’s populace—the poor whites—were found to be the best fit for operatives within antebellum textiles.

BIO: Dr. Zachary S. Daughtrey (daughtrey@diocesekcsj.org) is a Professor of History in the Division of Humanities at Metropolitan Community College-Blue River in Independence, Missouri as well as serving as the Archivist and Director of the Office of Diocesan Archives for the Diocese of Kansas City-St. Joseph. A native of Kansas City, Missouri, Dr. Daughtrey earned his Ph.D. in History from Oklahoma State University in 2016; his M.A. in History from Southeast Missouri State University in 2008; and his B.A. in History from the University of Missouri in 2006. His area of interest is 19th-U.S. History specializing in the U.S. South with an emphasis on antebellum southern socioeconomics. Dr. Daughtrey’s research interests explore the role of poor whites within the antebellum southern textile industry.

"Making Textile Work White"
Elijah Gaddis, Auburn University

In 1863 Union troops, undertook a raid on the Falls of the Tar, finding at the textile mill there a crowd of “150 white girls” employed as operators. The troops burned the mill to the ground, depriving the Confederacy of cloth for the war effort and the employees of jobs. The postbellum mill would go on to be rebuilt--twice--and shift to the now familiar familial mill village model of labor. This is a somewhat familiar story of the early Southern textile mill, but one whose contours conceal a longer story of the racialization of textile labor, and indeed of public work more generally. In this paper, I grapple with the definitional work that went into transforming textile work into primarily white occupation. Using the example of Rocky Mount Mills in Nash County, North Carolina, I use archival evidence to reflect on the transformation of the mill’s labor force from entirely enslaved, through a form of employment that reflects the liminal working status of white women, through to labor ideal that placed masculine effort at the beating heart of the white southern working class. This labor then underwent a transformation that reflected a new social and economic valuation of public work, in the process repudiating the Black labor that had formed and operated the mill and reserving the possibility of sustaining employment for the emergent white working class.

As a postscript and bookend to this history, I conclude with a short reflection on the mill’s more recent history. Using a series of oral history interviews with former mill workers from the 1960s to 1990s, I recount the story of the integration of this mill. This
final chapter in the mill’s history is one that suggests another redefinition of textile work, an active effort to both integrate the mill and define even the increasingly limited opportunity of industrial textile work as cross racial. In these final years of operation, this and other industrial sites of labor in the South transformed their working force by necessity, and in the process again redefined the role and place of both Black and white labor in the southern textile mill.

**BIO:** Elijah Gaddis ([ejg0019@auburn.edu](mailto:ejg0019@auburn.edu)) is an Assistant Professor of History at Auburn University. Dr. Gaddis researches and writes about the cultural, spatial, and material histories of the American South. A dedicated public historian, Elijah has worked for museums and cultural heritage organizations and is the founding assistant director of the Community Histories Workshop, a digital public history collaboratory. He holds an MA in Folklore and a PhD in American Studies, both from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

**Discussant:** Michele Haberland, Georgia Southern University

**BIO:** Michelle Haberland ([mah@georgiasouthern.edu](mailto:mah@georgiasouthern.edu)) is Professor of History at Georgia Southern University. She received her Ph.D. from Tulane University where she began working on *Striking Beauties: Women Apparel Workers in the United States South, 1930 – 2000*, the first book-length study of the southern apparel industry and its workers. Published in 2015 by the University of Georgia Press, *Striking Beauties* was awarded the H. L. Mitchell Award by the Southern Historical Association for the best book published in the preceding two years concerning the history of the southern working class. Michelle also serves as the Executive Secretary for the Southern Association for Women Historians and on the Executive Council for the Georgia Conference of the American Association of University Professors.

*Saturday, May 19, 2018: 8:30-10:00AM*  
*Russell Library 281*

**Film:** “A Strike and an Uprising (in Texas)” 66 min. by Anne Lewis

In 1938, Emma Tenayuca led 10,000 pecan shellers in a massive strike. In 1987, workers organized a march of 3,000 through the streets of Nacogdoches -- a largely unknown epiphany for black women in Texas. The film recovers stories of working people in Texas and demonstrates the power of labor and liberation. Followed by Q&A with the film maker.

Moderator: John Weber, Old Dominion University

Filmmaker: Anne Lewis, the Associate Director of “Harlan County, USA” lives in Austin, Texas. She worked mostly in Appalachian Kentucky with Appalshop where she made “Fast Food Women” (Judges Choice, London Film Festival), “On Our Own Land”
(Du-Pont-Columbia); “Justice in the Coalfields” (INTERCOMgold); “Morristown: In the Air and Sun” (Ambulante); and (with Mimi Pickering) “Anne Braden: Southern Patriot.” Anne teaches film editing at UT Austin and serves on the executive board of TSEU-CWA 6186. “A Strike and an Uprising (in Texas)” is her first Texas feature.

Saturday, May 19, 2018: 8:30-10:00AM

Russell Library 277

**Roundtable: Our Land, Our Labor: A Roundtable Discussion on Agrarian Reform in Southern History**

Organizer: Robert Hunt Ferguson

Why is agrarian reform – along with the social movements demanding it – so often excluded from US history narratives? The lingering pressure of exceptionalist thinking reassures us that land reform and agrarian unrest are foreign phenomena, alien to American history. Highlighting the experience of the U.S. South, the participants in this roundtable argue to the contrary. Together, we seek to re-center the policy, debates, initiatives, and grassroots movements to remake land tenure that have long defined the rural South. From slavery and sharecropping to collective labor and homesteading, the roundtable will demonstrate how the persistent—yet often hidden—histories of land reform shaped the South’s landscape and labor. In five short (8-10 minute) reflections on the place of agrarian reform in southern history, the roundtable will seek to foster a dialogue about this important facet of the region’s past. Keri Leigh Merritt will talk about the southern origins of the 1862 Homestead Act, and how the Act helped many poorer whites and immigrants gain land. Adrienne Petty’s discussion of the 1866 Southern Homestead Act shows the limited but creative ways that African Americans used the act to turn the tools of capitalism to their own advantage while striving to evade wage work. Robert Ferguson will discuss three distinct approaches – by Socialists, the Nashville Agrarians, and the federal government – to the crisis facing sharecroppers in the 1930s. Alison Greene’s focus on twentieth century southern rural churches reveals a radical cohort of reformers who picked up landless farmers’ longstanding grassroots calls to redefine land ownership, and who excoriated the churches’ complicity in racial and economic injustices.

**BIO:** Robert Hunt Ferguson (r Ferguson@email.wcu.edu) is an Assistant Professor in the Department of History at Western Carolina University. He is the author of *Remaking the Rural South: Interracialism, Christian Socialism, and Cooperative Farming in Jim Crow Mississippi* (University of Georgia Press, 2018). His articles have appeared in the *Journal of Southern History* and *Arkansas Review*.

**BIO:** Alison Collis Greene (agreene@history.msstate.edu) is an associate professor of history at Mississippi State University and a specialist in 20th century U.S. religious history. Her first book, *No Depression in Heaven: The Great Depression, the New Deal,*
and the Transformation of Religion in the Delta, won the 2016 Charles S. Sydnor Award of the Southern Historical Association and was named a CHOICE Outstanding Title.

**BIO:** Keri Leigh Merritt ([kerileighm@gmail.com](mailto:kerileighm@gmail.com)) works as an independent scholar in Atlanta, Georgia. Her research focuses on race and class in U.S. history. Her first book, *Masterless Men: Poor Whites and Slavery in the Antebellum South*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2017. She has also co-edited a book on southern labor history with Matthew Hild (*Reviving Southern Labor History: Race, Class, and Power*, forthcoming).

**BIO:** Adrienne Petty ([adrienne.petty@gmail.com](mailto:adrienne.petty@gmail.com)) is an associate professor at College of William and Mary, where she teaches courses in U.S. history. Petty co-directed the oral history project “Breaking New Ground: A History of African American Farm Owners,” which produced more than 300 interviews of black farmers and their descendants about their experience in southern agriculture. Petty’s book, *Standing Their Ground: Small Farmers in North Carolina Since the Civil War* (2013), won the H.L. Mitchell Award of the Southern Historical Association and the Theodore Saloutos Award of the Agricultural History Society.

**Saturday, May 19, 2018: 8:30-10:00AM**

**Russell Library 285**

**Panel: Changes in Southern Workplaces: Expectations and Experiences of People Responsible for the “Dirty Work”**

Organizer: Cindy Hahamovitch, University of Georgia

This session considers work in three types of places – factories, offshore oil rigs and platforms, and meatpacking plants – that have been sites of dirty work, and how these workplaces have changed in recent decades. The papers in this session focus on various political, economic, and social factors that have motivated the changes and on their effects on the number and type of workers, their experiences on the job, and their abilities to improve their working conditions.

**Moderator:** Eric Arnesen, George Washington University

Eric Arnesen (arnesen@gwu.edu) is the Vice Dean for Faculty and Administration in the Columbian College of Arts and Sciences at The George Washington University and the Teamsters Professor of History in Modern American Labor History. A graduate of Wesleyan University (1980) and the recipient of a Ph.D. in History from Yale University (1986), he is a specialist in the history of race, labor, politics, and civil rights. Among his books are *Brotherhoods of Color: Black Railroad Workers and the Struggle for Equality* (2001), which received the 2001 Wesley-Logan Prize in Diaspora History from the AHA and the ASAALH, and *Waterfront Workers of New Orleans: Race, Class, and Politics, 1863-1923* (1991), which won the AHA’s John H. Dunning Prize. He is also the author of *Black Protest and the Great Migration: A Brief History*
“Everybody Needs to Know What’s Going On in Those Plants’: Southern Workers in East Asian-Owned Factories”

David M. Anderson, Louisiana Tech University (davida@latech.edu)

The paper examines the experiences of southern workers in factories owned by East Asian companies. Although Donald Trump campaigned on the theme that China was “stealing” American manufacturing jobs, more frequently, Chinese companies, along with those based in South Korea and Taiwan, have been lured by million-dollar incentive packages to build factories in the Deep South, promising to improve the lives of the region’s most impoverished workers. As this paper will show, workers have found a job in an East Asian-owned factory to be a mixed blessing. While these factories offer workers steady employment outside of the dreaded service sector, workers’ experiences, which include lower-than-expected wages and dangerous working conditions, reveal that they increasingly share the same degraded status of other exploited industrial workers around the globe.

BIO: David M. Anderson is an associate professor in the History Department at Louisiana Tech University. He is the co-editor of The Hank Williams Reader (Oxford University Press, 2014) and the co-author of the forthcoming article, “From ‘the Chosen’ to the Precariat: Southern Workers in Foreign-owned Factories, 1980s-present.”

“Working in Oil: Responding to Cyclical Trends and Unexpected Shocks”

Diane E. Austin, University of Arizona (daustin@u.arizona.edu)

This paper explores the evolution of labor in the offshore oil and gas industry in the U.S. Gulf of Mexico over the past 20 years. Based on interviews with hundreds of workers, the paper describes how the types of employment available, especially the increasing reliance on contract labor, have shifted in response to moves into deeper water, changes in technology, price downturns, reorganization within the industry, and other factors. Special attention is paid to how the 2010 Deepwater Horizon drilling rig disaster affected the perceptions, practices, and experiences of workers in the industry.

BIO: Diane E. Austin (Ph.D. University of Michigan, 1994) is a research professor in the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology, School of Anthropology, at the University of Arizona. An applied environmental anthropologist, she studies the social impacts of the oil and gas industry and alternative technologies to address environmental and social problems.
“Meat Packing in the South: Dirty Work in a Shifting Foodways Landscape”

Ashley Stinnett, Western Kentucky University (ashley.stinnett@wku.edu)

This paper addresses the rapid increase in large-scale meat production and processing industries across the south and the resulting challenges faced by workers and communities in this region. Researchers have noted with the intensification of animal production, alongside vertical integration and consolidation in these industries, working conditions erode and regional environments face degradation. Based on archival and scholarly research, and framed by ethnography with small-scale meat processors, this paper explores shifting labor practices, experiences and expectations among ‘dirty’ workers in the meat industry.

BIO: Ashley Stinnett (Ph.D. University of Arizona, 2014) is an assistant professor of Anthropology in the Department of Folk Studies and Anthropology at Western Kentucky University. As a visual and linguistic anthropologist, her work focuses on food systems, primarily focusing on the meat industry.

Discussant: Colin J. Davis, University of Alabama-Birmingham (cjdavis@uab.edu)


Saturday, May 19, 2018: 10:15-11:45AM Russell Library 258

Panel: Reading Race and Labor Exploitation

Organizer: David A. Davis (davis_da@mercer.edu)

The papers on this session explore the representation of racialized labor exploitation in literature. The history of labor exploitation as the fundamental paradigm of the South’s economy is well documented. Through works of literature, however, we can use imagination and empathy to access to emotional, cognitive, and psychological states of being of people are implicated in a system of exploitation that erodes their humanity. Jennie Lightweis-Goff explores the loves of female urban slaves whose captivity often involved emotional servitude. Bill Andrews discusses the experiences of enslaved men pressed into duty as overseers for other slaves. Chrsitn Taylor examines the dehumanization of black men working in northern industries during the Great Migration. Collectively, these papers offer a set of complex insights into the experiences and lives of people who do dirty work.
"On Captives, Carework, and Capital: Gendered Slavery in the American City"

Jennie Lightweis-Goff, University of Mississippi (jlg@olemiss.edu)

Frederick Douglass – icon and near-compulsive memoirist – looms over the study of American slavery. The idiosyncratic markers of his autobiographies – from their play with language to their primal scenes of violence – have been taken as both representative and constitutive of the slave narrative, requirements that serve to delineate genre boundaries and determine which of the six thousand documents will be affirmed for their facticity, artistry, and greatness. But one dimension of his experience has been consistently under-theorized: its urbanity. The central paradox of slavery studies may, indeed, emerge in the fact that while “red hills and cotton” signify the institution in the American imaginary, the most famous captive in American letters worked on the Baltimore docks, the site figured as the center of post-industrial, post-employment degradation in texts as various as David Simon’s *The Wire* (2002) and Susan Faludi’s *Stiffed: The Betrayal of the American Man* (2000). Insofar as scholars of U.S. slavery have taken up analysis of Douglass’s dual settings in Baltimore and Maryland’s Eastern shore, they have done so to affirm his claim that the Baltimore docks were a site of contingent freedom for male workers, “the gateway….to all….subsequent prosperity.”

The model of captive urban labor as a softer containment – which has fixated scholars as ideologically diverse as Ulrich Phillips and Richard C. Wade – ignores enslaved women, who constituted the majority of urban slaves. Captive women were far less likely to hire out and live apart from those who purported to own them; indeed, they were less likely to engage with the ‘productive,’ physically taxing labors that have obsessed both leftists who fetishize factories and rightists with a mania for mining. Left and right thinkers alike resist theorization of reproductive and emotional labors, feminist figurations that have seemingly failed to move the needle in the emerging field of slavery and capitalism (c.f. economic historians Sven Beckert, Edward Baptist, and Joshua Rothman). My presentation posits urban space as a productive site in which to observe captive emotional labors. I offer a brief literature review of work on slavery and capitalism in order to locate aporia in how ‘women’s work’ (including not only sexual and reproductive capacities, but also non-sexual care-work) is imagined in conventional histories of slave labor. The presentation then offers a close reading of Douglass’s canonical 1845 narrative in conversation with fugitive notices of escaped urban women whose invisible labors (manufactured smiles, compulsory after-dinner conversation, mandatory performances of consent) were acknowledged even by the master class whose lives were committed to maximizing affective profits by extracting emotional wages.

**BIO:** Jennie Lightweis-Goff is an Instructor of English at the University of Mississippi,
where she teaches American ethnic, regional, and national literatures of the last three centuries. In 2010, she received her Ph.D. in English, as well as Graduate Certificates in both Gender and Africana Studies, from the University of Rochester. The monograph based on her dissertation research, Blood at the Root: Lynching as American Cultural Nucleus, won the SUNY Press Dissertation / First Book Prize in African-American Studies and was published by the SUNY Press in 2011. Presently, she is at work on several projects that place Southern cities at the center of U.S. urban studies. Articles from these projects have appeared in American Literature (2014), minnesota review (2015), Signs (2015), and the edited collection Small-Screen Souths: Region, Identity, and the Cultural Politics of Television (LSU Press, 2017).

“This Dreadful Employment”: Slave Drivers in U.S. Antebellum Slave Narratives
William L. Andrews, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (wandrews@unc.edu)

Some of the most famous slave narrators in U.S. history worked as slave drivers. Solomon Northup was a driver for most of the time he was enslaved in Louisiana. Josiah Henson, whom Harriet Beecher Stowe called her model for Uncle Tom, was a driver, although he preferred in his narratives to refer to himself as “superintendent of farm work” on the Maryland plantation where he was enslaved. Jermain W. Loguen, popularly known as “the Underground Railroad King” in upstate New York, had been his master’s “head man,” a term synonymous with driver. After observing the widespread use of drivers in South Carolina, Frederick Law Olmsted called them “de facto managers” of their masters’ plantations. What do we learn about the work, the social and economic status, and the psychological and moral impact of what one slave narrator called “this dreadful employment” when we read the narratives of those who knew first-hand what driving entailed in the plantation economy?


“William Attaway’s Blood on The Forge: The Problem of Feeling Like Steel”
Christin Marie Taylor, Shenandoah University (ctaylor4@su.edu)

Blood on the Forge appeared in 1941 amid a rush of Popular Front and black leftist literature centered on interracial labor solidarity and a solidified national identity. At its best, this literature would unify the concepts of black worker and nation, effectively bringing African American labor struggles into both the working class and American mainstreams. Although Blood on the Forge is a decidedly protest novel of the Popular
Front era, it has been read as falling short of the aims of the Left. This paper revisits the novel to suggest its inventiveness rather than its failures. In fact, Attaway underscores a shortcoming in the protest convention itself. As one close to the Left, he understood the ways workers of all stripes were folded into a military-industrial complex by way of two world wars and the Wagner Act. With the pressure of war and work as the backdrop, Attaway not only delves into African Americans’ place in the national labor struggle but also uses the trope of the southern migrant laborer to trouble the working class masculine ideal. Subdued by the medium with which they labor, Attaway's southern transplants become extensions of a military industrial machine that makes something new and sinister—a steel feeling that forebodes both a legacy and a looming future.

**BIO:** Christin Marie Taylor is an assistant professor of English at Shenandoah University, where she teaches topics in American literature and Africana studies. Her research interests include modernism, African American literature, southern studies, gender studies, and working-class representation. She has published in *Southern Quarterly* and has essays forthcoming in the volumes *Teaching the Works of Eudora Welty: Twenty-first Century Approaches* and *American Literature in Transition: The 1960s*. She is currently writing her first book *Labor Pains: New Deal Fictions of Work, Sex, and Race* (UP Mississippi), which looks at black working-class feeling and desire.

*Saturday, May 19, 2018: 10:15-11:45AM*  
*Russell Library 277*

**Roundtable: Gender and Work Across the Global South: From the 2007 Recession to the Age of Trump**

Organizer: Beth English, Princeton University (baenglis@princeton.edu)

How are women shaping the global economic landscape through their labor, activism, and multiple discourses about work? The roundtable discussion, “Gender and Work Across the Global South: From the 2007 Recession to the Age of Trump,” will engage this question through an assessment of the impacts of historical and contemporary economic transformations on the gendering of work across the Global South. Using the research of a cohort of interdisciplinary, international scholars collected in the forthcoming edited volume, *Global Women's Work: Perspectives on Gender and Work in the Global Economy* (Routledge), the book’s editors—Beth English, Mary Frederickson, and Olga Sanmiguel-Valderraama—will address three broad themes in the roundtable discussion: exploitation versus opportunity for women within the context of global capitalism; women’s agency within the context of changing economic options; and women’s negotiations and re-negotiations of unpaid social and reproductive labor. This particular moment offers a unique opportunity for reflection and analysis. The threatened collapse of the global economy in 2007/2008 and the more recent rise of “populist” politicians around the globe have reshaped the dynamics of processes long underway: movements of labor, capital and technology from the Global North to the Global South, the decline of western economic hegemony, the growing tensions between economic
nationalism and free trade neo-liberalism, and a feminization of the labor force across a growing number of economic sectors. Building on the transnational and intersectional analyses in Global Women's Work, the roundtable discussion will contribute to a deeper understanding of trends that have and continue to shape labor force participation, workplace activism, and an international division of labor across the Global South.

Moderator: Robyn Muncy (rmuncy@umd.edu)

BIO: Robyn Muncy is Professor of History at the University of Maryland, College Park. She is author of Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935 (Oxford UP, 1991) and Relentless Reformer: Josephine Roche and Progressivism in Twentieth-Century America (Princeton UP, 2015). She is currently co-curating an exhibit to commemorate the centenary of the 19th Amendment at the National Archives in Washington, DC and researching the use of the term “working class” in U.S. political culture between 1930 and the present.

BIO: Beth English (baenglis@princeton.edu) is a research associate and Director of the Project on Women in the Global Community at the Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination at Princeton University’s Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. Her research and teaching focus on historical and contemporary labor and working class issues, gender, deindustrialization, and the U.S. South and Global South. She is the author of A Common Thread: Labor Politics and Capital Mobility in the Textile Industry, and her recent articles include, “Global Women’s Work: Historical Perspectives on the Textile and Garment Industries” (Journal of International Affairs]. Her research has been funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

BIO: Mary Frederickson (mary.evans.frederickson@emory.edu ) is a Visiting Professor in the Rollins School of Public Health at Emory University, and is Professor of History and a faculty affiliate in American Studies and Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, where she has taught since 1988. Her research focuses on gender, race, labor studies, and the social impact of disease. Co-editor of Sisterhood and Solidarity on women’s workers education (2011), her most recent books are Looking South: Race, Gender, and the Transformation of Labor and the co-edited volume Gendered Resistance: Women, Slavery, and the Legacy of Margaret Garner (co-edited with Delores M. Walters, 2013).

BIO: Olga Sanmiguel-Valderrama (olga.sanmiguelvalderrama@uc.edu) is an Associate Professor in the Department of Women’s, Gender and Sexuality Studies at the University of Cincinnati. Her research and publications examine the contradictions between on the one hand, neoliberal international trade and economic policies and military aid and, on the other hand, respect for individual and collective human rights—in particular labor, environmental, and equality rights for women and racial minorities. She has published numerous peer-reviewed articles and chapter books. Her forthcoming book is No Roses Without Thorns: Trade, Militarization, and Human Rights in the Production and Export of Colombian Flowers. Her research has been supported by competitive grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Charles Phelps Taft Research Center, and the University of Cincinnati Research Council.
Publishing Southern Labor Studies: the Acquisitions Editors Speak
Organizer, Cindy Hahamovitch (cxhaha@uga.edu)
This session is designed to inform graduate students and PhDs of the ins and outs of getting published. When should you submit to a press? What do you send? How many presses can you submit to? What does a good proposal look like? How do you respond to readers’ reports? And so on.
Moderator: Cindy Hahamovitch
Panelists:
Mick Gusinde-Duffy (mickgd@uga.edu), Executive Editor for Scholarly and Digital Publishing, The University of Georgia Press
James G. Engelhardt (jengel04@illinois.edu), Acquisitions Editor, University of Illinois Press
Brandon Proia (proia@email.unc.edu), Senior Editor, University of North Carolina Press

*Film Showing: “Union Time: Fighting for Worker’s Rights”
Completed in 2016, Union Time tells the story of one of the greatest union victories of the 21st century—the fight to organize Smithfield Foods’ pork processing plant in Tar Heel, North Carolina. From 1993 to 2008, workers struggled against dangerous working conditions, intimidation, and low pay. They were organized by the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, whose Justice@Smithfield campaign brought national attention to the campaign. The victory led to the formation of UFCW Local 1208 and fair working conditions for 5,000 workers. 86 minutes, 2016.

BIO: Matthew Barr (uniontime14@gmail.com) is a documentary filmmaker whose films center on the struggles of working people to survive in an increasingly complex world. Past documentaries include Wild Caught, which chronicles the struggles of small-scale fishermen in North Carolina; With These Hands, a film about the closure of a Martinsville, VA, furniture factory and its impact on the workers; and Carnival Train, which tells the story of carnival workers who work for Strates Shows, the last train-borne carnival in the world. Barr is a Professor of Media Studies at the University of North Carolina-Greensboro teaching production in the undergraduate and MFA Programs.

Southern Labor Studies General Meeting and Luncheon
Panel: “Labor Pains: Slavery and Health in the Antebellum South”
Organizer: Michael D. Thompson

This panel brings together four historians of racial medicine in the pre-Civil War American South and broader Atlantic World. Linked by common concerns with the (mal)treatment of black bodies, the brutal and often deadly application of white medical knowledge and experimentation, and the quest to optimize the dirty, dangerous, and coerced labor of the enslaved, the three papers described below demonstrate both the depths of black commodification and exploitation and the contingent possibilities of immunological advantage. In the first paper, Christopher Willoughby explains how southern doctors navigated the treatment of myriad slave ailments on industrializing sugar plantations, which variously existed as forests, fields, factories, and lodgings. But Liana DeMarco, in the second paper, argues that the profits and violence of this plantation complex spawned notions of racial difference that sometimes justified restricting slaves’ care, or eliminating it altogether. She also discusses the popular idea among antebellum whites that “certain racialized bodies were made for certain kinds of work” and were “racially fit for back-breaking labor in hot, humid climates.” As Michael Thompson contends in the third paper, however, common assumptions about racial difference presented urban slaves with limited and fleeting (but no less real) opportunities for recognition and amelioration amid the upheaval of epidemic outbreaks. The medical history of the enslaved and other southern working people is an emergent but vibrant field, and this fresh scholarship along with Rana Hogarth’s perceptive commentary promises to attract an interested and engaged audience. Collectively, these papers examine the types of labor involved in the dynamic health culture of southern slavery, uncovering the centrality of health to maintaining the slavocracy.

Chair and Commenter: Rana A. Hogarth, University of Illinois, (rhogarth@illinois.edu)

BIO: Rana A. Hogarth (PhD, Yale University, 2012) is an Assistant Professor of History at the University of Illinois, and her research engages histories of medicine, the Atlantic World, slavery, colonialism, and the African Diaspora. She currently at work on her first book, which examines how white physicians acquired and deployed knowledge about blackness in medical discourses that circulated in the Atlantic World. It focuses on how white physicians “medicalized” blackness—a term she uses to describe the process by which these physicians defined blackness as a physiological characteristic and surrogate marker of racial difference that contributed to the corporeal standards to which black bodies had to conform. Hogarth’s book brings the reification of blackness within medical discourses into sharper relief. It shows how, across time and region, whites deployed medical knowledge about blackness to improve plantation labor efficiency, safeguard
colonial and civic interests, and enhance overall control over black bodies during the era of slavery.

“Caught with the Cogs’: Doctors and Slaves in the South’s Industrialized Sugar Plantations”
Christopher Willoughby, Emory University (christopher.willoughby@emory.edu)

This paper examines the health of lower Mississippi valley plantation landscapes as shaped by the growing industrialization of sugar production. In approaching plantation practice, physicians were forced to grapple with the complex biomedical realities of plantations as both workplaces and residences. Through analysis of the biomedical world of the late antebellum plantation, this essay considers how physicians approached the complicated health problems derived from plantations’ varied landscapes such as uncleared forest, industrial machinery, and residences. Plantation physicians had to treat ailments common to each type of space, such as pregnancy, bacterial infections, snakebites, and industrial accidents caused by steam-powered sugar mills. In short, industrialization not only changed the means of production on southern plantations, but also contributed new obstacles to the health of enslaved workers.

BIO: Christopher Willoughby (PhD, Tulane University, 2016) is a historian of medicine and Atlantic slavery and a postdoctoral fellow at the Fox Center for Humanistic Inquiry at Emory University. His research has garnered grants from the National Science Foundation, Harvard University, and the Consortium for the History of Science Technology of Medicine. In 2017, The Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences published his article on medical theories of race and the environment, and he has another article accepted for publication in The Journal of Southern History. Currently, he is writing a book manuscript entitled “Masters of Health: Racial Science and Slavery in American Medical Schools.”

“The Power to Not Care: Health, Race, and Plantation Management in the Antebellum South”
Liana DeMarco, Yale University (liana.demarco@yale.edu)

There is an enduring myth in white American culture that black people were healthier and better cared for under slavery. Indeed, slave bodies were valuable commodities in the antebellum South, but enslaved people were routinely neglected, tortured, and subjected to medical experimentation. The violence inflicted on enslaved people shaped white medical knowledge and the emergent American medical profession. Systematic violence also influenced ideas of race, especially the idea that certain racialized bodies were made for certain kinds of work. This paper will argue that southern planters further entrenched notions of racial difference by strategically curtailing white physician visits with enslaved black laborers. The meticulous observations of slave health in plantation journals, correspondence, and business records suggest that planters were keenly aware of enslaved people’s daily suffering, but these documents also reveal that paid physician
visits were relatively rare. When plantations remained profitable despite slave ill health and death, the withholding of medical care provided apparent confirmation to planters and white physicians that black bodies did not require as much care as other bodies and were thus racially fit for back-breaking labor in hot, humid climates. Furthermore, in medical literature, political discourse, and popular thought, this strain of plantation knowledge served as real world evidence of a priori notions of racial difference. In this way, planters helped to crystallize ideas of racialized bodies and labor that provided intellectual scaffolding for slaveholding, capitalist labor systems in the antebellum American South.

**BIO:** Liana DeMarco is a PhD candidate in the history of science and history of medicine at Yale University. Her work combines methodologies from the history of medicine, environmental history, and biopolitical theory to explore intersections of health, race, and environment in the Americas. She is particularly interested in articulating embodied experiences of capitalism, imperialism, and environmental change. Her dissertation project is a transnational history of medicine and racial capitalism in Louisiana and Cuba, from the mid-eighteenth century to the American Civil War.

“The Curious Case of Bob Butt: Yellow Fever, Labor, and the Limits of Immunological Privilege”

Michael D. Thompson, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga (Michael-D-Thompson@utc.edu)

In February 1859 New Bern’s *Daily Progress* reported a “Distinguished Arrival at Portsmouth.” Quoting the Virginia city’s *Weekly Transcript*, North Carolinians learned that Robert Butt had “returned from his trip to Philadelphia yesterday.” Though this “hero” was said to be “highly pleased with his jaunt” in the North, “he was glad to get back to his old home in Portsmouth.” The journey to the Quaker City had been no pleasure tour, however; and Robert, commonly known as Uncle Bob Butt, was enslaved. Hired out to local officials during the yellow fever epidemic that ravished Portsmouth and Norfolk during the summer of 1855, the 40-year-old Butt was tasked with the filthy, insalubrious, and “melancholy duty to dig the graves for and bury one thousand one hundred and fifty-nine” of the outbreak’s roughly 3,200 victims. The purpose of the black gravedigger’s northern “jaunt” over three years later, “by permission of his master,” was to return the disinterred remains of volunteer doctors and nurses to Philadelphia. This paper draws on a rich source base to examine the “dirty work” of Bob Butt and other bondsmen, and to explore the fascinating but understudied nexus of disease, labor, race, and power in antebellum southern cities. Did authorities employ slaves to handle, transport, and bury diseased corpses because—unlike susceptible and febrile Irish immigrants—blacks were perceived as resistant to contracting and spreading yellow fever? To what extent were individuals like Butt able to parlay their supposed immunological privilege and celebrity? And what do the answers to such questions reveal about the broader impact of epidemic diseases on competitive wage labor and working people in the urban Old South?

**Bio:** Michael D. Thompson (PhD, Emory University, 2009) is a UC Foundation
Associate Professor of History at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, and specializes in the history of the American South and slavery, as well as early American social, labor, and medical history. His first book was a study of waterfront labor and laborers in Charleston, South Carolina, entitled *Working on the Dock of the Bay: Labor and Enterprise in an Antebellum Southern Port* (University of South Carolina Press, 2015). Thompson’s manuscript for this project was awarded the 2011 Hines Prize from the College of Charleston’s Program in the Carolina Lowcountry and Atlantic World, and the book was a finalist and runner-up for the South Carolina Historical Society’s 2015 George C. Rogers Jr. Award. His second monograph, of which this paper is a part, is tentatively entitled *Working Feverishly: Epidemics and Labor in the Urban Old South*.

**Saturday, May 19, 2018: 1:15-2:45PM**

**Panel: Regimes of Control: Borders, Prisons, and the Labor of Exclusion in the Twentieth-Century South**

Organizer: Sarah Stanford-McIntyre

This panel examines different state-mandated regimes of racial and economic control in the southern United States, asking how did such legal, social, and administrative regimes develop? How were they maintained? How were they thwarted? John Weber examines the often-porous borders between the United States and Mexico, demonstrating that while there might have been continuity in border policy throughout the twentieth century, efforts to police the Texas-Mexico border were often ineffectual and control only an illusion. Robert Chase tracks the development of the southern prison labor system, connecting twentieth-century carceral regimes to the legacy of Southern slavery. Sarah Stanford-McIntyre examines the link between de-facto segregation in the Texas oil industry and Texas immigration policy, identifying how a regional labor shortage helped Mexican and Latino workers to gain political power in West Texas. All three papers take seriously the idea that place -- constructed through diverse local histories, administrative and legal systems, and human migration patterns -- fundamentally influenced the ability of racist regimes to gain and hold power. This panel compares and contrasts different regimes, finding similarities between the systems used to control the US border, patterns of economic exclusion and industrial development, and the development of exploitative labor within the American carceral state. All three papers articulate that while complete control – over the border, over the industrial labor force, or over prison populations – was often impossible, belief in the system was crucial to shoring up state control and public support. In an era when immigrant detention and the school-to-prison pipeline represent fundamental social crises, this panel demonstrates the long histories of such institutions and articulates ways in which they have been constantly contested and, sometimes, thwarted.

**Moderator and Discussant:** Jeff Roche, College of Wooster ([JROCHE@wooster.edu](mailto:JROCHE@wooster.edu))

**BIO:** Jeff Roche is Associate Professor of History at the College of Wooster. He is a twentieth-century US political historian and his most recent works include *Restructured*.
“Labor Markets and the Public Relations of Immigration Control.”
John Weber, Old Dominion University, (jwweber@odu.edu)

This paper will examine the relationship between immigration control and labor markets throughout the twentieth century, focusing in particular on a series of scattered but related enforcement actions that took place in Texas in the 1920s, 1950s, and 1990s. These discrete episodes (a smuggling scheme run through the Laredo office of the Border Patrol in the mid-1920s, the INS’s Operation Wetback campaign in the 1950s, and the Clinton-era Operation Hold the Line) occurred at very different times in the institutional history of the modern gatekeeper state, but each represented a remarkably similar method of projecting an illusion of control that had little if any effect on the ability of employers north of the border to find and exploit the supposedly managed labor flows. These three episodes, in other words, illustrate a clear continuity of border enforcement since the early twentieth century.

BIO: John Weber is an Associate Professor of History at Old Dominion University. He is the author of From South Texas to the Nation: The Exploitation of Mexican Labor in the Twentieth Century (University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

"Slaves of the State, Slavery by Another Name? - Are Prisons Twentieth Century Slavery?: Time, Space, and the Evolution of a Historical Analogy”
Robert Chase, Stony Brook University, State University of New York (SUNY) (chasehistory@yahoo.com)

This paper takes up recent studies that have made the argument that prisons constitute an extension of American slavery beyond 1865. From popular documentaries, like the recently released 13th, to scholarly narratives, some in the carceral studies field have flattened historical difference, region, and space by making the argument that the carceral state is neoslavery. Indeed, even in my own work, I argue that the southern prisoners’ rights movement made a successful legal claim that they were “slaves of the state” by using the neoslave narrative as both legal tactic and protest mobilizer. In his work, Slaves of the State, Dennis Child proposes that a “concentric/accumulative view of history rather than a linear/sequential one” which considers “the time-bending power of the racialized carceral” as “an experientially informed conception of the dynamic interfacing of penal time, racialized carceral space, and terrorized black unfree experience that discerns grim congruence.” Even as historians of the carceral state are often steeped in the historiography of slavery, this paper advances the argument that it might be valuable to consider Ira Berlin’s admonition that “scholars of all persuasions have held time constant and ignored the influence of place” and that African American history “cannot be understood merely as a function of the dynamics of slavery or the possibilities of liberty, but must be viewed within the specific social and cultural traditions…that varied from time to time and from place to place.” Taking up Berlin’s rubric for slave studies and applying it to carceral studies, this paper will consider how southern prison labor shaped twentieth century regional varieties and differences that
mark the history of southern region as distinctive. This paper will stress, however, that I aim for finding difference and distinction, but not southern exceptionalism. The carceral state is a national system of state and racial repression, but its construction and the forms of resistance that confronted it were not always even and they were often bound by regional practices and local histories. This paper frames my current book project, Civil Rights on the Cell Block: Prisoners’ Rights Movements and Carceral States, and is based on over a dozen years of my archival study of southern prison labor systems in the mid-to-late twentieth century.

**BIO:** Robert T. Chase is an assistant professor of history at Stony Brook University, State University of New York (SUNY). He is the author of the forthcoming book Civil Rights on the Cell Block: Prisoners’ Rights Movements and Carceral States (UNC Press). He is also the co-editor of the forthcoming anthology Sunbelt Prisons and Carceral States: New Histories of Incarceration, Immigration Detention/Deportation, and Resistance (UNC Press). His work has been published in the Journal of Urban History, the Journal of American History, and a chapter in the anthology The New, New South (University Press of Florida, 2012). As a public intellectual, his work on the history of prison and policing reform and state violence has been featured on national media programs through radio, newspapers, and television (MSNBC, CNN, and NPR, Newsweek, Washington Post).

"Mexican Workers and Political Power in the Texas Oil Industry”
Sarah Stanford-McIntyre, University of Wyoming (sstanfordmcintyre@gmail.com)

In this paper I look at the past thirty years of oil industry contract labor, focusing on the recent wave of migration from Mexico to oilfields in Southwest Texas. I connect this story to the broader histories of Texas immigration and the region’s history of nativism and extreme neoconservatism. I argue that changes to US immigration law in the 1980s, coupled with statewide oil industry decline, opened up new opportunities for migrants in Texas oil work. As the state became increasingly majority-minority, oil elites worked to reinforce patterns of legal, political, and economic control. However, as I demonstrate, Mexican oil workers thwarted these efforts in a variety of ways and reframed West Texas’ rural geographies. While historians of the US/Mexico borderlands have brought renewed attention to Tejano and Latino communities in West Texas, the experiences of the thousands of Latinos who worked in the region’s vast oilfields has been left out of these broader social histories. Further, attention to specifically Mexican migrant oil labor flips the scant scholarship available on oil work on its head. Instead of tracking the experiences of white workers traveling south and instituting segregationist and exploitative extraction projects, this paper focuses on the ways in which the increasing international mobility of Mexico’s industrial labor force influenced regional systems of geographic and spatial control, as well as US responses to health and safety reform and environmental legislation.

**BIO:** Sarah Stanford-McIntyre is the 2017-2018 Bernard Majewski Fellow and Instructor of History at the University of Wyoming. Her work has been supported by a variety of sources including the Hagley Museum and Library and the Smithsonian Lemelson Center for the History of Invention and Innovation. She has published in the edited volumes Reading the American University and Contested Expertise and Toxic Environments.
Roundtable: Organizing the South Today: Stories from UNITE-HERE

Chair: Lane Windham, Georgetown University (lanewindham@gmail.com)

This roundtable will address UNITE-HERE’s growth, successes, and challenges in the South.

Panelists:
Scott Cooper, Director of Operations, UNITE-HERE
Tracy Walker, Cook at the Atlanta Airport, Chief Shop Steward
Isaie Marc, Former Housekeeper at Disney now organizer in Orlando
Wanda Brown, Bartender Peachtree Hotel in Atlanta/President of Atlanta Chapter of Local 23
Latoya Colvin, Cook at Fort Benning, President of Columbus Chapter of Local 23

Workshop: “How to win an Emmy with your Students: or Creating Film Documentaries about Difficult Histories through the Classroom”

Lisa Mills and Robert Cassanello are Associate Professors of Film and History respectively that have used the classroom to produce award winning documentaries on topics such as Academic Freedom, Civil Rights and LGBTQ history. Mills and Cassanello use the class “History Documentary Workshop” at UCF to introduce students to the content and production of difficult local histories in and around central Florida. Students in the class engage in the content, film and interview scholars and participants in such events and produce short features on these topics. Their films include *Filthy Dreamers, Marching Forward* and *The Committee*. Their film collaborations with their students have won two Emmy Awards, a Hampton Dunn Broadcasting Award, two Broadcast Education Association Awards and numerous film festival awards and appearances. Their film, “The Committee”, is about the Florida State Legislative Investigative Committee’s efforts to persecute gay and lesbian students at Florida public colleges. It premiered on 100 PBS stations in June 2016 for Pride Month. 26 min. The screening will be followed by Q&A with the authors.

BIO: Lisa Mills (Lisa.Mills@ucf.edu) is an Associate Professor of Film at the University of Central Florida where she teaches screenwriting, documentary production, theory, and history. Dr. Mills’ films have won numerous national and international awards and have screened in festivals all over the world. Most recently a film she co-directed with an
honors class, The Committee, won a Suncoast Emmy Award and is being distributed nationally through the American Public Television Exchange 2016-2019. Her newest film Hymns of Three Cities explores racial violence in Florida by weaving poetry with historical visuals as an expression of sorrow.

**BIO:** Robert Cassanello is an associate professor of history at the University of Central Florida. He is a social historian also interested in public history. His book To Render Invisible: Jim Crow and Public Life in New South Jacksonville won the 2014 Harry Moore Award by the Florida Historical Society. His other books include, Migration and the Transformation of the Southern Workplace since 1945 with Colin J. Davis and Florida’s Working-Class Past: Current Perspectives on Labor, Race, and Gender from Spanish Florida to the New Immigration with Melanie Shell-Weiss. He produces documentary films and podcasts with his students which have won a Suncoast Emmy, Hampton Dunn Broadcasting Award as well as numerous film festivals.

*Saturday, May 19, 2018: 3:00-4:30PM*  
*Russell Library 285*

**Panel:** “An Outraged and Indignant Public”: Work, Race, and Labor in the Lower Mississippi Valley from Colonization through the Plantation Economy

Organizer: William Horne

The panel examines the changes in the labor landscape and corresponding applications of power through the lens of three formative industries: the colonial cattle industry, territorial investment and farming, and antebellum plantation-related commerce. The evolving modes of work and control in each produced increasingly concentrated wealth and power over the century between the Spanish colonial period and secession culminating in the highly policed regime of plantation slavery.

**Chair:** Mark F. Fernandez, Patricia Carlin O'Keefe Distinguished Professor of History, Loyola University New Orleans (mffernan@loyno.edu)

**BIO:** Fernandez received his B.A. and M.A. Degrees from the University of New Orleans and his Ph.D. from The College of William and Mary in Virginia. He came to Loyola in 1992 after teaching at what is now Texas State University from 1990-1992. Mark has published on topics ranging from the seventeenth-century Chesapeake to the history of law in antebellum South. His notable scholarly activities include *A Law Unto Itself? Essays in the New Louisiana Legal History*, (Louisiana State University Press, 2001) and *From Chaos to Continuity: Evolution of Louisiana’s Judicial System, 1712-1862*, (Louisiana University Press, 2001, 2014), which won the Louisiana Literary Award from the Louisiana Library Association. He also served as Guest Editor with Jon Kukla for the *Journal of the West's* special Louisiana Purchase edition that appeared in 2004.

“Policing the Illicit Trade: Carceral Consumption in the Antebellum Baton Rouge Area, 1850-1860”
William Horne, George Washington University (wihorne@gwmail.gwu.edu)

This paper explores the forms of economic constraint built outward from slavery that were embedded in southern capitalism. While earlier periods of Anglo, Franco, and Afro colonization in the Lower Mississippi Valley permitted more geographic mobility and economic exchange, the construction of a strictly hierarchical slave society around antebellum Baton Rouge limited the ability of African American and white working people to access and exchange property. These limits amplified enslaver power and exacerbated the economic immobility of non-enslavers. The paper examines newspapers, letters, and court records to analyze the culture of confinement that defined the systems of consumption and the maintenance of property on which enslaver authority rested. Elite enslavers vigorously policed the consumption of property at the local level in addition to the production-oriented discipline with which students of slavery are already familiar. They relentlessly punished those who engaged in the “illicit trade” – any exchange of goods involving enslaved men and women not sanctioned by their enslavers – and used both legal and extralegal violence to suppress the activity. This system of carceral consumption that rooted enslavers’ ownership of black bodies in the nonconsumption of their African American and white neighbors represents the central feature of antebellum slavery in Louisiana and, as it became embedded in postemancipation systems of power, its most important legacy.

BIO: William Horne is a PhD candidate at The George Washington University and editor of The Activist History Review researching the relationship of race to labor, freedom, and capitalism in post-Civil War Louisiana. His dissertation, “Carceral State: Baton Rouge and its Plantation Environ Across Emancipation,” examines the ways in which white supremacy and capitalism each depended on restricting black freedom in the aftermath of slavery.

Nature’s Redemption: The Drought, the Worm, and the Mississippi River, -1866-1869

Brian Hamilton, University of Wisconsin–Madison (brian.hamilton@wisc.edu)

In the post-Emancipation South, what power freed people wielded derived from not only their labor but also their intimate understanding of cotton production. This was especially evident in the years immediately following the Civil War. At the moment when the success of agricultural endeavors in the cotton South mattered most to the pursuit of racial equality in the United States, ecological obstacles across the region made it especially difficult to achieve. Along the Lower Mississippi, two years of drought, successive cutworm infestations, and severe flooding together forestalled the prosperity of cotton enterprises, threatened the sustenance of the region’s residents, and, in part, directed the fates of the freed people who made their lives along the river. But former slaves, when in positions to do so, leveraged the agroecological knowledge they acquired through decades of hard and dirty work in the plantation landscape. This paper explores the case of those formerly enslaved in Mississippi by Joseph and Jefferson Davis, many
of whom wrested control of Davis land and managed an operation through this difficult period by developing novel responses to environmental challenges and then went on to find prosperity in the 1870s. Their story, while exceptional, nonetheless illustrates the interplay of environmental forces and agricultural knowledge that helped to shape the course of Reconstruction in the Deep South.

BIO: Brian Hamilton is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History at the University of Wisconsin–Madison where he is writing a dissertation entitled “Cotton’s Keepers: Black Agricultural Expertise in Slavery and Freedom.” He is also an editor and podcast producer at Edge Effects (http://edgeeffects.net), a digital magazine covering the environmental humanities.

South by North: Land and Labor in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 1780-1830
Cory James Young (Georgetown University, cjy28@georgetown.edu)

“South by North: Land and Labor in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 1780-1830” traces the development of Natchez as the region transitioned from Spanish colony to US territory to the state of Mississippi. It examines newspapers as well as personal and commercial correspondence to demonstrate the evolution of land usage and labor practices in the city. As Natchez and its environs came to undergird US claims to national sovereignty, labor and landholding became more centralized: small plots gave way to large plantations and a society with slaves became a slave society. Migrants poured into the region from all over the continent, including a sizeable cohort of men and women from northern states. Northern families, northern capital, and northern labor practices—including slaveholding—helped to build Natchez, Mississippi. The slave labor that transformed the dirt of the Lower Mississippi Valley into the Black Belt during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was not a distinctly Spanish or southern innovation, but rather a practice familiar to a diverse set of North Americans. As such, Natchez became a quintessentially American city.

Bio: Cory James Young is a History PhD candidate at Georgetown University and media editor at The Activist History Review. His research focuses on slavery and abolition in the northern United States; his dissertation investigates the fates of the slaveholding and enslaved families of central Pennsylvania in the wake of gradual abolition.

Commenter: Max Grivno, Associate Professor, University of Southern Mississippi (max.grivno@usm.edu)

Max Grivno joined the faculty of the University of Southern Mississippi in 2007 after completing his doctorate at the University of Maryland. While completing his degree, Grivno worked as a historian with both the National Park Service and the Freedmen and Southern Society Project, a documentary-editing project whose work focuses on emancipation and Reconstruction. In 2008, Grivno’s doctoral dissertation was named a finalist for the Labor and Working Class History Association’s Herbert G. Gutman Dissertation Prize and the winner of both the University of Maryland’s Richard T. Farrell Prize and the Southern Historical Association’s C. Vann Woodward Dissertation
Award. Dr. Grivno’s first book, *Gleanings of Freedom: Free Labor and Slavery along the Mason-Dixon Line, 1790-1860*, was published in 2011 as part of the University of Illinois Press’s series The Working Class in American History. Grivno is currently writing *From Bondage to Freedom: Slavery in Mississippi, 1690-1865*, which is under contract with the University Press of Mississippi as part of its Heritage of Mississippi Series and is researching a third book, tentatively titled *Bandits, Klansmen, Rioters, and Strikers: Violence in the Alabama-Mississippi Black Belt, 1830-1917*.

**Roundtable:**

**Nuevo South: Latinas/os, Asians, and the Remaking of Place**

Organizer: Cecilia Márquez

This proposed roundtable would discuss Perla M. Guerrero’s just-released book *Nuevo South: Latinas/os, Asians, and the Remaking of Place* (University of Texas Press, 2017). *Nuevo South* is an interdisciplinary investigation of how immigrants and refugees negotiated issues of place such as race, labor, and community during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. It provides an analysis of the political and economic factors, and the ebbs and flows of capital, which are shifting the region’s social conditions and racial mores. The project explores racial formation by focusing on how the U.S. military, the State of Arkansas, local law enforcement, media, and Arkansans mobilized responses to Vietnamese and Cuban refugees and Latina/o immigrants through legal categorizations, political rhetoric, everyday discourse, and the policing of space. The book pays particular attention to how social relations are constituted in the labor sphere, particularly the poultry industry, and the legacies of regional history, especially anti-Black violence and racial cleansing. As such, it is among the first book-length treatises that analyzes what constitutes the *Nuevo South* and how historical legacies shape the reception of new people to the region. The proposed format is that each panelist will speak for about 10-12 minutes and then Perla will respond for 10-15 minutes and then we will open it to the audience for dialogue. The first panelist will give a brief summary of the book before we begin with analysis and critical engagement.

Perla M. Guerrero (guerrero@umd.edu) is Assistant Professor of American Studies and U.S. Latina/o Studies at the University of Maryland, College Park. Her research and teaching interests include relational and comparative race and ethnicity, space and place, immigration, labor, and U.S. history. She has received multiple awards including two Smithsonian Institution fellowships, a Ford Foundation postdoctoral fellowship, and has published numerous book chapters and articles.

Sarah McNamara (sarahmc@tamu.edu) is an Assistant Professor of History at Texas A&M University where she specializes in Latinx, women and gender, labor, and oral history. In 2016, McNamara earned her Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Presently, she is at work on her first book, tentatively titled, “From Picket Lines to Picket Fences: Latinas and the Remaking of the Jim Crow South.” Her manuscript traces the transformation of Latinx politics and culture between the Great Depression and the Cuban Revolution in Ybor City, Florida by examining the choices immigrant Cuban and later American-born Latinas made to achieve political
representation and social justice for themselves and their community. McNamara’s work has received support from the American Historical Association, the Tulane Center for the Gulf South, the American Libraries Association, and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Michael Innis-Jiménez (ji@ua.edu) is associate professor and director of graduate studies in the department of American Studies at the University of Alabama. He has served as consultant for the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute’s Latino New South Project and with the Levine Museum of the New South (Charlotte, NC). Innis-Jiménez’ books include Steel Barrio: The Great Mexican Migration to South Chicago, 1915-1940 (NYU Press, 2013) and a book tentatively titled Interwar Food, Culture, and Belonging on Chicago’s Mexican Boulevard (in progress). He is also working on a book manuscript putting the contemporary Latino/a South into historical perspective. His book chapters include: “Engaged Learning in the Anti-Immigrant South: Building Bridges in a Hostile Environment” in Frictions of Daily Life: Class, Community, &amp; the Challenge of Engaged Scholarship, ed. Dennis Deslippe, Eric Fure-Slocum, and John McKerley. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2016); “Chicago Steel, Latino Workers, and Midwestern Environmental History” in The Latino Midwest Reader, ed. Omar Valerio-Jiménez, Santiago Vaquera-Vásquez, and Claire F. Fox. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, June 2017).

Cecilia Márquez (marquez@nyu.edu) is an Assistant Professor in Latino/a Studies in the Department of Social and Cultural Analysis. She earned her MA and PhD in American History at the University of Virginia. Her first book project, “The Strange Career of Juan Crow: Latino/as and the Making of the U.S. South, 1940-1970,” examines the social and cultural history of Latinos in the post-World War II South. Márquez’s work has been recognized by several organizations for its contributions to the study of American History and Latino/a Studies. In 2016 she received an ACLS/Mellon Dissertation Completion Fellowship. Prior to this she has been awarded a Smithsonian Latino/a Studies Predoctoral Fellowship at the National Museum of American History, and the George E. Pozzetta Dissertation award from the Immigration and Ethnic History Society.

**Saturday, May 19, 2018: 3:00-4:30PM**  
**Russell Library 281**

**Film Showing: “A Day's Work.”**

90 minutes before he was killed on his first day of work as a temporary employee, 21-year-old Day Davis texted a picture of himself to his girlfriend, excited for their future. Day’s sister now searches for answers as an investigation reveals the troubling issues that led to Day’s death, and how the $100 billion temporary staffing industry is putting millions of American workers at risk. Based on groundbreaking investigative reporting, this independent film is reshaping perceptions of temp work and our safety on the job through grassroots efforts. The film has screened at more than 100 events with unions, universities, government agencies, and community groups, raising the questions to all working people, "What are we getting for a day's work?" 54 min. Followed by Q&A with the filmmaker.
BIO: Dave DeSario ([dave@temporaryemployees.org](mailto:dave@temporaryemployees.org)) is the Executive Producer of “A Day’s Work,” Founding Member of the Alliance for the American Temporary Workforce (AATW), a member of the NIOSH NORA Services Sector Committee, and a former temp worker. He built and maintains the leading online resource for information on the temporary staffing industry ([www.TemporaryEmployees.org](http://www.TemporaryEmployees.org)) and screens *A Day’s Work* as the centerpiece of efforts to raise awareness and create action for critical issues affecting working people.

*Saturday, May 19, 2018: 5:00-7:00PM*

**Dinner on your own.**

*Saturday, May 19, 2018: 7:00PM  Morton Theatre, 195 W. Washington St., Athens*

*Closing Plenary: "Queer Labor in the South"

Over the past half-century lesbian women, gay men, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) people have experienced increased openness and visibility in the workplace. Struggles for employment rights for LGBTQ people have been key battlegrounds from the rights revolutions of the 1960s and 1970s, to disputes over AIDS and workplace rights in the 1990s, to the experiences of trans truckers and others today. This panel will probe previously overlooked LGBTQ experiences of work in the US South. In doing so we will question what scholars of southern labor can gain from research that prioritizes experiences of homophobic and transphobic employment discrimination, as well as the strategies mobilised to overcome these issues in the recent past and present.

In bringing to the forefront the experience of the most marginalized workers in the US South we hope to correct a gap in the historiographic and ethnographic literature that has previously overlooked the varied experiences of LGBTQ, black and latina(o) workers who navigate several oppressions in the workplace. In doing so we also hope to inspire further research and investigation at the intersection where labor and queer studies overlap in the southern workplace.

**Moderator:** Katherine Turk, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

*BIO: Katherine Turk ([kturk@email.unc.edu](mailto:kturk@email.unc.edu)) is author of *Equality on Trial: Gender and Rights in the Modern American Workplace* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). She is Assistant Professor of History, and Women’s and Gender Studies at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.*

*BIO: Miriam Frank ([mf5@nyu.edu](mailto:mf5@nyu.edu)) will demonstrate the historic overlap of homophobia and anti-union legislation in the South. She will assess the labor/queer connection to union-
busting in the South, namely “Right to Work” state laws established throughout the region beginning in 1948. The LGBTQ connection with right-to-work is the consistent concurrence of RTW with state sodomy prohibitions until the Supreme Court nullified sodomy laws in *Lawrence v Texas* in 2003.

**BIO:** Miriam Frank taught undergraduate Humanities courses at New York University for 35 years. She also led union education programs in New York City and in Detroit, where she was a founder of Women’s Studies at Wayne County Community College. The American Library Association cited her book, *Out in the Union: A Labor History of Queer America* (Temple University Press), as an "Outstanding Title" of 2015.

**Anne Balay** (annegbalay@gmail.com) will present her research on truck drivers today. She will demonstrate that as workers, truckers are frequently invisible, even though there are lots of them. And queer and black truckers are even more neglected. Her ethnographic work on truck drivers finds that the constant circulation of trucking fits with the personalities and sexual styles of many queer and trans truckers. Rejected by home and family, they float outside it, making a space of resistance. NAFTA brings much freight movement, and thus cultural change, to the American South, and Balay’s work explores how that shapes the lives of the truckers she met, and the culture in which they live.

**BIO:** Anne Balay is Visiting Assistant Professor, and Coordinator of Gender & Sexuality Studies at Haverford College. She is the author of *Steel Closets: Voices of Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Steelworkers* (University of North Carolina Press, 2014), and a former long-haul trucker.

**Joshua Hollands** (joshua.hollands.14@ucl.ac.uk) will briefly set out how scholars have historically understood notions of “queer labor” before problematising this with his own research that explores how restaurant workers faced and challenged discrimination at the Cracker Barrel chain in the 1990s. He will use examples from this research on homophobic discrimination at Georgia Cracker Barrel stores to assess how movements in the state emerged to counter the discrimination and inspired efforts elsewhere. He will demonstrate how racialized and gendered notions of “queer labor” have led to precarious working lives for LGBTQ people in the South, while at the same time producing possibilities for resistance and increased visibility in the workplace.

**BIO:** Joshua Hollands is a PhD Candidate at University College London’s Institute of the Americas. His research explores historic homophobic workplace discrimination in the US south and southwest. He was awarded the 2017 Robert H. Zieger Prize for Southern Labor Studies from the SLSA.