WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED/ NO NOS MOVERÁN

BIOGRAPHY OF A SONG OF STRUGGLE

DAVID SPENER

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Biography of a Song of Struggle

Temple University Press
Philadelphia • Rome • Tokyo

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122
www.temple.edu/tempress

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Published 2016

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Spener, David, 1961–
Title: We shall not be moved/No nos moverán: biography of a song of
struggle / David Spener.
Other titles: No nos moverán
Description: Philadelphia : Temple University Press, 2016. | Includes
bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2016005353 | ISBN 9781439912973 (cloth : alk. paper) |
ISBN 9781439912980 (paper : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781439912997 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Protest songs—United States—History and criticism. |
Protest songs—Spain—History and criticism. | We shall not be moved.
Classification: LCC ML3780 .S68 2016 | DDC 782.42/1592—dc23
LC record available at http://lccn.loc.gov/2016005353

♾ The paper used in this publication meets the requirements of the American
National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed
Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1992

Printed in the United States of America

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

In memory of Víctor Jara and Pete Seeger,

who did not sing in vain

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Acknowledgments

Many people and institutions have contributed to the publication of this book. The travel, research, and writing involved would not have been possible without the generous financial assistance I received from Trinity University. In 2011, this assistance took the form of a paid leave and the funding of a trip to study the role of song in social justice and human rights movements in Chile in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. In 2014, the Carlos and Malú Álvarez Fund and the Martha, David, and Bagby Lennox Foundation provided grants to Trinity University's Mexico, the Americas, and Spain (MAS) program that enabled the organization of a multievent symposium and performance series titled *Social Justice, Human Rights, and Song on the World Historical Stage: Chile Canta al Mundo,* which brought together scholars, activists, and musicians to discuss the legacy of the *nueva canción* movement throughout the Americas (see www.trinity.edu/chile-sings). The presentations, performances, and discussions that took place during this series, which was hosted by Trinity University and the Esperanza Peace and Justice Center in San Antonio, Texas, contributed significantly to my understanding of how "I Shall Not Be Moved" became a social movement anthem in Spanish as well as English.

As I conducted my research for the book, the staff of a number of other institutions provided invaluable assistance, including Graciela Sánchez *y la buena gente* of the Esperanza Peace and Justice Center; archivists at the Fundación Salvador Allende in Santiago, Chile, and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives in New York; and librarians in the Special Collections of the University of Texas–Arlington Library and the Tennessee State Library and Archives in Nashville.

In addition, I owe a debt of gratitude to the individuals whose names I list here in alphabetical order: Edison Argandoña, Susana Asensio, Antonia Castañeda, Leroy Chatfield, Marcelo Coulon, Irma De León, Juan Pablo González, Joaquina Labajo, Ricardo Loyola, Arturo Madrid, Maria McWilliams, Aaron Navarro, Lluis Panyella, Xavier Pimentel, Anthony Seeger, and Zaragosa Vargas. Some of the people in this list are friends of long standing, while others are those with whom I made acquaintance in the course of conducting my research. I also thank Sara Cohen and Micah Kleit of Temple University Press, whose interest in and support of this project have never flagged. In addition, the comments I received on earlier drafts of the manuscript from anonymous reviewers recruited by Temple University Press were invaluable to me in revising and polishing the text.

Last, but far from least, I give thanks to my wife, Marsha Krassner, who has always given me the freedom to pursue my interests and passions, wherever they might lead. Without her support, understanding, and critical eye as a reader, this book would not be in your hands today.

WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED /
NO NOS MOVERÁN

Introduction

This is the improbable story of a simple song and its long and complicated journey across oceans and continents. And I am an improbable person to be telling it, so let me explain how I came to write this book. I grew up in a white, middle-class home in a white, middle-class neighborhood in the middle of the United States a bit after the middle of the twentieth century. My parents loved music but weren't musicians, and, like most middle-class families in the middle of the country at that time, we didn't own a lot of records or listen to a lot of recorded music in the house when I was young. There was, however, one record we owned that captured my imagination and that I listened to on the turntable again and again. It was by the folk music trio Peter, Paul, and Mary. My favorite song on the record was "If I Had a Hammer," whose driving rhythm in their arrangement made me want to learn to play the guitar. When I was eight years old, my father retrieved for me an old "Stella" guitar that he had given away to a friend after giving up on learning to play it himself. My parents signed me up for group guitar lessons at the local YMCA, and

Note: The contents of this book are accompanied by a website containing numerous photographs, videos, and other supplementary materials that can be accessed at http://gotu.us/nonosmoveran.

"If I Had a Hammer" was one of the first songs I learned how to play. Another was "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?" from that same Peter, Paul, and Mary album. Both were written by Pete Seeger, a man whose name appears repeatedly in the pages of this book.

By the time I was a teenager, I'd become a pretty good guitar player and also had discovered my singing voice. I'd begun listening to Seeger's records, memorizing the chords and lyrics to his songs and imitating his distinctive vocal style. In the mid-1970s, I finally had the opportunity to see Seeger perform in person, in a concert with Arlo Guthrie, Woody's son, at the Mississippi River Festival in Edwardsville, Illinois. Although I don't remember all the details of that concert, I do remember Seeger strumming his twelve-string guitar while reciting a bilingual version of a poem written by a South American songwriter that I had never heard of. The songwriter's name was Víctor Jara, he was from Chile, and he had been murdered by soldiers of his own country's government. Seeger's somber recitation of the poem did not make much of an impression on me at the time; there were other songs that I was already familiar with and had appreciated much more.

A few years later, I was living in Madison, Wisconsin. I had started college there but had dropped out. Dreaming of rising to fame as the next Bob Dylan, I played my guitar and sang around town at any bar or coffeehouse that would have me. I had gotten interested in the left-wing revolutions that were going on in Central America. These armed struggles were inspiring a great deal of activism in solidarity with the revolutionaries, centered around the University of Wisconsin campus where I had been a student. I found myself living in a communal house with other amateur musicians, students, and sometime political activists. One night, several of my housemates attended a concert by Inti-Illimani (IN-tee-yee-MAHN-ee),[1] a Chilean band that had come through Madison on tour. I didn't go to the concert, since I didn't speak Spanish, had never heard of the band, and was short on cash. A housemate who did go to the concert bought a copy of one of the band's LPs, titled *Hacia la libertad* (*Toward Liberty*), on the Monitor Records label. She lent me the record and insisted that I listen to it. I'd never heard music quite like this before, full of powerful masculine voices accompanied by bamboo flutes, pan pipes, calf-skin drums, and a variety of stringed guitar and mandolin-like

instruments whose names I did not know. The vinyl disc inside the album cover came sheathed in an envelope on which were printed the titles of the songs, the names of their authors, and the lyrics in both English and Spanish. One song in particular caught my eye: "Vientos del pueblo" ("Winds of the People"), by Víctor Jara. Beautifully arranged and recorded by Inti-Illimani, the song was written by Jara in the last year of his life. Its lyrics cried out in anguish about the wealthy Chilean elite's preparations to violently roll back the hard-won gains that were being made by the country's poor and working-class majority. *Winds of the People* was also the title of a mimeographed collection of songs of liberation and social justice in multiple languages that circulated among "movement" people in Madison and other progressive cities around the United States. We used it for the songfests we occasionally organized in our communal household. So, now I knew where the songbook's title came from.[2] I was inspired: I needed to learn Spanish. I needed to hear more of this music. Just like Mr. Jones in Dylan's song "Ballad of a Thin Man," I knew something was going on here, but I did not know what it was. I needed to find out.

Fast forward a little more than thirty years. In 2011, I found myself in the Chilean port city of Valparaíso. I had long since given up the dream of becoming the next Dylan. Instead, I found myself working as something a bit less glamorous—a sociology professor at a small college in Texas who had spent most of his career studying the Mexico-U.S. border. In a mid-career detour, I had gone to Chile to study the history of the genre of music that Víctor Jara helped create—*la nueva canción,* the new song—and its relationship with movements for social justice there. I was in Valparaíso to interview Jorge Coulon, one of the founding members of Inti-Illimani, who lived in an old house on one of the city's many *cerros* (hilltops) overlooking the port and the Pacific Ocean. We were near the end of a wide-ranging conversation about the history of Inti-Illimani, its members' many years of exile in Europe, their return to Chile in 1988 toward the end of their country's military dictatorship, and, more broadly, the power of music in struggles for social justice. As I was getting ready to leave, Coulon told me that he had recently published a short book about his old comrade, Jara, that I should read.[3] He didn't have a copy at home, but he told me that I could certainly find

one at the Andrés Bello bookstore located on one of the city's main avenues downtown near the port. I thanked him and walked over to one of the city's famed *ascensores* (cable car elevators) to descend to the city below.

Much to my chagrin, when I got to the bookstore, I discovered that it was sold out of copies of Coulon's book. I wandered around the bookstore, nonetheless, to see whether it had anything else of interest, especially something I might read on the bus ride back to Santiago, where I was renting an apartment. My eyes fell on a book titled *Cuando hicimos historia* (*When We Made History* [Pinto Vallejos 2005]), which I began to leaf through. It was a collection of essays about the experiences the authors had had as participants in Chile's experiment with democratic socialism in the early 1970s, the experiment that Jara had sung about in "Vientos del pueblo" and later gave his life defending. One of the last essays included a moving reference to a song I knew well. It was not one of Jara's songs; in fact, it was not even a Chilean song. Rather, it was a traditional song from the U.S. South. This was a moment much like the one more than thirty years ago when I first listened to the Inti-Illimani album that my friend had lent me. Something was going on here that I didn't understand—something important, something that I urgently needed to understand. And it was all contained in this brief mention of a song from my own country that thousands of Chileans had sung to defend justice and freedom in their land. The book you hold in your hands is the unforeseen fruit of that serendipitous moment.

"No nos moverán" is the name of the song that Chileans were singing in the early 1970s. In English, it is known as "We Shall Not Be Moved." The exact origins of the song are unknown, but it appears to have begun as a religious revival song sung by rural whites and African slaves in the early nineteenth century in the U.S. South. A century later, it was taken up by U.S. labor activists in their successful drives to unionize major industries. Subsequently, African Americans reclaimed it for the civil rights movement, where it became one of the best-known songs in that freedom struggle. Shortly after that, in Spanish, it became an emblematic song of the struggle for farmworker rights in the United States, before it crossed the Atlantic to be used in the fight against the fascist dictatorship in Spain. From

Spain, the song traveled back across the ocean to arrive in Chile at the end of the 1960s. In all these times and places, people sang this song to express their resolve in the face of adversity and to help them persevere in their struggles to build a better world.

A Note about Intended Readership and Scholarly Approach

I have written this book with a diverse readership in mind. First and foremost, I have written it for the benefit of activists in the various countries where "We Shall Not Be Moved" has been an important part of the repertoire of social justice movements. At the beginning of my research for this book, I was especially thinking of the Chilean activists and musicians who had sung this song but had little or no idea about where it came from, what its importance had been in other lands, or how it had arrived in their country. As I learned more of the twists and turns of the song's history, I also wanted Spanish-speaking activists and musicians in the United States and Spain to hear how the song made its way into their movements. And, similarly, I believe the history will be of special interest to English-speaking singers and activists who are familiar with the song from movements in the United States but who have been unaware of the significance the song has acquired overseas.

I have also written this book for scholars and students in a number of academic disciplines, including anthropology, history, musicology, and sociology. Accordingly, the book is eclectic in its disciplinary approach. I intend for it to be read principally as a work of social history. In keeping with my own disciplinary training, I draw extensively from the conceptual repertoires of both anthropology and sociology in analyzing and interpreting the history of "We Shall Not Be Moved," borrowing additional concepts and approaches developed by musicologists. With nonspecialist readers in mind, I have strived to keep the text free of disciplinary jargon without sacrificing the conceptual rigor expected in a scholarly work. Scholarly readers who are interested in the methods used in conducting the research that went into writing this history should consult the Appendix at the back of the book.

Song in the Service of Social Movements

In today's world of instantaneous electronic communication via social media, there would be nothing especially remarkable about the spread of any song to any part of the world, where it could be put to practically any use. The travels and transformations of this song, however, were quite astonishing, given that they took place long before the advent of such media and without being promoted by major commercial record companies or broadcast media. Rather, the song spread through its singing by members of social movements, often in the face of brutal state and corporate repression, who took it to other movements across multiple national and linguistic boundaries. The story of how "*I* Shall Not Be Moved" became "*We* Shall Not Be Moved" and then "No nos moverán" is worth telling not only because of the song's importance to struggles for social justice around the world but also because of the way it illustrates how songs can serve as an invaluable resource to participants in movements for social change.* While it is beyond the scope of this book to engage in the wider debate about the importance of music for social relations in general, it is worth considering, at least briefly, how music and singing can fulfill important functions for social movements and their struggles to achieve moral and political objectives in the face of adversity. Rather than use "We Shall Not Be Moved" as the occasion for a disquisition on broader theoretical issues concerning music and movements, in this Introduction I prefer to draw on concepts developed by other scholars to see how they can deepen our understanding of the ways this song in particular has served so many movements in so many different historical, cultural, and political contexts. In fact, I would like to narrow the focus even more and limit myself to a consideration not of how this song might have persuaded outsiders of the rightness of the various causes it has served or even how it may have helped movements to gain new adherents but rather of how it has helped meet the needs of people in the movements in which it has been sung.

*"We Shall Not Be Moved" is the default title of the song used in this book. I use "I Shall Not Be Moved," "No serem moguts," and "No nos moverán" to refer to variants of the song according to context.

The message of "We Shall Not Be Moved" in all of its versions is one of conviction, resolve, and defiance, not one of exhortation, critique, or invitation to join hands in the struggle. It is an example of what Mark Mattern (1998: 25) has called the "confrontational form" of politically charged music in which "members of one community use musical practices to resist or oppose another community." For this reason alone, it makes little sense to talk about the role the song may have played in persuading others outside movement participants. Moreover, this limitation is in keeping with Pete Seeger's admonition in his song "Letter to Eve" not to have unrealistically high expectations about what performing any piece of music can accomplish on its own. In the song, Seeger announces that if music by itself could bring peace and freedom, he would need only be a musician instead of having to engage in other forms of political struggle as well.[4] As we shall see, Seeger's words are all the more poignant given that "We Shall Not Be Moved," along with many other songs like it, has been sung as often in failed struggles—such as the one in which Víctor Jara died in Chile—as it has been in victorious ones.

The history of any song as ubiquitous as "We Shall Not Be Moved" has been in the English- and Spanish-speaking world is worth recounting for its own sake. Just as importantly, in the remainder of this Introduction, I suggest that the singing of this song in so many different cultural and political contexts stands as an example of how musical expressions can serve as a vital symbolic resource for social movement participants. Specifically, I argue that the singing of "We Shall Not Be Moved"—and many other songs like it—has served as a powerful form of ritual action that enables social movement participants to accomplish a number of things that are crucial to a movement's success and survival. The first of these is that it has helped them forge their identities as protagonists of their own history in a variety of national contexts. A second is that, wherever it has been sung, it has helped movement participants forge solidarity and cohesion among themselves. In addition, "We Shall Not Be Moved" has, in numerous contexts, helped members of movements keep up their spirits and keep fear at bay in the face of adversity. It has also contributed to preserving the collective memory of movements many years after they have dissipated from the public view. And finally, its singing has facilitated the raising of otherwise mundane moments in the his-

tory of movements to sacred or quasi-sacred levels. I illustrate these points more specifically in subsequent chapters of the book when discussing various moments of the history of this transnational social movement anthem.

Music as Social Action

Our starting point for understanding the importance of "We Shall Not Be Moved" in the various social movements in which it has played a part is that making music is at its root a form of social *action.* To emphasize that making music is something that people do together in social settings, the musicologist Christopher Small (1998: 9) has introduced the neologism *musicking* into the scholarly literature, based on the verb *to music,* which he defines as "to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, [or] by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing." For Small, musicking is a fundamental "human encounter" whose meaning is determined by the social context in which it occurs. Moreover, he argues, musicking is a primal act of social *definition,* one of the ways that individuals collectively express and come to terms with who they are as a people (Small 1998: 133–134; see also Frith 1996a).

Following Small, sociologists Robert Rosenthal and Richard Flacks (2011: 94–95) write in their book *Playing for Change* that musicking has the power to create "the feeling that various ideas, ideals, and lifestyles go together" and that "listening to, talking about, and actively creating music serve as forms of ritual that help to define one's identity in group terms." For their part, social movement theorists Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison (1998: 162) observe that singing combined with "exemplary action" can play an especially powerful role in forging new identities for movement participants, noting that by singing "We Shall Not Be Moved" together at a sit-in to integrate a lunch counter in Mississippi, civil rights activists transformed themselves into courageous "moral witnesses" who dared to practice nonviolent civil disobedience in the face of violent racist oppression. Here, these authors illustrate a more general point concerning social movements—namely, that participation in collective action contributes

powerfully to people's sense of themselves (i.e., to the production of their identities vis-à-vis other groups in society [Della Porta and Diani 1999]). In this sense, the singing of a song in a confrontational setting of civil disobedience becomes a badge of group identity for the members of the movement that clearly—and morally—distinguishes them from their adversaries. This is particularly so for "We Shall Not Be Moved," insofar as its refrain asserts the unswerving commitment of its singers to the principles they are celebrating and that their collective actions have come to embody. The song thus represents, regardless of the particular historical or political context in which it is sung, a defiant statement by its singers that "we are not like you, and you are not going to make us change or give up."

At the same time, both Small (1998) and music critic Simon Frith (1996b) recognize that the identities expressed by a group's musicking are often more aspirational than real. People use music, Frith (1996b: 274) argues, as a way of "participating in imagined forms of democracy and desire" in such a way that "musical identity is both fantastic—idealizing not just oneself but also the social world one inhabits—and real: it is enacted in activity." Small (1998: 183–184), meanwhile, talks about musicking as a crucial way for people to communicate, celebrate, and explore their ideals for who they *want* to be and the types of relationships they *wish* to have with others. Like Frith, he makes it clear that the identities and relationships symbolically expressed through music are aspirational, insofar as people's lived experiences typically fall short of who they would *like* to be and how they would ideally behave:

> Musicking is about relationships, not so much about those which actually exist in our lives as about those that we desire to exist and long to experience: relationships among people, as well as those between people and the rest of the cosmos, and also perhaps with ourselves and with our bodies and even with the supernatural, if our conceptual world has room for the supernatural. During a musical performance, any musical performance anywhere and at any time, desired relationships are brought into virtual existence so that those taking part are enabled to experience them as if they really did exist.[5]

As we shall see later in the book, the point Small and Frith each make concerning music's role in expressing people's aspirational identities and ideal relationships is especially noteworthy in the case of those movements in which "We Shall Not Be Moved/No nos moverán" has been sung in the face of major setbacks or defeats, such as when student demonstrators in Spain sang it as they were chased down and beaten by police, years before their demands for an end to the fascist regime of General Francisco Franco would be heeded (see Chapter 6). The invoking of a song such as "No nos moverán" in the face of certain short-term defeat steadfastly affirms something fundamental about the type of people that those who sing it aspire to be and the type of society they aspire to live in. In such contexts, the content of the song is neither a lie nor wishful thinking. Rather, it is a statement on the part of movement participants that they will persist in their self-identification as the kind of people who believe in the ideals in which they believe, even if they are unable to achieve their aims for the time being. In a subsequent publication written shortly before his death, Small (2011: xi) speaks precisely to this point with regard to musicking: "In an act of musicking, those taking part are exploring, affirming, and celebrating their sense of who they are—or who they think they are, or who they would like to be, or even what they would like to be thought of as being." This calls to mind the insistence on the part of certain "movement" poets and singers in the Spanish-speaking world about the *razón de vivir* (reason for being) of the kinds of utopias so many activists have striven to create. "Ventana sobre la utopía" ("Window Overlooking Utopia"), a prose poem by the late Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano, is a case in point. In it, he cites a conversation he had with the Argentinian filmmaker Fernando Birri,who said that utopia was always on the horizon and that although he was always walking toward it, it kept receding from him. "I walk ten steps," Birri said, "and the horizon runs ten steps further away. No matter how far I walk, I'm never going to reach it." This led Birri to wonder what utopia was good for if he was never going to get there. His conclusion: "It is good for walking" (Galeano 1993: 230; translation mine).

In hindsight, we now know that the utopias sought by the twentieth-century singers of "We Shall Not Be Moved" were never achieved. If history teaches us anything, perhaps it is that there never is a "once

and for all" triumph in any social justice struggle. At the same time, even in the face of temporary setbacks, devastating defeats, violent repression, and rollbacks of hard-won gains, the message of this song—that its singers will not give up in their struggle for a better world—survives as a source of inspiration and strength for twenty-first-century activists.

Song as Sustenance for Activists

In *Playing for Change,* their comprehensive treatise on the role played by music and musicians in social movements in the United States, Rosenthal and Flacks (2011: 123) dedicate an entire chapter to how "musicking" serves movement participants by "helping activists honor a commitment they've already made." This, they argue, involves more than just "preaching to the converted" but instead can be vital to the maintenance of group identity and solidarity within a movement, insofar as "musicking often represents those shared beliefs that allow 'disparate strangers' to feel they are indeed a band of brothers and sisters and reinforces those beliefs when much of the world is working to break them down" (Rosenthal and Flacks 2011: 124). Moreover, as these authors note, solidarity among movement members is never achieved once and for all but must constantly be reaffirmed.

As sociologists since Emile Durkheim's time have noted, ritual plays an indispensable role in the maintenance of group identity and cohesion, including and especially for participants in social movements (Della Porta and Diani 1999: 98). Music and song have traditionally played an important role in the religious, national, and other institutional rituals of peoples around the world, including the rituals of social movements (Eyerman and Jamison 1998: 35–36; Rosenthal and Flacks 2011: 94–95). In addition to songs serving as an essential element of movement rituals, Rosenthal and Flacks (2011: 127) point out that songs in a movement's repertoire are also carried with members in their everyday, nonmovement routines, providing "a bridge linking yesterday's demonstration with today's workday, a bridge between 'making history' and 'making life.'" The musical and lyrical simplicity of the song "We Shall Not Be Moved"—as is discussed at various junctures later in this book—has offered the opportunity to

even the nonmusical to sing it with others and to hum or sing it to themselves in their everyday activities.

Rosenthal and Flacks (2011: 127–128) also discuss the vital role that song can play to maintain the spirits of movement participants, especially in the face of hostility, repression, and violence. "Musicking," they point out, can help "dissipate fear" and "raise collective courage." The history of "We Shall Not Be Moved" offers many examples of the song's contribution to movements in this regard. In these pages, I review numerous instances in the United States in which trade unionists, civil rights workers, and left-wing political activists intoned the words of this song as they confronted direct violence. Relatedly, Rosenthal and Flacks (2011: 178–179) argue that, to work on a sustained basis toward creating a better world, movement activists must participate in and be nourished by a shared culture that continues to bond and sustain them. As I repeatedly demonstrate throughout my review of the history of "We Shall Not Be Moved," singing the same song or set of songs can contribute a significant element of such a shared culture.

As experienced by those participating in it, a shared culture has an important affective dimension that the social theorist Raymond Williams (1977: 132–133) has called "structures of feeling." Eyerman and Jamison (1998: 161–162) draw on Williams's work to argue that songs can play a vital role in this affective dimension of a social movement's culture by embodying the thoughts and feelings of participants and serving as "channels of communication for activists" within and between movements and between movement generations. Moreover, musicking can contribute to the maintenance of a collective memory of social movements insofar as certain songs come to serve as a mental and emotional soundtrack for movement participants and a wider public that has witnessed their actions, which, even years later, brings back to life moments of shared commitment and purpose. In this sense, it is clear that "We Shall Not Be Moved" plays a significant role in triggering participants' memories of practically every movement in which it has been sung. It is no accident, therefore, that the words "we shall not be moved" appear in so many titles of books and articles about the labor and civil rights movements in the United States and that the words "no nos moverán" call to mind the bravery of Mexican farmworkers fighting for their rights in the fields of California. Nor

is it surprising that older Spanish activists feel nostalgic upon hearing hundreds chanting, "no nos moverán" in the central plaza of Madrid today, reminding them of the continuities between current popular struggles and their own efforts to bring an end to the Franco dictatorship in the 1960s and 1970s. Part of the power of these collective memories derives from another effect that can be achieved by movement singing: the transformation of a collective experience into a sacred moment. Echoing Durkheim's classic observations about the social power unleashed by collective effervescence in religious rituals, the civil rights leader, music scholar, and singer Bernice Johnson Reagon (1998: 111), one of the main popularizers of "We Shall Not Be Moved" in the 1960s, recalls that in African Americans' historical struggles for freedom, participants spiritually sanctified most gatherings by joining in song together. As we shall see, "We Shall Not Be Moved" sanctified many moments in the history of social movements, not only among black civil rights activists in the United States but among activists in various other popular movements around the world as well.

Organization of the Book

The book is divided into two parts, the first empirical and the second analytical. Part I details the history of "We Shall Not Be Moved" and the roles it has played in the various movements in which it has been sung in a straightforward and factual way. In keeping with how I came to research the song's history, I begin with its singing in Chile in the early 1970s before tracing the song's origins and the complex route it followed on its way to that South American country. Subsequent chapters address the song's likely origins in the religious revival known as the Second Great Awakening in the U.S. South in the early nineteenth century; the significance of the song to the U.S. labor movement in the 1930s and 1940s; the song's adoption by the African American civil rights movement in the early 1960s; the transformation of "We Shall Not Be Moved" into "No nos moverán" by Mexican American activists in the United States, first during the great pecan shellers' strike of 1938 in San Antonio, Texas, and then (nearly three decades later) during farmworker unionization drives in California's Central Valley under the leadership of César Chávez; and finally the song's role as an anthem of resistance to the Franco

dictatorship in Spain before it crossed back over the Atlantic to Chile at the end of the 1960s.

The two chapters of Part II are dedicated to an analysis and interpretation of the song's history. Drawing from the theoretical conceptualizations of infrastructure developed by the U.S. sociologist William Roy and the Mexican anthropologist Efrén Sandoval, Chapter 7 shows that the widespread dissemination of "We Shall Not Be Moved" relied on a networked *infrastructure* of social justice movements in several countries. Chapter 8 turns to the question of cultural and linguistic difference and how activists from different regions, nations, and language groups effectively adapted the song to advance their own particular movements in their own unique sociohistorical circumstances.

The Conclusion argues that the transmission and dissemination of "We Shall Not Be Moved" in the twentieth century was facilitated by not only a movement *infrastructure* of the left but also a shared cosmopolitan *culture* of the left that transcended languages and nations and valued contributions from all languages and cultures to an internationalist struggle for justice and equality.

The Conclusion is followed by a Coda, which includes a series of vignettes involving both Spanish and English versions of the song that illustrate connections among participants in this cosmopolitan culture of the left in various parts of the world.

In Chapter 1, I begin my review of the story of "We Shall Not Be Moved" with its dramatic radio broadcast in Santiago, Chile, on September 11, 1973, the day that country's experiment with democratic socialism came to a violent end in a military coup. Forty years later, I would travel to Chile to sing the song with people who remembered the song well but knew little of its history before it arrived in their country. One of them had survived torture in a basketball stadium at the hands of the military in the days following the coup. In the months leading up to the coup, he had been studying to be an engineer at the technical university in Santiago. He had also been a singer in a band of fellow students whose repertoire included "No nos moverán." One of the many other comrades he saw detained with him in the stadium was Víctor Jara.

1 /

HISTORY OF A SONG OF STRUGGLE

1 / A Song, Socialism, and the 1973 Military Coup in Chile

Today in the United States, the mention of the words "September 11" or "9/11" conjure memories of terror, destruction, and lost innocence, a day in history when "the world changed" for the worse. In the memories of many Latin Americans, this date is associated with similar images and sentiments, but inspired by a quite different historical event: the day in 1973 in Chile that the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende was overthrown in a bloody *coup d'état* ushering in a brutal military dictatorship led by General Augusto Pinochet that would last nearly two decades. The coup in Chile was of world-historical importance not only because it marked the end of a unique experiment with the "electoral road" to socialism; the movement for a return to democracy in Chile also became emblematic of a global struggle for human rights, with the Pinochet dictatorship symbolizing the horrific abuses inflicted by authoritarian regimes against their own citizens.

The Day of the Coup

On the morning of September 11, Salvador Allende found himself trapped in the presidential palace known as La Moneda as the military launched its putsch. One of the first acts of the *golpistas* (coup plot-

ters) was to silence all pro-Allende broadcast media and replace their programming with martial music and military communiqués. By midmorning, Radio Magallanes, the station operated by the Partido Comunista de Chile (Chilean Communist Party), was the only loyalist station still transmitting its own programming. At around 9:00 A.M., Allende, *el compañero presidente* (the comrade president), delivered his now-famous final address to the nation on Radio Magallanes before giving his life defending the presidential palace from the military's onslaught. The skeleton crew staffing the studios of Magallanes had the presence of mind to record Allende's extemporaneous remarks and spirit the recording out of the country to be heard in the rest of the world.[1] His words are still remembered by those Chileans who supported him until the end and who survived the years of repression that followed his ousting:

> Radio Magallanes will surely be silenced and the calm metal of my voice will not reach you. It doesn't matter. You will continue to hear it. I will always be at your side. At least my memory will be that of a dignified man that was loyal to his country. The people should defend themselves, but they should not get themselves needlessly killed. The people should not allow themselves to be crushed or shot, but neither can they humiliate themselves.
>
> Workers of my country, I have faith in Chile and her destiny. Other men will overcome this gray and bitter moment when treachery attempts to impose itself. Rest assured that, sooner rather than later, the great boulevards will once again open up and free men will walk down them to build a better society. Long live Chile! Long live the people! Long live the workers! These are my final words and I'm certain that my sacrifice will not be in vain. I am certain that it will be, at the least, a moral lesson that will punish criminality, cowardice, and treason.[2]

Not long after the broadcast of Allende's final address, the Chilean Air Force began bombing the presidential palace, and military personnel raided the studios of Radio Magallanes. Just before it was forced off the air, however, the station broadcast an emblematic song from the repertoire of the Chilean *nueva canción* (New Song), a musi-

cal genre that had emerged in the latter half of the 1960s and that featured socially conscious lyrics accompanied by folkloric instrumentation and vocal arrangements (see Chaparro, Seves, and Spener 2013; González, Ohlsen, and Rolle 2009; McSherry 2015; Morris 2014; and Rodríguez Musso 1988). The song "No nos moverán" was performed by the group Tiemponuevo (NewTime) of the Pacific port city of Valparaíso,[3] who recorded it on the Discoteca del Cantar Popular ([DICAP]; Singing of the People Collection) label operated by the Juventudes Comunistas (Communist Youth). The musical promoter René Largo Farías (1977: 27), who had founded the famous *peña folclórica* (folk music club) Chile Ríe y Canta (Chile Laughs and Sings) and who at that time worked for the Allende government in the Oficina de Informaciones y Radiodifusión (Office of Information and Radio Broadcasting), located in La Moneda, remembers hearing "No nos moverán" as Magallanes went off the air:

> The transmission plants of all the government radio stations had already been bombarded, silencing their voices in a criminal operation without precedent in the history of the American continent. Only Radio Magallanes remains on the air. I hear Guillermo Ravest [director of the station] calling on the people to defend themselves. The song "No nos moverán" is heard. It is suddenly interrupted. . . . The Hawker-Hunters [British jet bombers] begin to whistle across the skies of Santiago. (Farías 1977: 27)[4]

Guillermo Ravest, the director of Radio Magallanes, has this memory of the song and how it came to be played on that fateful September day:

> I didn't play any significant role in the popularizing of "No nos moverán." I was the director of Radio Magallanes from 1972 until the eleventh of September of 1973. Of about thirty radio stations broadcasting in Santiago at the time, barely six supported the government of Salvador Allende. . . . Of course our programming featured almost all the songs of struggle, protest, politics, and bearing witness, including "No nos moverán." It was played more and more often with the grow-

> ing intensity of the undercover actions of the United States and the counterrevolution fomented by the Chilean right: fascism and fascists (Patria y Libertad) [Fatherland and Liberty] and by domestic and foreign business groups.
>
> Logically, once the military coup was underway, the song "No nos moverán" was broadcast on that September 11, 1973, multiple times. In this way, directly and indirectly, we defiantly responded with the song to the coup and the military communiqué that ordered all the pro-Allende radio stations to cease broadcasting. If we didn't, we would be attacked by both ground and air forces. We were the station that most resisted the leaders of the coup by broadcasting the last speech of the constitutional president, Salvador Allende. (Guillermo Ravest, pers. comm., September 28, 2012)

The lyrics of "No nos moverán" were especially poignant as a final, defiant statement of faith in Chile's experiment with socialism on the day it came to a tragic close. Although they had been written several years earlier, they foretold the coming of this day, though without the expectation of such a quick and total defeat:

No, no, no nos moverán	No, no, they will not move us
No, no, no nos moverán	No, no, they will not move us
Y él que no crea	Let he who doesn't believe it
que haga la prueba:	put it to the test:
¡No nos moverán!	They will not move us!
Unidos en sindicato,	United in a labor union,
¡no nos moverán!	They will not move us!
Unidos en sindicato,	United in a labor union,
¡no nos moverán!	They will not move us!
Y él que no crea	Let he who doesn't believe it
que haga la prueba:	put it to the test:
¡No nos moverán!	They will not move us!
Construyendo el socialismo . . .	Building socialism . . .
Ni con un golpe de estado . . .	Not even with a *coup d'état* . . .

In his history of the cultural policies and practices of Allende's Unidad Popular (UP) government, César Albornoz (2005: 175) high-

lights that the final broadcast of this song by Radio Magallanes marked not only the defeat of a political project but also the end of a cultural era that rose in tandem with it. “No nos moverán” was, he notes, the last song linked with the Chilean New Song that would be heard on the radio for many years to come. Allende’s overthrow also ushered in the era of *neoliberalism* as a model for social organization and development for the majority of the world’s population, as the economic advisers to the new military government used the regime’s extraordinary powers of repression to impose policies inspired by the monetarist, “free-market” teachings of University of Chicago economist Milton Friedman (N. Klein 2008; Letelier 1976). In fact, it was Pinochet, not Margaret Thatcher or Ronald Reagan, who was the first head of state to adopt the set of policies that eventually came to be known as “the Washington Consensus,” so called because of their enforcement by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, both headquartered in the U.S. capital (Babb 2012).

The Significance of “No Nos Moverán” in Allende’s Chile

Although it was not as universally popular as a few other songs from the repertoire of *la nueva canción* that explicitly supported Allende’s socialist and anti-imperialist project, such as “El pueblo unido jamás será vencido” (“The People United Will Never Be Defeated”), “Venceremos” (“We Will Win”), or “El himno de la Unidad Popular” (“The Hymn of Popular Unity”), Tiemponuevo’s recording of “No nos moverán” on DICAP and its use in the Allende campaign and at UP political events made it well known. Moreover, the song’s simple structure, catchy tune, strident attitude, and easily adapted lyrics made it a favorite sing-along at demonstrations, rallies, and picket lines during the Allende years. Roberto Rivera Noriega, the leader of Tiemponuevo, shares this recollection about the role the song played in support of the Unidad Popular’s program:

> We began to record the album *Tiemponuevo de Valparaíso: Conjunto de Música Popular* for the DICAP label in mid-1970, when the presidential campaign was at its most critical point. . . . The record came out in the two months between the

> victory of the Unidad Popular and Salvador Allende's taking office. We would sing all the songs from the album in EVERY IMAGINABLE PLACE, with the most popular song being "Hemos dicho basta" ["We've Said, 'Enough'"], which was the song that officially launched the Unidad Popular government in the inauguration ceremony, which was broadcast on national television and radio. . . . We would sing "No nos moverán" especially in mass action events, an environment appropriate for getting people to participate, revving them up and giving them ideas to work with. As always with regard to these energizing songs [*canciones agitativas*], we would change the words, updating and renewing them depending upon the dynamic of events. (Roberto Rivera Noriega, pers. comm., September 3, 2012)[5]

In addition to Tiempnuevo, many other singers and musicians that supported the socialist government performed "No nos moverán" during this period. The Chilean guitarist Eulogio Dávalos recalls performing the song many times in 1971 while participating in the UP's effort to bring the performing arts to the rural and small-town residents of the country aboard the Tren Popular de la Cultura [The People's Culture Train]:

> I had the enormous satisfaction of being on board the Tren Popular de la Cultura, whose first national tour was launched by President Salvador Allende from the Estación Central on September 15, 1971—where a large number of artists of different specialties took culture on wheels to the humblest towns and villages. This daily demonstration led us to plazas, gymnasiums, and Mapuche villages.[6] We would spontaneously come up with lyrics to insert in the song. Some of the lines were already well-known, but I think that I was the first to insert "if the copper belongs to Chile, they won't move us" and "with the banks nationalized, they will not move us." Other companions put "with the half liter of milk,[7] they will not move us," etcetera. . . . One of my most meaningful life experiences was to have had the honor of taking part in that unforgettable People's Train of Culture. (Eulogio Dávalos, pers. comm., August 24, 2011)[8]

Another indicator of the significance attached to "No nos moverán" by the partisans of the Unidad Popular was its use to open and close a political commentary program on Radio Magallanes called *Los comunistas hablan claro* (*Communists speak plainly*).[9] In the final year of the Allende government, "No nos moverán" took on a renewed significance, as the threat of a fascist military insurrection loomed on the horizon. Rivera Noriega remembers the role played by his group's song in the year prior to the coup with the following words:

> Naturally tensions grew and people's positions grew more radical as the Unidad Popular process deepened. And the song "No nos moverán" took on a life of its own. This can be seen in the example that you mention on that radio program. But the most transcendent example was on September 11, 1973, when the only radio station that continued to broadcast Salvador Allende's last speech during the bombardment of La Moneda [the Chilean presidential palace] finishes its broadcast with "NO NOS MOVERÁN." In this sense I can say that our band Tiemponuevo musically greeted the Unidad Popular government with our singing of "Hemos dicho basta" at Allende's inauguration and bid farewell to it when our song was played on Magallanes. (Roberto Rivera Noriega, pers. comm., September 3, 2012)

In fact, members of the Chilean armed forces that staged the coup were well aware of the importance and significance of "No nos moverán" to the supporters of the Unidad Popular coalition, as is evident in this chilling account by a young musician, labor activist, and student at the Universidad Técnica del Estado, who was arrested immediately following the coup:

> On September 11, we . . . decided to defend our university's installations, staying on campus in spite of the military communiqués ordering us to return to our homes. We and hundreds of companions decided to stay, and at a certain point we holed up in the Escuela de Artes y Oficios [the School of Arts and Trades] without any definite plan, waiting to see

> what would happen. That night we were attacked by the military with continuous gunfire, during which a number of our companions were killed. On the morning of the 12th, a military contingent took the school by force and we were quickly subdued. We were forced to lie face down in the courtyard of the school with our hands over our heads for five or six hours. At a certain point I was able to look back over my shoulder and realized that Víctor Jara was there, outwardly calm.[10] After a while they loaded us onto some buses and transferred us to the Estadio Chile [a basketball arena].[11] They marched us in with our hands behind our necks as they beat us with the butts of their rifles, screaming at us, "Shout 'poder popular' [people's power] now!" and "Let's hear you sing 'No nos moverán' now!" And in that climate, that's how we were all marched in, including our beloved comrade Víctor Jara. (Manuel Añasco Arratia, pers. comm., June 5, 2013)

Although the final broadcast of "No nos moverán" in Chile's darkest hour is sufficiently poignant as it stands, we must contend with another aspect of the song's use in Chile. As is well documented, the administration of U.S. President Richard Nixon actively aided and abetted the Chilean military's ouster of their own country's democratically elected president (Verdugo 2008). Support from the United States was consistent with its general policy toward developing countries around the world, which was inspired by the rabid anticommunism of foreign policy officials, such as Henry Kissinger, who feared the example that the success of a democratically elected Marxist government could set for other developing countries at the height of the Cold War (Kornbluh 2013). The irony here is that the song "No nos moverán," performed at mass gatherings and broadcast routinely on the Partido Comunista de Chile's radio station as a symbol of resolve against right-wing aggression and U.S. imperialism, has its origins as a pious religious song in the southern United States, titled "I Shall Not Be Moved." Indeed, the song was popular as a hymn among conservative southern white evangelicals whose anticommunist feelings could not have been stronger. One indication of the song's status as a religious "standard" among southern whites was its extemporaneous, improvisational recording in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1956 in the

famed studio of Sun Records, by the so-called Million Dollar Quartet of Sun recording artists composed of Johnny Cash, Jerry Lee Lewis, Carl Perkins, and Elvis Presley.[12] Another is that it formed part of the repertoire of the famed old-time country music group known as the Carter Family, who recorded it for radio broadcast in 1939 (Kahn 1996: 214). The question then becomes how the song made its way to Chile and got put to uses that southern white churchgoers could not have imagined, even in their wildest dreams.

When I asked Roberto Rivera Noriega, founder of Tiemponuevo, where the group had first heard the song, he explained that near the end of Allende's presidential campaign in 1970, Sergio Sánchez, one of the members of the group, received a rustic, "almost homemade" recording of the song by some Spanish labor activists who used it in their demonstrations against the Franco dictatorship. Sánchez suggested it as a possible addition to Tiemponuevo's repertoire. Rivera Noriega was not interested in it at first; he thought that the verses and the song's refrain "como un pino junto a la ribera, ¡no nos moverán!" ("like a pine next to the riverbank, they will not move us!") sounded like "they were taken from political pamphlets" (*eran panfletarias*). Still, he liked the idea of using it, especially since he was aware that another version of the song was also being sung by black civil rights demonstrators in the United States, whom he very much admired. "So," he said, "that's how our version of the song came about, which treats the text more actively and gave people the possibility of creating their own verses with firmness and joy" (Roberto Rivera Noriega, pers. comm., April 28, 2011). Unfortunately, Sánchez, the member of the group who had obtained the recording from Spanish activists, died in the German Democratic Republic in 1989. The copy of the recording had long since been lost when he and Tiemponuevo's other members fled Chile following the coup in 1973, as had the memory of who the Spaniards were who had clandestinely recorded "No nos moverán."

Rivera Noriega's account of how Tiemponuevo learned "No nos moverán" and adapted it to fit the Chilean political situation of the early 1970s raises more questions than it answers. Who were the Spaniards who recorded the song? How had *they* learned it? Why

had they picked this song, and how had they used it in the struggle against the Franco dictatorship? Moreover, these same questions could be asked with regard to the other groups of activists in the United States who had previously had taken the original song "I Shall Not Be Moved" and adapted it for use in the labor, civil rights, and farmworker movements. Going further, what were the origins of the song in the United States, and what was it about the song that made it so attractive to so many activists in different movements in differing historical and cultural contexts? What did the song *do* for participants in these movements? And what can we learn from the history of this song about the role that singing can play in social justice movements around the world? It is to these questions that I turn my attention in the remaining chapters of Part I. I answer them to the best of my ability with the hope of keeping alive the memory of the song and the struggles it has served for new generations of activists who might have reasons to sing it in movements that have yet to be imagined.

2 / "I Shall Not Be Moved" in the U.S. South

Blacks and Whites, Slavery and Spirituals

In spite of Karl Marx's famous dictum that religion is the opiate of the people, the singing of religious songs in the history of the United States has often been associated with struggles for human rights, social justice, and peace. This can be seen most clearly in the case of African American spirituals, dating back to the times of slavery and continuing to the present day. The song "I Shall Not Be Moved" is one of many African American spirituals that have been put to work not only to express religious devotion and ease the pain of many an individual soul but also to change worldly conditions of exploitation and injustice that have brought so much hurt and injury to U.S. Africans[1] as a people. It continues to occupy a prominent place in the collective imagination of African Americans as an expression of resistance and endurance in the face of oppression, as indicated by its use as the title for a collection of poetry by one of the most prominent black poets in U.S. history, Maya Angelou (1990). As I discuss below, the song has also been a standard in the religious repertoire of southern white Protestants since the nineteenth century, for whom it seems to have expressed a more strictly religious sentiment.

Although as with nearly all "traditional" songs the precise origins of "I Shall Not Be Moved" remain unclear, its lyrical elements are biblical, echoing Psalms 1, 16, and 62, including the following lines:

"And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper" (Psalm 1:3); "I have set the LORD always before me: because [he is] at my right hand, I shall not be moved" (Psalm 16:8); and/or "He only [is] my rock and my salvation: [he is] my defence; I shall not be moved" (Psalm 62:6).[2] By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the "lining out" of psalms for singing in Protestant churches was commonplace in both Great Britain and its North American colonies. In New England, in the northeastern United States, blacks as well as whites participated in the practice of singing psalms, as did people in the U.S. South, though to a lesser extent (Darden 2004; J. Scott 1983; Southern 1997). Nonetheless, in his 1903 essay "The Negro Church," the great African American scholar W.E.B. DuBois includes a letter written in 1755 by a white Presbyterian minister in Virginia whose congregants included slaves, who remarks, "The Negroes, above all the human species that I ever knew, have an ear for music and a kind of ecstatic delight in psalmody" (quoted in Zuckerman 2000: 121). By the mid–eighteenth century, the so-called Great Awakening, a religious revival among Protestants, swept the North American colonies, leading to the supplanting of the practice of rote psalm singing in churches by the singing of somewhat livelier and more artfully composed hymns, many of them penned by the British theologians Isaac Watts and John Wesley (Burnim 2006; Darden 2004; J. Scott 1983; Southern 1997). Indeed, the origin of the term "spiritual" to refer to certain types of religious songs may come from Watts's first collection of hymns, published in 1707 and titled *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*.[3] Nevertheless, my own review of several of the eighteenth-century hymnals published by Watts and Wesley did not locate any songs containing the same lyrical structure of "I Shall Not Be Moved," as follows:

> I shall not, I shall not be moved,
> I shall not, I shall not be moved,
> Just like a tree that's planted by the water,
> I shall not be moved.
> On my way to heaven, I shall not be moved . . .
> Fightin' sinnin' Satan . . .
> Jesus is my captain.[4]

This suggests that the song did not arrive in the North American colonies from Britain but rather came into being on the American continent. Here it should be noted that the historical record indicates that Africans in North America who were exposed to the new British-origin hymns during the Great Awakening took to them readily, as suggested by their adoption by the few free-standing black churches that existed in the North around the time of U.S. independence. Nonetheless, the majority of Africans in North America lived as slaves in what would become the southern United States and would not begin to be converted to Christianity until near the end of the eighteenth century (Burnim 2006; Darden 2004; J. Scott 1983; Southern 1997; Wilmore 2000; Wood 2000).

Songs of African Slaves in the United States

"I Shall Not Be Moved" belongs to a body of artistic work that is a New World invention, created by Africans trafficked into slavery in North America, where they encountered not only the horrors of racist exploitation but also the powerful messages of liberation paradoxically embedded in their white masters' Protestant Christianity. Peter Wood (2000: 92), for example, quotes a black preacher in Georgia on the eve of the revolution against British colonialism as saying that "God would send Deliverance to the Negroes, from the power of their Masters, as He freed the Children of Israel from Egyptian bondage."

Africans sang of their experiences as slaves and infused them with messages of Christian redemption in the thousands of songs they created for themselves, known collectively as *spirituals.* According to the African American scholar, singer, composer, and civil rights activist Bernice Johnson Reagon (2001: 68), this "body of musical literature" documents "the voice of African American people struggling to battle the yoke of human bondage we call American slavery." They were called *spirituals* "by the people who created them because they come from the spirit—deep within." In an oft-cited interpretive essay exploring the social, cultural, and theological meanings of spirituals, James Cone ([1972] 1991: 30) argues that spirituals are best understood as "historical" songs rather than songs expressing religious devotion or personal sorrows:

> The spirituals are historical songs which speak about the rupture of black lives; they tell us about a people in the land of bondage and what they did to hold themselves together and fight back. We are told that the people of Israel could not sing the Lord's song in a strange land. But, for blacks, their *being* [original emphasis] depended upon a song. Through song, they built new structures for existence in an alien land. The spirituals enabled blacks to retain a measure of African identity while living in the midst of American slavery, providing both the substance and the rhythm to cope with human servitude.

Arthur Jones (1993: 7), like Cone and other scholars, highlights the retention of African elements in slave spirituals, noting that the enslaved Africans "who created the spirituals were not Christian, in the sense of instant conversion to a new religion." Rather, he notes, their large-scale adoption of Christianity came near the end of slavery, making the conversion process gradual, which resulted in "a creative blend of African traditions and Christianity, creating a new transformed religion different in form and substance from the religion of the slave holder." As John Lovell (1972) and Wyatt Tee Walker (1979) have also noted, Jones (1993: 10) goes on to remark in his essay that spirituals served the vital social function of strengthening bonds of tribe, kinship, and spiritual identity, a function that they would serve many times again in other times, in other places, and among other peoples. More prosaically, Walker (1979: 52–59), one of Martin Luther King Jr.'s lieutenants in the twentieth-century civil rights movement, lists the distinctive features of African American spirituals, several of which are African legacies, as including deep biblicism with an eternal message, prominent rhythm, antiphonal (call and response) structure, double or coded meaning, and repetition. Several of these features are prominent in "I Shall Not Be Moved" and have contributed to the song's ready adaptation to many social justice struggles around the world.

The role played by spirituals in the struggle for Africans' liberation from slavery usually was indirect and largely affective but could at times be quite direct and instrumental. In both cases, spirituals made use of "code" or "double meaning," a feature that Robert Darden

(2004: 79) notes was common in African folklore. Thus, the former slave turned abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass noted that spirituals' repeated references to "Canaan" doubled as a reference to escape to freedom in Canada or just "the North" more generally (Darden 2004: 87). Cone ([1972] 1991: 86) and others (e.g., Lovell 1972) argue that references to "heaven" in spirituals should not be taken literally as a reference to another life but rather as a reference to slaves' desire for emancipation. Similarly, the folklorist Russell Ames (1960: 139) argues that listeners should not take lyrics that seem to emphasize an individual's personal relationship with her savior too literally, noting that "when . . . the slaves sang 'I,' it appears that they often meant 'We,' the whole Negro people, or perhaps all human beings who suffer." Going further, Ames argues that "taken as a whole, the Negro spirituals make up an epic . . . unified by the themes of compassion for all oppressed people and a determination to struggle against and overcome the oppressors." In his comprehensive history of the Afro-American spiritual, Lovell (1972: 342) identifies "I Shall Not Be Moved" as a specific instance of Ames's broader point that when a slave sang of her faith that she personally would be saved, in reality she was professing her unswerving commitment to seeking liberation from bondage for both herself and her people: "The singer, the member [of the congregation], the seeker is fixed in his plan. He will not allow himself to be frightened out of it. . . . Like a tree that's planted by the waters, I shall not be moved." Similarly, Waldo Martin (2000: 257) argues that individual religious commitment and collective struggles for "secular freedom" were dialectically interconnected, informing one another and buttressing "a sense of peoplehood, community, or nationality among African Americans."

Sometimes the double meaning of spirituals was not metaphorical but was instead quite concrete. With regard to antebellum slave revolts and the operation of the Underground Railroad, the use of spirituals as code for communication among emancipationist conspirators is legendary. In leading his famous slave insurrection in Virginia in 1831, the black preacher Nat Turner "called his fellow conspirators to secret meetings by singing the beautiful spiritual 'Steal Away': My Lord, He calls me / He calls me by the thunder / The trumpet sounds it in my soul / I ain't got long to stay here / Steal away, steal away, steal away to Jesus / Steal away, steal away, steal

away home / I ain't got long to stay here" (quoted in Ames 1960: 150). Similarly, Harriet Tubman, the freed slave who served as leader of the network of black and white abolitionists who helped Africans escape slavery by transporting them to the "free" North, was well known as a singer of spirituals. Such songs as "Follow the Drinking Gourd," for example, would be used by conductors of her Underground Railroad to alert slaves to prepare for their flight from the plantation. She herself was known by the biblical name "Moses" and would sing the spiritual "Wade in the Water" to "remind her 'passengers' that it was important to throw bloodhounds off the scent" and "to help them keep up their courage" (Ames 1960: 160).[5] It is no accident, then, that W.E.B. DuBois, the leading intellectual voice for black liberation in the United States in the first half of the twentieth century, begins each chapter of his famous treatise *The Souls of Black Folk* ([1903] 2007) with a transcribed melody from a spiritual and dedicates its final chapter to what he refers to as "the sorrow songs." It is similarly unsurprising that Paul Robeson, the left-wing activist, singer, and actor of the stage and screen, made slave spirituals a central component of his repertoire as a performer:

> The power of spirit that our people have is intangible, but it is a great force that must be unleashed in the struggles of today. A spirit of steadfast determination, exaltation in the face of trials—it is the very soul of our people that has been formed through the long and weary years of our march toward freedom. It is the deathless spirit of the great ones who have led our people in the past—Douglass, Tubman, and all the others—and of the millions who kept "a-inching along." That spirit lives in our people's songs—in the sublime grandeur of "Deep River," in the driving power of "Jacob's Ladder," in the militancy of "Joshua Fit the Battle of Jericho," and in the poignant beauty of all our spirituals. (quoted in Jones 1993: 11)

It is also no surprise, therefore, that "I Shall Not Be Moved" would come to play such a significant role in many different liberation struggles around the world, given its rootedness in the fertile soil of the African American spiritual tradition.

The Likely Camp-Meeting Origins of "I Shall Not Be Moved"

According to Samuel Floyd (1995: 41–42), African American spirituals can be divided into two basic types—*sorrow songs* and *jubilees.* Sorrow songs "speak of the past and present trials and tribulations suffered by the slaves and their savior," while jubilees "express the joyful expectation of a better life in the future."[6] Given its major key, upbeat tempo, and lyrical content, "I Shall Not Be Moved" logically would seem to fall into the "jubilee" category. For this reason, it also seems likely that the song initially emerged in the early nineteenth century in the frontier regions of the southern United States during the religious revival movement known to historians as the Second Great Awakening, which featured gatherings for mass worship known as *camp meetings.* Such meetings involved continuous religious services held in the forest that took place over the course of several days. Their participants included "the common people, black and white, of all the Protestant denominations" (Southern 1997: 82; see also Bruce 1974: 73–75; Eslinger 1999: 232–233; White 1928: chap. 2; and Work 1915: 83). As a "primarily interracial institution," congregants at these mass meetings received sermons from both black and white preachers (Southern 1997: 83). Singing was a central component of the camp meeting, with blacks in attendance playing an especially boisterous role, much to the consternation of some conservative white clergy, given the way in which the "noisy" and "folksy" atmosphere of such revivals gave rise to new songs and styles of singing that challenged the "antiquated" church hymns of the day.[7] This is consistent with Waldo Martin's (2000: 253–254) more general account of the differences between African and white musical encounters in the U.S. South in the early nineteenth century:

> The song style of African Americans was evident in vocal as well as instrumental music. The song style of African Americans was highly expressive: more percussive than lyrical. Ample reference is made to the resounding singing of African Americans among themselves, as well as the overpowering vocal might of African Americans drowning out

> European Americans when both groups sang together in religious as well as secular settings. In addition to great volume and emotional intensity, African American song style blended vocal gestures—including shouts, falsetto, trills, and slurs—and physical movements like foot stomping, hand clapping, body weaving, and head bobbing. While reinforcing a fundamental rhythmic thrust, this song style also reflected the intimate tie of the music to bodily motion and dance, of music making to performance.[8]

Waldo Martin's description here recalls musicologist Simon Frith's (1996b: 274) recognition of music as an *embodied* form of social action, so much so that he wryly refers to music making and listening as social *movements*. In this regard, we can also tie the birth of "I Shall Not Be Moved" in the context of camp meetings to Robert Rosenthal and Richard Flacks's (2011) recognition of the importance of ritual to promoting a unified identity among social movement participants. Indeed, one of the cultural forms that appears to have contributed to the development of African American spirituals born of the camp meetings is the *ring shout* practice of slaves. According to Martin (2000: 256–257), the ring shouts, practiced informally and without ecclesiastical supervision by whites, were "intensely charged ritual moments of ecstatic dancing and singing" in which "elements of various religious songs and messages were transformed into African American sacred music, most notably the spiritual."

For her part, Eileen Southern (1997: 85) calls attention to how the new forms of religious singing by black slaves alarmed white clergy, who did not approve of slaves "holding songfests away from proper supervision, . . . singing songs of their own composing, . . . [and using] tunes that were dangerously near to being dance tunes in the style of slave jubilee melodies." In spite of clerical concerns, from the slaves' musical practices "emerged a new kind of religious song that became the distinctive badge of the camp-meeting movement."[9] Writing earlier, Pullen Jackson ([1933] 1965) describes southern whites' participation in camp meetings in similar terms, with similar reactions from church officials.[10] For his part, Darden (2004: 57) suggests that historical conditions on the frontier also influenced the types of songs that were sung at the camp meetings by both whites and blacks. Up-tempo songs with

simple and repetitive refrains and choruses facilitated group singing. Moreover, the refrains and choruses were often taken from existing hymns, making them "easily remembered from meeting to meeting."[11] This was important, given that most of the participants in camp meetings were illiterate and that meetings were held at night by torchlight, making it all the more advisable to "avoid complicated hymnals and sheet music." Charles Johnson (1955: 201) notes that in what he calls the "revival spirituals" of the camp meetings, "text simplification" was crucial. The creation of these songs was typically spontaneous, whether the singers were black or white. In some cases, words from older hymns were dropped as they were transformed into the new spirituals. The rhythmic new songs made use of "a combination of scriptural phrases and everyday language," while "repetition rendered them contagious and easily remembered." The song "I Shall Not Be Moved" exhibits these characteristics to a tee.

Although a number of hymnals and spiritual songbooks from the early-nineteenth-century camp meetings have been published, I have not been able to locate any that contain the song "I Shall Not Be Moved." This does not rule out, however, the possibility that the song has camp-meeting origins. Many of the songs sung in the camp meetings were never written down, consisting as they did of lining out of psalms and other biblical verses, one or two lines at a time, combining these lines with a simple, repeated refrain. As Newman White notes in the chapter on religious songs in his 1928 treatise *American Negro Folk Songs,* in the camp meetings, and later in church settings, hymns existed alongside what he calls "wild chants." These chants, he observes, were what came to be called camp-meeting songs. He notes that for whites, these songs "were seldom even printed" and "faded into the background with the decline of camp meetings." Among blacks, however, he notes that such songs "flourished long after their use among whites was relegated to the backwoods" (41). A few pages later in the same chapter, White (1928: 44) gives a further explanation of why such songs were not typically printed:

> The most folksy of all the religious folk-songs of white people in the early nineteenth century were seldom written at all. They were a folk possession, perfectly well-known by all the true professors; and besides, why print songs for congrega-

> tions the majority of whom cannot read? Moreover there is more than a suspicion that most editors of religious songsters, like John C. Totten, the editor of *A Selection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs—As Usually Sung at Camp-Meetings* (19th edition in 1827, New York), bore down a little consciously on the selection, not wishing to include ungrammatical and undignified songs which everyone knew, anyhow.[12]

Thus, although it is impossible to know for certain exactly when and where “I Shall Not Be Moved” was sung for the first time, the song’s characteristics and the fact that by the twentieth century it came to form part of both the black and white Protestant traditions strongly suggest camp-meeting origins.[13]

Spirituals as African Cultural Imprint on America

American slaves’ African cultural and musical heritage would seem to have prepared them well for especially active and creative camp-meeting participation. As noted by Dena Epstein and Rosita Sands (2006: 36), the African musical legacy carried by slaves to the New World included the integration of music into daily life as a group activity rather than as an individual performance. Their singing also typically included “repetitive choruses with a lead singer” and “the call-response style of alternating phrases juxtaposed or overlapping.” According to Mellonee Burnim (2006: 54–55), a typical feature of African American spirituals is the “call-response or leader-chorus structure in which the constant repetition of the response allows and encourages everyone to participate,” which, she argues, was a form that was “ubiquitous among the musical cultures of West and Central Africa that supplied slaves to the Americas” and served as “a strong marker of the pervasiveness of African cultural memory in the lived experiences of New World slaves,” one that distinguished their singing from European-origin styles.[14] For their part, Roger Abrahams and George Foss (1968: 57–58) suggest that African influences may account for the fact that “a progressively large number of traditional songs” among whites in the United States “are either in a simple repetition formula (especially religious songs) or use the blues technique of repeating the first line of a stanza two or three times.”

As should be clear to the reader by now, "I Shall Not Be Moved" strongly exhibits the features attributed to both the African song legacy and the songs of early-nineteenth-century camp meetings in the United States. As noted previously, the song remains a religious standard among both black and white Protestants in the United States, regardless of whether anyone can definitively determine its "true" racial origins. After the Civil War and emancipation of the slaves, the song came to form part of the religious repertoire of both whites and blacks in the southern United States (see, for example, Owens 1983 and Pitts 1991; the song also appears in many published hymnals used by both black and white churches starting in the 1920s). An arrangement by Edward Boatner, chorister of the National Baptist Convention, was published by the Sunday School Publishing Board[15] in 1927 as part of the collection *Spirituals Triumphant: Old and New* and has become one of the standard versions of the song used in African American congregations in the United States.[16] In his foreword to this collection, A. M. Townsend, the secretary of the National Baptist Convention, calls the hymnal "a collection of slave melodies that had their origin in the life of an oppressed yet hopeful people," going on to say that "no one can sing or write these songs of sorrow, joy, hope, and fear, so nearly as they can be reproduced, as those from whom the songs were originated." In a similar vein, Bernice Johnson Reagon (2001: 99) also recognizes the dual character of slave spirituals, which at once document the horrors of bondage and offer the hope of redemption for those who seek it:

> Spirituals record the struggle of a people to survive, but like no other history, they have the power to touch the souls and stir the emotions of the people who sing and hear them. This African American song, with its evolution within American society—like a great river shooting off hundreds of tributaries to be joined together somewhere further down the way—gives us the richest opportunity to view the African American song tradition in a way that unleashes the powerful human story it holds.

Reagon's image of the slave spiritual as a great river "shooting off tributaries" that will come back together somewhere downstream in

history is as apt a metaphor as any for the history of “I Shall Not Be Moved” and its passage from one movement to another and across several continents. Where in this chapter we have seen how the song “I Shall Not Be Moved” contributed to the spiritual sustenance of an oppressed racial minority in the United States in the nineteenth century, in the next chapter we see how in the twentieth century the song was wielded as a weapon by an exploited majority—the nation’s industrial workers—in their struggle to organize unions to defend their rights and advance their interests.

3 / From Worship to Work

A Spiritual Is Adopted by the U.S. Labor Movement and the Left

Workers in the United States would not seem to have had much to sing about during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Millions were unemployed, hundreds of thousands had lost their homes to foreclosure, and the majority of working-class families had fallen into poverty. Rather than passively accept their lot and hope for an eventual turnaround in the economy, many workers fought to defend their rights and regain their lost standard of living by joining a militant trade union movement. Many new unions were organized through the auspices of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), under the leadership of John L. Lewis, who had risen to prominence in the coal fields of Appalachia as the president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). As the left-wing journalist Mary Heaton Vorse (1938: 235–236) notes in her book *Labor's New Millions,* members of this resurgent union movement found a lot to sing about as part of their organizing efforts: "The new labor movement sings, on picket line and in union hall—in southern textile centers, and among the steel workers. Wherever the new unions spring up, the workers sing." Indeed, the new industrial unions published numerous songbooks and broadsides to help build a sense of pride, unity, purpose, and resolve among their members as they engaged in fierce battles with the country's leading corporations for better pay

and working conditions. CIO union leaders gave their explicit blessing to the promotion of song among their rank and file members, as indicated in these remarks taken from the introduction to the songbook of the Textile Workers of America published in 1939:

> A singing army is a winning army, and a singing labor movement cannot be defeated. Songs can express sorrow as well as triumph, but the fact that a man sings shows that his spirit is still free and searching, and such a spirit will not submit to servitude. When hundreds of men and women in a labor union sing together, their individual longing for dignity and freedom are bound into an irrepressible force. Workers who hesitate are swept into the movement, and before all these determined marchers, united by their purpose and their singing, the citadels of oppression crumble and surrender. (John L. Lewis, President, Congress of Industrial Organizations, quoted in Z. Horton 1939: 4–5)

> It is no great exaggeration to say that songs have played a vital part in the upward climb of humanity. Especially is this true about labor songs, which have expressed not only the dreams of an aspiring labor movement, but have also been properly used as rallying cry to maintain discipline, morale, and high spirits in great moments of struggle. (Sidney Hillman, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, quoted in Z. Horton 1939: 5)

In fact, the power of song in the service of labor struggles in the United States dates at least to the early decades of the twentieth century, when Joe Hill, a Swedish immigrant troubadour, composed dozens of songs for the Industrial Workers of the World. Hill said the following concerning the value of a song to labor movements:

> A pamphlet, no matter how good, is never read but once, but a song is learned by heart and repeated over and over; and I maintain that if a person can put a few cold common sense facts in a song, and dress them up in a cloak of humor to take the dryness off of them he will succeed in reaching a great

> number of workers who are too unintelligent or too indifferent to read a pamphlet or an editorial on economic science. (Joe Hill, 1914, quoted in Foner 1965: 16)

The nineteenth-century slave spiritual "I Shall Not Be Moved," which had later been taken up by southern whites as a church hymn, was one of a number of religious songs reworked by unionists in the 1930s to be sung in the struggle for labor rights. By the 1950s, in its new guise as "*We* Shall Not Be Moved," the song had become one of the best-known and most-sung union anthems, second only to "Solidarity Forever," which is also a transformed religious hymn (Fowke and Glazer 1973).[1] It is not surprising that many labor-union songs were drawn from the repertoire of church songs, given the intense religiosity of both black and white workers in many industries, especially those who labored in the coal mines, textile mills, and cotton and tobacco plantations of the rural southern United States (Corbin 1981; Denisoff 1970b; Koppelman 2003; Roscigno and Danaher 2004; Reuss and Reuss 2000). In the coal-mining communities of Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia, for example, union organizers "constantly salted their speeches and letters with biblical messages and references to the Deity" and "found in the Scriptures justification . . . for their roles as union activists" (Corbin 1981: 154). The religious fervor that had been an important aspect of community life prior to unionization of the mines later was transferred to UMWA and its struggles, with miner-preachers playing important leadership roles and miners finding "the Bible to be a gospel of unionism and a handbook for social justice" (Corbin 1981: 160). Indeed, in his book on the songs and stories of the coal miners, George Korson (1943: 51) reports that a UMWA field representative in the 1930s averred that "he had never attended a local union meeting in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama which did not have hymn-singing and prayers as part of the program." As noted by R. Serge Denisoff (1970b: 183–184), echoing the pioneering sociologist Emile Durkheim, the same vital functions fulfilled by religious rituals for society as a whole were also important to social movements. These functions included "1) instilling individual self-discipline; 2) creating and reinforcing cohesion; 3) perpetuating tradition; and 4) establishing a sense of personal well-being." With regard to religious songs harnessed to a social

movement, Denisoff (1970: 184) observes that such songs gave the movement's messages "an aura of sacredness" that aided in legitimating the movement's cause and leadership. Moreover, he argues, the use of religious songs allowed movements for social change to harness the power of existing cultural traditions, even as they struggled to remake important aspects of existing social relations.

"I Shall Not Be Moved" was a well-known religious song among both black and white Protestants in the southeastern United States by the early twentieth century. It is impossible to know for certain exactly when and under what circumstances the song was first sung by workers as part of their struggle to better their wages and working conditions. Such a moment may have arisen spontaneously without being written into the historical record. It could have been in the tobacco farms of Virginia, in the textile mills of the Carolinas, in the coal fields of West Virginia, or among sharecroppers in Arkansas or Mississippi. David Alan Corbin (1981: 149) notes that "I Shall Not Be Moved" was sung in company-run churches in West Virginia coal fields whose congregants included European immigrants, southern blacks, and native whites. Although he makes no specific mention of "I Shall Not Be Moved," Tom Tippett (1931: 124) reports that workers and their families in the 1929 textile workers' strike in Marion, North Carolina, chanted "re-written Negro spirituals" around campfires on nighttime picket lines "to inspire faith and courage." He similarly reports that a year later in Danville, Virginia, striking workers rewrote religious hymns to sing of their struggle against exploitation by mill owners (Tippett 1931: 232). In the early 1930s, Claude Williams, a radical Presbyterian minister in northwestern Arkansas "created an activist, working-class, youth-oriented ministry" in which music played a central role. In conjunction with organizing the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union—the country's first racially integrated labor union—Williams "transformed familiar hymns into labor songs" (Koppelman 2003: 5).

In the Coal Mines of West Virginia

The first specific appearance in the historical record of "We Shall Not Be Moved" as a labor-rights song dates to a wildcat strike in 1931 by twenty thousand coal miners in Kanawha County, West Virginia,

led by Frank Keeney, who founded the West Virginia Mine Workers Union as a more radical alternative to UMWA (Corbin 1976). One of its verses pays homage to Keeney as the leader of the striking workers:

> Frank Keeney is our leader, and
> We shall not be moved,
> Frank Kenney is our leader, and
> We shall not be moved,
> Just like a tree that stands beside
> The water, we shall not be moved.
> (quoted in Corbin 1976: 144)

The singing of the song by miners was witnessed by Helen Norton Starr, an activist from the Brookwood Labor College in New York State, who traveled to West Virginia to support striking miners in Kanawha County:

> I remember the first time I heard "We Shall Not Be Moved." The only place that could be secured for the meeting in that particular valley was the front of a dilapidated Negro schoolhouse that stood in a depression among the hills—hills so green and tree-covered that only a sharp eye could see the scars of the coal tipples.[2] On the steps of the schoolhouse stood a mixed group of white and Negro miners and their wives, singing out their story and their hopes. The summer sun blazed down on them and on the miners' families seated on the slope in front. On the road above, a group of state "*police*" and mine guards watched, their guns conspicuously displayed. That strike was lost and the Kanawaha Valley was not unionized until 1933, but "We Shall Not Be Moved" was sung all over the country and adapted to local conditions. (quoted in Fowkes and Glazer 1973: 39)

According to folklorist Norm Cohen (2005: 135–137), "I Shall Not Be Moved" was pressed into service at a moment when "the mine camps themselves often became the scenes of pitched battles between the miners and the hired thugs of the owners, between strikers and strikebreakers." The melody was already known to miners, as it was

one of the "gospel hymns" they sang in their churches. In addition, "the verse structure made it possible for everyone to join in after the leader sang out the first few words of a stanza" and "other participants could easily add their own stanzas." And, as Denisoff notes, using a religious tune as a song of labor struggle also "unconsciously helped establish the righteousness of the union cause in singers' minds." Here, Cohen highlights a crucial element of the structure of "I Shall Not Be Moved" that helps us understand how it has traveled around the world, getting sung in several languages in the service of a variety of struggles for social justice. The singer and songwriter Lee Hays, a founding member of path-breaking folk music groups the Almanac Singers and the Weavers and the co-composer, with Pete Seeger, of the world-famous song "If I Had a Hammer,"[3] referred to songs like "We Shall Not Be Moved" as "zipper songs." Their origins and structure lent themselves readily to group singing and adaptation to new circumstances:

> A "zipper" song . . . is a simple folk tune built on repeated lines and so constructed that you have to zip on only a word or two to make an entirely new verse. . . . [T]hese are obviously songs that don't call for much brainwork. They are songs which you can sing three seconds after you've heard the first line. And, because they are very rhythmic and full of bounce, they're inviting—as a matter of fact, that's just what they are, because they derive from the invitational hymns of the old camp-meetings.
>
> "Join the union" is "Come to Jesus."
> "Roll the union on" is "Roll the chariot on."
>
> So today the same music invites people to join churches and unions. . . .
>
> Modern practitioners of American folk music are very much indebted to the camp-meetings. . . . Almost every well-known folk singer has one or another of the old camp-meeting hymns and ballads or version thereof in his repertory, and of course whenever a folk singer hits a picket line, political rally, or union meeting, he relies on the good old spiritual

> songs in their modern "zipper" song dress to get the people singing together. That's what they are for and that's the reason they were made, to get people singing together. (quoted in Koppelman 2003: 63–65)[4]

In the Textile Mills and Garment Factories of the South

After the coal miners of Kanawha County, West Virginia, first sang "We Shall Not Be Moved" in their 1931 strike, the song quickly began to appear in one form or another in other labor struggles in other locales and industries all around the country. In 1934, 170,000 textile workers across the American South walked out in a general strike that was the largest labor protest in the region's history (Irons 2000). As they had in the Marion and Danville strikes a few years before, strikers drew on their repertoire of religious hymns to fashion new songs of struggle. That September, strikers marched through mill towns throughout the South, often in the face of intimidation and outright repression by National Guard troops called out by state governors to confront them. In a powerful scene in the documentary *The Uprising of '34* (Stoney, Helfan, and Rostock 1995), hundreds of strikers and their family members march through the streets of Gastonia, North Carolina, defiantly singing "I Shall Not Be Moved," accompanying themselves on guitar and banjo.[5] John Salmond (2003) reports that in its plural version "*We* Shall Not Be Moved," the song was sung widely in other locales during the three-week-long strike, which, despite failing, formed part of the impetus for subsequent passage of the century's most important labor rights legislation, the National Labor Relations Act. The following year, workers staged a strike at the Richmond Hosiery Mill in Daisy, Tennessee (Associated Press 1935), in which the song was also employed as an expression of defiance in the face of repression. The following account comes from Zilphia Horton, who would later play an important role in the dissemination of the song throughout the country as musical director of the Highlander Folk School:

> Washington's Birthday came along about that time [in the month of February], so [the union] decided to have a parade and combine it with the things they were fighting for, because

> to them they were fighting for freedom, economic freedom. The children of the workers in the mill were in this parade; the school band was in it, and the ministers in the town who were sympathetic with the strikers were also in the parade. They were completely unarmed. We were marching two-by-two with the children in the band. They marched past the mill and 400 machine gun bullets were fired into the midst of the group. A woman on the right of me was shot in the leg, and one on the left was shot in the ankle. . . . Well, in about 5 minutes a few of us stood up at the mill gates and sang "We shall not be moved, just like a tree planted by the water. . . ." And in ten minutes the marchers began to come out again from behind barns and garages and little stores that were around through the small town. And they stood there and WERE NOT MOVED and sang. And that's what won their organization. (quoted in M. Horton 1990: 78)

In *Hard Hitting Songs for Hard-Hit People,* the songbook he compiled with Alan Lomax and Pete Seeger (1967: 348), the legendary songwriter and folk poet Woody Guthrie describes how this "old pre–Civil War spiritual" that "used to be sung by Negro slaves" had new lyrics made up for it by strikers in a hosiery plant in Rockwood, Tennessee, in 1938. The new lines "zipped" onto the song by the strikers included the following:

> Their orders are being cancelled . . .
> They kidnap organizers . . .
> They black-jacked Daniels . . .
> We're not afraid of tear gas . . .
>
> We're not afraid of gun thugs . . .

According to Guthrie, readers of the songbook could make up their own verses "and ought to, as most folks do."

And by the end of the decade, "We Shall Not Be Moved" appeared in the official songbook of the Textile Workers of America, which also included the endorsement of union singing by Lewis and other labor leaders quoted at the beginning of this chapter (Z. Horton 1939:

32–33). The historical record indicates that the song was sung as well by other industrial unions in the South. So it was, for example, that in the early 1930s in Birmingham, Alabama, the CIO's International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, 80 percent of whose members were black, typically held its meetings in "a sympathetic black church and preface[d] union business with a religious hymn, slightly altered to fit the occasion," such as "Bill Mitchell Is Our Leader/We Shall Not Be Moved" (Kelley 1990: 149). This, of course, serves as an example of Bernice Johnson Reagon's observation (cited in Chapter 1) that social movement gatherings could be raised to a sacred level—sanctified—through singing.

The Sharecroppers' Union

Southern agricultural workers, both black and white, also took up versions of "I Shall Not Be Moved" as an expression of their struggles for union recognition and better wages and conditions in the 1930s. In Alabama, Communist Party activists helped organize rural blacks into the Share Croppers' Union, whose leaders "sustained a tradition of singing before and after gatherings, a practice adopted from the rural church services after which they patterned their meetings." As had happened already elsewhere, they "transformed popular spirituals into political songs with new messages," including "We Shall Not Be Moved" (Kelley 1990: 105). In Virginia, the song was taken up by black tobacco workers who had been organized by the CIO into the Tobacco Stemmers' and Laborers' Industrial Union. In April 1937, they struck the Carrington and Michaux factory in Richmond, picketing the plant round the clock, "pausing occasionally to sing their new anthem: The Union is my leader, I shall not be moved." Workers at the plant won the strike, gaining shorter hours, higher pay, and better working conditions, marking the first victory for unionized black workers in Virginia (Virginia Writers Project [1940] 1969: 309). The historical record does not tell us whether these workers were taught the song by CIO organizers or whether they adapted it from their own religious repertoire: "Just Like a Tree Planted by the Water" was a favorite spiritual sung in black churches in Virginia in the first decades of the twentieth century (Virginia Writers Project [1940] 1969: 259).

By the mid-1930s, members of the Socialist Party of America, a non-Marxist social democratic party whose presidential candidate, Eugene Debs, had won hundreds of thousands of votes in the 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920 elections, had begun to organize sharecroppers in the cotton belt of the U.S. South.[6] In July 1934, in the tiny town of Tyronza in northeastern Arkansas, a small group of black and white workers founded the first local chapter of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU) to defend the rights of sharecroppers in the face of landlord abuses and the neglect of their plight by the New Deal.[7] Within two years, the STFU had twenty-five thousand members in two hundred local chapters in six southern states (Auerbach 1968: 126; see also Grubbs 1971). Workers in the union had religious roots in both the white and black churches of the South. In addition, left-wing preachers, such as Reverend Williams, lent a hand to its cause (Willens 1988). Because of its socialist politics, advocacy of the rights of disinherited sharecroppers, and its racially integrated membership, the STFU faced fierce repression from both the police and landowners' hired thugs (Auerbach 1968). Like other fledgling unions in the South with a religiously rooted membership, from its first days the STFU boosted its morale and resolve through song:

> Sharecroppers responded to their union . . . with boundless devotion and courage. Gathering in abandoned warehouses or in the cotton fields, always late in the evening after a full day of backbreaking toil, they sang "We Shall Not Be Moved" and recited the Lord's Prayer before attending to union business. (Auerbach 1968: 120)[8]

David Eugene Conrad (1965: 93) reports that the line "like a tree planted by the water" in the song's refrain gave the song a "special significance" to STFU members, given the widespread eviction of sharecroppers from planter lands during the Depression. Before long, "We Shall Not Be Moved" became the official anthem of the STFU. As recalled by one of the union's founders, H. L. Mitchell, "the Negro members" had been key to the practice of singing spirituals as "songs of protest" that "fit with the union program (quoted in Denisoff 1970b: 182). And A. B. Brookins, a black STFU organizer, had the following to say at the union's Third Annual Convention in 1937:

> They shot up my house with machine guns, and they made me run away from where I lived at, but they couldn't make me run away from my union, which is this union here. And until the end of my life, as I climb up to the highest hill of elevations, I will always be singing my union song, that we shall not be moved. (quoted in Lomax, Guthrie, and Seeger 1967: 348)

The anthemic status of "We Shall Not Be Moved" in the STFU turned out to be especially significant to the subsequent dissemination of the song among not only labor union members but also the wider world of social justice activists. One of the reasons for this was the participation of the young Lee Hays, then an acolyte of Reverend Williams, in STFU support activities. It was through his work with the STFU that Hays originally learned many of the traditional hymns and spirituals that were adapted to the interrelated causes of racial justice and worker rights in the U.S. South. It was Hays who subsequently taught many of these songs to fellow musicians in New York, including Pete Seeger and the Almanac Singers (see below), whose recordings made them famous in left-wing circles worldwide (Koppelman 2003 and Willens 1988). The importance of "We Shall Not Be Moved" to Hays was clear by the prominence he gives the song in the 1937 documentary film he made for the STFU, titled *America's Disinherited*. As noted by one of Hays's biographers, Robert Koppelman (2003: 5), the film was significant even though it was not widely distributed, "insofar as it introduced some New York left-wing audiences to the struggle of the southern sharecropper." Moreover, it "dramatized the power of music as a pivotal instrument of striking STFU workers—the turning point in the film is when an image of clenched black and white hands is followed by one of biracial strikers marching and singing, 'Black and white together / We shall not be moved!'" Although the STFU made its mark as a radical critic of landlord-tenant relations in the U.S. South and chalked up several concrete victories in terms of legislation and executive action as part of the New Deal—the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, the Bankhead Jones Farm Tenancy Act of 1937, and the establishment of the Farm Security Administration—its efforts to abolish the southern plantation system failed, and the union had ceased to function by the time the United States entered World War II (Auerbach 1968: 129–131).

The General Motors Sit-Down Strike

By the mid-1930s, "We Shall Not Be Moved" began to be sung in labor struggles in the industrial North of the United States as well. It played a prominent role in one of the most important U.S. strikes of the twentieth century, in which workers occupied General Motors plants in Michigan in 1936 and 1937 to force the company to negotiate with their union, the United Auto Workers (UAW). This yearlong effort ultimately succeeded, but only after strikers endured violent repression by police, company guards, and hired goons. Strikers and their supporters became famous for the spirit they exhibited both inside the factories and on the picket lines on the streets. As noted by historian Timothy Lynch (1996: 5–6), one of the most important expressions of this spirit was the many songs UAW workers and their supporters made up and sang during the lengthy strike against multiple plants in the town of Flint. These songs not only voiced the principal demand of the strikers for union recognition in "a simple yet powerful way" but also "brought the strikers and their allies together, both physically and emotionally, and provided them an opportunity to flex their psychic muscle." This coming together, according to Lynch, played a crucial role in building community and instilling class consciousness among the workers.

One especially noteworthy instance of the singing of "We Shall Not Be Moved" during the Flint strike occurred when workers captured Chevrolet Plant No. 4. Earlier the same day, violence had broken out at Chevy Plant No. 9, where company guards had clubbed and gassed workers inside the plant. Members of the UAW's Women's Emergency Brigade outside the plant witnessed the violence through the building's windows, which they shattered to let air in so the men inside could breathe. The women then retreated, overpowered by the tear gas fumes. After recovering for a while at the UAW hall, they marched in a procession to Plant No. 4, where a crowd had gathered in support of the striking men inside the plant. Journalist Mary Heaton Vorse (1938: 77) describes the famous scene as follows:

> Down the hill presently came a procession, preceded by an American flag. The women's bright red caps showed dramatically in the dark crowd. They were singing "Hold the Fort."

> To all the crowd there was something moving about seeing the women return to the picket line after having been gassed in front of plant No. 9. A cheer went up; the crowd took up the song. The line of bright-capped women spread itself out in front of the high gate. Clasping hands, they struck up the song "We Shall Not Be Moved."

The song may also have played a role in the strike of Chinese women garment workers in San Francisco in 1938, as indicated by a letter of appreciation their Local No. 341 sent to the offices of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, which was subsequently reprinted in English in the *Union Bulletin:*

> We appreciate deeply the help and the assistance that all the officers of the San Francisco locals, and Miss Jennie Matyas, our organizer, are giving us in our strike. . . . We also thank our headquarters, the ILGWU, in New York City, for all the support extended to us: moral support, economic support, legal support, and financial support. . . . With such supports behind us, we know we cannot fail. We will fight our fight to the end, and hope to raise the living conditions not only for ourselves but for the other workers in Chinatown as well. Words cannot express our gratitude. All we say and sing forever is: The ILGWU is behind us. We shall not be moved. (reprinted in Yung 1999: 403–404)[9]

The Labor Colleges: Commonwealth, Brookwood, and Highlander

The transmission of "We Shall Not Be Moved" and other labor songs during the 1930s was facilitated by not only unions themselves but also educational institutions allied with the labor movement. Two of these were especially important in the first half of the decade, while a third gained prominence by the end of the decade. Commonwealth College, in Mena, Arkansas, was founded in the 1920s to promote education for labor activists in the southern United States. Its students and faculty worked closely with the STFU in Arkansas as well as in labor struggles in other states (W. Cobb 2000, 2012). Its role in

incorporating music into labor actions grew when Reverend Claude Williams took over as director in 1936. Under Williams's direction, Commonwealth created a traveling theater group, organized by folksinger Lee Hays, intended to use "drama as a weapon for union organization" (Willens 1988: 52). As Hays notes, the singing and teaching of songs was an essential element of the work of the Commonwealth Players:

> All Claude's meetings are singing meetings. He has dug up folk singers and songwriters and set them to work fashioning songs for particular meetings or causes. . . . It was in the plays that we first sang "No More Mourning" and "Roll the Union On" and "What Is That I See Yonder Coming." . . . Sometimes at meetings way out in the backwoods or in the heart of the dismal cotton country, Claude would sing an old song like "We Shall Not Be Moved"—prepared to break into the old hymn words if gun thugs should appear. (quoted in Willens 1988: 53)

Brookwood Labor College in Ketonah, New York, was Commonwealth's counterpart in the northern United States. Like Commonwealth, Brookwood sent its organizers to work in labor causes around the country. Also like Commonwealth, Brookwood placed great emphasis on its cultural programs, organizing traveling "chautauquas"[10] consisting of actors and musicians taking pro-labor messages on the road to audiences outside New York (Tisa 1985: 48–49; Knight Raymond 2009). It was Brookwood organizers who first brought "We Shall Not Be Moved" to the northern United States after its "debut" among West Virginia coal miners in 1931 (Reuss and Reuss 2000: 92). After the Flint sit-down strikes, Brookwood used their chautauquas to reenact the strikes' key tactics and events for other workers (Knight Raymond 2009). "We Shall Not Be Moved" is included in *Brookwood Chautauqua Songs,* the college's official songbook, published on an unspecified date in the 1930s and sold for five cents a copy (Brookwood Labor Publications n.d.) The third educational institution that was crucial to the dissemination of "We Shall Not Be Moved," both among labor union members in the 1930s and 1940s and then among civil rights activists in the 1950s and 1960s, was the

Highlander Folk School, under its musical directors Zilphia Horton and Guy Carawan.

The Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, was founded in 1932 by Myles Horton, Don West, and James Dombrowski. Its purposes were similar to those of Brookwood and Commonwealth, and by the late 1930s, "Highlander was serving as the de facto CIO education center for the region, training union organizers and leaders in 11 southern states" (Highlander Research and Education Center 2012). By the mid-1940s, Highlander received support from both the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the CIO (Dunson 1965: 28). Zilphia Johnson, an Arkansas native and someone who collaborated with Lee Hays and Reverend Claude Williams, arrived at Highlander in 1935 and married its founder, Myles Horton, taking his last name and directing its music and drama program until her death in 1956 (Carter 1994; M. Horton 1990; Willens 1988). Under Zilphia's musical leadership, Highlander's staff and students took "Chautauqua-type programs" to worker organizations around the South, giving the school a reputation as the leading center for labor songs in the region. By the end of the 1930s, "Highlander students, with Zilphia Horton as song leader, were frequently invited to sing and lead singing at local and state meetings of the new CIO unions and at workers' education conferences" (A. Horton 1989: 120–121). In addition, Highlander students frequently sang at rallies and on picket lines throughout the South. As she had learned to do from her mentor Williams, Zilphia turned many familiar traditional hymns and popular songs into expressions of protest. During her years at Highlander, Zilphia "collected hundreds of songs, published at least ten songbooks, and mimeographed thousands of songsheets for residence sessions and picket lines" (Glen 1988: 54). Unions for whom she compiled songbooks included the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the United Rubber Workers of America, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and the Textile Workers of America, with the prefatory remarks from CIO leaders John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman that are quoted at the beginning of this chapter. All these songbooks—and many of the mimeographed songsheets she compiled—contain "We Shall Not Be Moved."[11] Zilphia was also responsible for adapting the gospel hymn "I'll Overcome Someday" for use by the labor movement, teaching the song in the 1940s to Pete

Seeger, who changed the world-famous opening line to "We Shall Overcome," which was later taught to young civil rights activists in the 1950s by Carawan, Zilphia's successor as Highlander's musical director (Roy 2010: 193; see Chapter 4 for more on Carawan's role in teaching "We Shall Not Be Moved" to civil rights activists).

The Almanac Singers

By 1940, Commonwealth College had begun to fall apart, attacked by reactionary forces from without and riven by factional disputes within. A few months before it finally closed its doors, Lee Hays left, headed to New York to "carry Commonwealth's labor songs to the unions up there" (Willens 1988: 59). At the time he left Commonwealth, Hays had been compiling a workers' songbook, with musical notations by Waldemar Hille (R. Cohen 2002: 28). Hille, who had been the dean of music at Elmhurst College in Illinois, met Hays during a visit to Commonwealth at the end of 1937. According to Hille, although Williams took the lead in converting religious hymns into labor and political songs, it fell to Hays to "polish" the final versions. It was Lee, Hille averred, who "was able to take the lead and make things hum" (quoted in Willens 1988: 53–54). In New York, Hays met two kindred political and musical spirits in Millard Lampell and a young banjo player and singer named Pete Seeger. Together, the three founded the Almanac Singers, a musical collective with a rotating membership that dedicated itself to a mixture of traditional folk tunes and political songs meant to be sung to a labor union audience. Over the next several years, its other members included, at one time or another, Woody Guthrie, pioneering folklorist Alan Lomax and his sister Bess, Tom Glazer, Burl Ives, Earl Robinson, Sis Cunningham, and Gordon Friesen. Although all its principal members were white, a number of well-known African American singers and musicians also participated, including Huddie Ledbetter (Lead Belly), Sonny Terry, Brownie McGee, and Josh White (Reagon 1975: 59). In addition to the Almanacs themselves, the communal house they lived in in Greenwich Village attracted other "Left and musical luminaries," including Jim Garland, Aunt Molly Jackson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and the detective writer Dashiell Hammett (R. Cohen 2002: 29).

Although never a commercial success, the Almanacs did achieve a certain amount of notoriety as they performed at labor union and political gatherings, garnering favorable reviews from the Communist Party's *Daily Worker* and described by *Time Magazine* as "four young men who roam around the country in a $150 Buick and fight the class war with ballads and guitars" (quoted in R. Cohen 2002: 29). In addition to their numerous live performances in the early 1940s, the Almanacs recorded several albums on the obscure Keynote label, including 1941's *Talking Union,* dedicated exclusively to labor songs, which features a CIO union–styled version of "We Shall Not Be Moved." In the mid-1950s, the Folkways label reissued the album, making it available to a younger generation of folk music artists and activists (Dunaway 2011: 2). In addition, Hays and Seeger would go on to found the Weavers, who became a commercial success at the end of the 1940s with hit recordings of their covers of songs such as Lead Belly's "Goodnight, Irene" and Guthrie's "So Long, It's Been Good to Know You," before falling victim to the blacklist during the Red Scare of the 1950s. The Weavers, too, included "We Shall Not Be Moved" in their repertoire (Dunaway 2011: 140) and inspired a new generation of musicians and singers, such as Peter, Paul, and Mary, who would lead the socially conscious folk song revival in the United States in the 1960s. It is also necessary to recognize just how important the Almanac Singers—and later the Weavers—were to left-wing political activists in the 1940s and 1950s. Irwin Silber, a member of the Communist Party and editor of *Sing Out!* and other left-wing publications, had this to say about the importance of the Almanac's music to the movement:

> We were all influenced by the Almanacs. I had been to the mass rallies before the war where the Almanacs sang. The Almanacs had a very liberating effect on the Left. . . . The dominant music of the Left, until the time of the Almanacs, was twofold: it was the European revolutionary tradition, and it was American popular music. . . .
>
> [The Almanacs' music] was very liberating because—at least for people of my generation who were rejecting the values inherent in commercial music and didn't have that sense of identification with the European tradition, and didn't want

> to—we wanted something that was American. . . . It wasn't just the Almanacs, it was Woody and Lead Belly and Pete and so on, pulling it together that made a connection between the musical and the political values that made a lot of sense to us. (quoted in Dunaway and Beer 2010: 59–60)

Thus, the Almanacs' musical repertoire, including songs like "We Shall Not Be Moved," was viewed by left activists as music that not only spoke to specific causes that concerned them, such as labor and civil rights, but also belonged specifically to them.

In an article comparing the artistic and musical "gestalt" of the Marxist "old left" in the United States in the 1930s and 1940s with that of the ideologically more eclectic "new left" of the 1960s, Denisoff (1969) argues that activists like Silber of the "old left" developed what he called a "Folk Consciousness." This consciousness, he insists, referred to an admiration of folk music by urban intellectuals and activists that led to its use in "the framework of social, economic, or political action" in which "social and organizational themes" were added to "traditional tunes," performers emulated "rural attire," and folk singers were regarded as "people's artists" (Denisoff 1969: 428). The Almanac Singers, Denisoff maintains, exemplified the "folk consciousness" of the old left, sometimes quite self-consciously and explicitly, as when they told a reporter from *People's World* that they were "trying to give back to the people the songs of the workers" that had been "stolen from them by the bourgeoisie" (Denisoff 1969: 429). Beyond the union movement, "We Shall Not Be Moved" became a standard in the repertoire of the Marxist left all over the United States in the 1930s and 1940s. By the mid-1930s, radical artists in New York City were singing it at their organizational meetings (Monroe 1974: 8), as were black and white Communist Party members in Alabama (Kelley 1990: 99, 136). In the late 1930s, Earl Robinson, the composer of "Joe Hill" and "Ballad for Americans," put together a songbook titled *America Sings* for the Communist Party's bookshops, which, along with "The Internationale," "Solidarity Forever," and other topical protest songs, includes a version of "We Shall Not Be Moved" with the line "Lenin is our leader" (Robinson 1937). And in 1948, Waldemar Hille finally published the collection of union and other songs that Lee Hays had in mind to publish a decade earlier. Titled *The*

People's Song Book, it of course includes a version of "We Shall Not Be Moved." In the book's introduction, the folklorist Alan Lomax insists that the songs it includes reflect "an emerging tradition that represented a new kind of human being, a new folk community composed of progressives and anti-fascists, and union members." The book is, he claims, "a folio of freedom folklore, a weapon against war and reaction, and a singing testament to the future" (quoted in Hille 1948: 3).[12] This emerging tradition would be subject to fierce repression from the forces of reaction in the United States beginning soon after the publication of Hille's long-awaited songbook.

The Peekskill Riots

The Cold War repression of left-wing activists in the United States began in earnest following the reelection of Harry Truman to the presidency in 1948. Hysteria about the Soviet threat was whipped up by the press and encouraged by right-wing politicians. Although Joseph McCarthy had not yet become a household name, the House Un-American Activities Committee had already begun its witch hunt of "Reds" in public life. In the summer of 1949, a concert by the internationally acclaimed singer and activist Paul Robeson was organized by left-labor activists to take place at a rural retreat near Peekskill, New York, in Westchester County, only about fifty miles up the Hudson River from New York City. Proceeds from the concert were to benefit the Civil Rights Congress, a radical antiracist organization that would later present to the U.N. General Assembly a hard-hitting report titled *We Charge Genocide,* linking U.S. foreign policy to racism (Salter 2011).

Angered over Robeson's statements earlier that year at the World Peace Congress in Paris, in which he argued against war with the Soviet Union (Duberman 1988: 341–342; Walwik 1999), local mobs incited by the American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan attacked organizers of the concert in the hours before it was scheduled to take place. In addition, they blocked the road leading to the site of the concert, preventing featured artists and aficionados from arriving, including Pete Seeger, who was also scheduled to perform. Members of the mob beat the racially mixed concert crew savagely; hurled racist, anti-Semitic, and anticommunist epithets at them; and burned

a cross on the hillside above the picnic grounds where the show was to have taken place.

The writer Howard Fast, one of the U.S. left's leading political and literary figures at the time, was one of the concert's principal organizers. He recounts details of the mob's attack in a chapter of the report *Peekskill U.S.A.*, which was subsequently published as a short book by the Civil Rights Congress (Fast 1951). As it had already done on many picket lines around the country over the previous two decades, the song "We Shall Not Be Moved" played a key role in maintaining the spirit of labor and left-wing political activists confronting their opponents. A vivid passage from Fast's report recounts the singing of the song at a crucial moment in the fight, when the right-wing mob attacked him and his compatriots on the concert site, illuminated by the cross burning on the hillside above. Few writers have conveyed the power of song in struggles for social justice as compellingly as Fast (1951: 34–36) does here:

> We didn't kneel [as the lynch mob approached]. We locked arms, the better to support each other, and as that whole great mob rolled down upon us, well over a thousand of them now, we began to sing,
>
> > "We shall not—we shall not be moved!
> > We shall not—we shall not be moved!
> > Just like a tree that's standing by the water,
> > We shall not be moved!"
>
> Consider the scene: there are only thirty-two of us now, with our backs against the truck, and we and the road across the embankment in front of us are bathed in the glare of headlights and spotlights that have been rigged from the road. All the rest is in darkness, and now into the light come the "new Americans," brandishing the fence rails they have stripped from along the road, swinging their knives and billies, a solid mass of them back to the public highway, rolling down to turn in for the kill and the great lynching, which is their peculiar privilege in a land which provides freedom for all except those who do not wholly agree with the gentlemen

> in Washington. It is a full hour and a half now since the fighting began, and there has been time enough for the news of what is happening at Peekskill to be wired to every corner of the nation. The press is here to see the great lynching, every New York newspaper, their crack writers and photographers, but not one policeman and not one state trooper—not one.
>
> So they came in for the kill, and the singing stopped them. You would have had to be there to understand that; those of us who were there understood it when it happened; it was no miracle to us, but logical and reasonable—for I think that at that point all of us stopped being afraid and stopped praying for a way to get out of that hellish valley. We simply stood there in our three lines, arms locked, singing that fine old song which, more than any other, has become the anthem of the democratic forces of America.
>
> Many, many times, for as long back as I can remember, I have heard people singing that old hymn, but I never heard it sung as it was sung that night, swelling out over the lunatic mob, over the road and over the hills, full of the deep rich voices of men who had fought so well. It was a moral enigma to the Legion heroes. They saw a line of Negroes and whites, arms locked, ragged and bloody, standing calmly and singing—and the singing stopped them. They halted a dozen feet from us, and their screaming stopped. They stood there in silence, watching us and listening to our song and trying to understand what sort of people we were—that has always been a difficult thing for them to understand. And then one of them threw the first rock.

Fast and the others present survived the mob's attack and were eventually escorted to safety by local police. Word of the Peekskill "riot" spread across the United States quickly. Horrified by what transpired on the night of August 27 but still undaunted, organizers regrouped and resolutely prepared again to hold the concert on September 4. This time the concert was allowed to proceed and was attended by several thousand supporters. As the artists and their fans left the site in cars and buses driving down a narrow country road, they were ambushed by hundreds of rock-throwing assailants, who

smashed windshields, overturned cars, and cracked skulls. Local police also participated in the attack (Duberman 1988: 368–370; Dunaway 1981: 19–22; Fast 1951). Fortunately, Robeson was hidden behind blanketed windows and under two union bodyguards in the back of a car and thus avoided lynching (Duberman 1988: 368–370). Seeger recounts the gauntlet as follows:

> There were 900 police, deputies, and state troopers there at Peekskill. They allowed the mob to form along a four-mile line of road and directed all traffic down this only exit and then stood by watching while the hoodlums threw rocks through the windows of cars and buses. Heads were bashed in. Eyes were cut by flying glass. Cars were overturned and the people in them dragged out and beaten. And the police stood by and laughed. Hoodlum gangs went on a night-long reign of terror all through Westchester County and clear down to 210th Street and Broadway. Then the police moved. They moved into the picnic grounds to beat up the trade union guards! (transcribed from sound recording by Robeson et al. 1949)[13]

Seeger's friends Lee Hays and Woody Guthrie rode away from the concert in one of the buses that had brought fans to Peekskill from New York. In the face of the onslaught, Guthrie commented to Hays that he had seen a lot, "but this is the worst" (Koppelman 2003: 97). Much as he had famously done a few years earlier aboard a merchant marine vessel in hostile waters during World War II (J. Klein 1980: 277–278), Guthrie stayed cool under fire, leading songs and cracking jokes to ease the horror and pain his fellow passengers experienced. He pinned a red shirt over one of the bus windows to keep glass from shattering onto passengers (Kaufman 2011: 160). Hays remembered especially Guthrie leading everyone on board in defiant, joyous songs, including Hays's own "If I Had a Hammer" and everyone's "We Shall Not Be Moved."[14] This was not the first time that Guthrie had sung "We Shall Not Be Moved" in the face of danger. In the days following the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, he and his traveling musical companion Cisco Houston had led a group of sailors, soldiers, truck drivers, ranch hands, cowboys, bartenders, and bar patrons in a rousing version of the song in defense of a

Japanese-owned bar on Skid Row in Los Angeles that was about to be ransacked by an angry mob of drunken white men intent on seeking vengeance (Guthrie [1943] 1970: 264–269).[15]

Recalling the moment that the bus carrying Guthrie, the other passengers, and him made it safely away from the Peekskill mob, Hays writes, "Then we knew that we had won a victory. We had again reconquered liberty. But we knew also that we would have to fight for it again as long as this state of war against culture and the people should continue" (quoted in Koppelman 2003: 98–99). Although carrying out the Peekskill concert may have been a moral victory of the left in the United States, it presaged the dark days of repression and blacklisting that activists in trade unions, the civil rights and peace movements, and the arts would face for years to come. Peekskill nonetheless remained a touchstone for left activists of the era, a way of reassuring themselves during the dark years of McCarthyism that they would not be moved from their commitment to working toward their vision of a more democratic and egalitarian world.

The old slave spiritual "I Shall Not Be Moved," born of the religious revival meetings attended by whites and blacks on the rural frontier of the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was given a new secular life in the 1930s and 1940s by a militant movement of trade unionists and their left-wing supporters, most of whom were white. In its new version with the plural subject "we," the song accompanied many victories in union-organizing drives, strikes, and the passage of legislation protecting the rights of U.S. workers. It also accompanied left-wing political activists as they attempted to pursue broader social change through the trade union movement, only to face ruthless repression by the state, corporations, and civil society institutions at the outset of the Cold War in the late 1940s. Just as the song helped Howard Fast and his comrades confront their attackers in Peekskill, New York, it would do the same for participants in the African American civil rights movement in the U.S. South. Moreover, one of the principal institutions that taught the song to members of CIO unions would play a crucial role in teaching it to youthful civil rights activists at the end of the 1950s.

4 / From Union Song to Freedom Song

Civil Rights Activists Sing an Old Tune for a New Cause

Freedom songs are the soul of the movement.

—Martin Luther King Jr.

The freedom songs of the mid-twentieth-century African American civil rights movement are mainly drawn from the slave spirituals of the nineteenth century. Although black activists were surely familiar with most of the spirituals that were put to use by the civil rights movements, they did not carry out the transformation of these songs alone. The transformation was catalyzed, at least at the outset, by left activists attached to the labor union movement. Having long been the principal center for labor education and advocacy in the U.S. South, in the 1950s the Highlander Center redirected its efforts and attention to the cause of civil rights. African American civil rights leaders, including Martin Luther King Jr., Rosa Parks, John Lewis, and members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), all received training at Highlander in the 1950s and early 1960s (Dreier 2006; Glen 1988; J. Lewis 1998). Already in the 1930s, Highlander had begun to promote the racial integration of labor unions, leading by example. Its director, Myles Horton, favored "the method of natural exposure"—that is, helping southern whites overcome their racial prejudices by having them attend racially mixed labor education courses and workshops in residence at Highlander. The hope was that by "studying the connection between race relations and labor organization," students would conclude that

"there must be equal opportunities for blacks and whites if both races were to improve their living conditions" (Glen 1988: 68). Just as singing featured prominently in the Highlander curriculum as a center for labor education, so would it be a central element of its biracial program of civil rights education in the 1950s and early 1960s. And just as the staff of Highlander played an indispensable role in the spread of "We Shall Not Be Moved" throughout the labor movement, they would do the same for its popularization in the black civil rights movement, although another song that owed its subsequent fame to Highlander—"We Shall Overcome"—would receive far greater acclaim in the movement and around the world.

SNCC, the Highlander Center, and Guy Carawan

Zilphia Horton, the musical director at Highlander who had done so much to extend singing throughout the U.S. labor movement, died suddenly in 1956 of an accidental poisoning and kidney failure (Glen 1988: 138). A few years later, a young folksinger, guitarist, and banjo player named Guy Carawan was hired to take her place.[1] Like Horton, Carawan never became famous as a performer, but instead made his mark as a teacher and song leader. Moreover, like Horton, he believed in the power of song harnessed to social movements and drew on the same folk traditions of ballads and spirituals that could be adapted to the cause at hand (R. Cohen 2002; Glen 1988; Roy 2010; Sanger 1995; Schneider 2007; Seeger and Reiser 1989). By the time Carawan became Highlander's musical director in 1959, the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott had already been won; the Little Rock, Arkansas, schools had already been integrated; and the African American civil rights movement was on the verge of becoming a mass movement throughout the U.S. South. Civil rights had become *the* cause for social justice activists in the United States, and Highlander became a crucial site for training them as organizers, cultural workers, and participants in acts of nonviolent civil disobedience. As Carawan began to work with African American activists who visited Highlander and as part of their participation in civil rights movement activities throughout the South, he realized the important role that he could play in facilitating the development of a culturally authentic repertoire of songs that the movement could deploy confrontationally

in the face of repression by state authorities, use to build a sense of solidarity and unity of purpose within the movement, and rely on to maintain the morale of activists in times of discouragement:

> It didn't take me long to survey the situation. People were beginning to meet and gather in the spirit of freedom. They were people who could really sing as a result of their church backgrounds, but they were not taking advantage of what their heritage had to offer. So many great old spirituals that express hatred of oppression and a longing for freedom were being left out of this growing freedom movement. . . . It was an exceptional case when a Negro took a spiritual or gospel song . . . and substituted a word or two to make it applicable. . . . I began to see that there was something that I could do. (Carawan, quoted in Schneider 2007: 182)

It was not that no singing was occurring in the civil rights movement in the 1950s. Rather, Carawan found that most of the singing that went on consisted of more formal church hymns instead of the more rhythmic and emotive spirituals that were also part of the African American religious tradition.

In 1960, Carawan organized a series of Highlander workshops that "first and foremost served song leaders and choir directors and, secondarily, singers, appealing to those who identified with the movement for freedom in the south." Participants learned song-leading techniques to use in their mass meetings, prayer vigils, and picket lines (Roy 2010: 169). Rather than performing songs for workshop participants to admire and then imitate, Carawan saw his role as a facilitator who would "respond to a suggestion from the group, set the tempo, orchestrate an accompaniment, help blend the voices, and express the group's sensibility." This was consistent with "a mode of interaction he identified with the black church, in which anyone can raise a song, sparking the congregation to join in, elaborate, and make music together" (Roy 2010: 168).

The first of these civil rights song sessions was held on April 1–3 at Highlander, as part of the Seventh Annual Highlander Folk School College Workshop, in which eighty sit-in leaders from all over the South participated (Dunson 1965: 39–40). Carawan recalled that

workshop as having been "incredibly important," with activist leaders "sitting around in a big circle and talking about tactics and strategy and goals—nonviolence and civil disobedience, whether to stay in jail or go out on bail, whether or not there should be northerners in the movement and white students, all the big questions" (Seeger and Reiser 1989: 3–4). These intense discussions were interspersed with song, whether as a break from talking or simply because the spirit moved someone to sing. It turned out that some of these young black activists, including Bernard Lafayette, James Bevel,[2] and others, were great fans of "hillbilly" music and would go off into another room with Carawan to jam while others continued discussions. Other times, Carawan remembered that he himself would "jump in with a song I had learned, like 'Eyes on the Prize,' '*We Shall Not Be Moved*,' [emphasis added] or 'I'm Gonna Sit at the Welcome Table'" (quoted in Seeger and Reiser 1989: 3–4). SNCC activist John Lewis (1998: 90) recalls having sung his heart out in a workshop led by Carawan, even though, he said, "I cannot sing." Moreover, he left Highlander "on fire," in keeping with the school's mission, as he understood it, "to light fires and refuel those whose fires were already lit."

A few weeks later, Carawan traveled to Raleigh, North Carolina, to attend a meeting of more than two hundred student sit-in activists from all over the South organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), where he also taught songs and song-leading techniques. This meeting was especially important because it gave birth to SNCC, which would provide the recruits for the dangerous grassroots organizing that would need to take place throughout the South to overturn the U.S. apartheid system. This meeting also proved to be extremely important to building a repertoire of "freedom songs" for the movement based on slave spirituals and African Americans' tradition of congregational singing. It was there that many activists heard and sang the songs in their new versions for the first time, including "We Shall Overcome," the song that would become the movement's anthem. A few months later, in August, Highlander organized its first "Sing for Freedom" workshop, which was attended by not only southern black and white activists but also northern activist singers and musicians, including Pete Seeger and Waldemar Hille, the editor of the *People's Song Book* discussed in Chapter 3 (Dunson 1965: 40). Carawan's efforts to integrate into the

youthful civil rights movement the African American congregational singing tradition, with its roots in the nineteenth-century spirituals, got a warm reception from activist leaders who witnessed them. For example, the Reverend C. T. Vivian, a member of the SCLC and a close collaborator with Dr. King, remembered that after witnessing Carawan lead the old spirituals with new words, the songs began to make sense to him and others as songs for their movement. "Once we had seen it done," he remarked, "we could begin to do it" (quoted in Carawan and Carawan 1990: 4).

Freedom Songs

The sociologist William Roy (2010: 169–170) argues that Carawan's efforts served as a catalyst for the creation of a "canon of freedom songs" that were "sung widely throughout the movement," were "associated with the movement," and have "endured as the sound track of our collective memory of the civil rights movement." One of the young activists who participated in Carawan's workshops was Bernice Johnson Reagon, who would quickly become a leading singer of freedom songs for the movement. Subsequently, she would become a prominent scholar of African American song traditions in addition to composing and arranging songs she wrote for the women's a cappella group Sweet Honey in the Rock, which she founded in the 1970s. Reagon characterized the repertoire of "freedom songs" as having been based in the unrehearsed tradition of the "Afro-American folk church," from which activist leaders drew to make "a new music for a new time." In this new music, "lyrics were transformed, traditional melodies were adapted, and procedures associated with old forms were blended with new forms to create freedom songs capable of expressing the force and intent of the movement" (quoted in Carawan and Carawan 1990: 5).[3]

The process described by Reagon exemplifies what sociologists Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison (1998) have called "the mobilization of tradition," in which social movements remake musical and other kinds of cultural traditions for their own purposes. The song "We Shall Not Be Moved" occupied a prominent place in the canon of "freedom songs" that were employed repeatedly in the civil rights movement's on-the-ground battles to end racial segregation

in the U.S. South. "We Shall Not Be Moved" shared certain characteristics with other "freedom songs" that had already made some of them—such as "We Shall Overcome"—part of the canon of union songs in the United States. As Roy (2010: 192) notes, both the old union songs and the new "freedom" songs were strongly rhythmic and featured the short, repeatable verses of Hays's "zipper songs," into which song leaders could insert new verses "made up on the spot," using the call and response format was so familiar to congregants in African American churches.[4] As already noted, these characteristics dated back to the rise of "jubilee" spirituals in the camp meetings attended by African slaves in the U.S. South during the Second Great Awakening in the early nineteenth century, whose characteristics, in turn, shared much with the singing traditions of West Africa.[5] Here, then, we see songs like "We Shall Not Be Moved" coming full circle, from African American origins, into the white evangelical tradition, on to the white-majority union movement, and back into the African American community as civil rights songs.

SNCC and the Freedom Singers

The young SNCC activists, most of whom had experience with the traditions of African American congregational singing, made extensive use of song in their community organizing and confrontations with white authorities throughout the South in the early 1960s (Carson 1981: 63–64, 81; Spencer 1990: 86–90). According to Hollis Watkins, a SNCC fieldworker, singing was a central part of black culture in the South, and SNCC deployed it strategically as a "natural entrée into the hearts, souls, and minds of black people in presenting and offering something that was not foreign to them." He further notes that SNCC's meetings in local communities throughout the South "would generally start . . . with people singing songs—spiritual songs, singing freedom songs—and it was really kind of a warm-up thing to get people involved, to get people to relax" (quoted in B. Martin 2004: 29). One of SNCC's principal goals was to cultivate the leadership abilities of members of local communities throughout the South, who could then carry on the civil rights struggle from the grass roots up. As noted by Bradford Martin (2001: 165), "Singing was one of the chief means of fostering grass-roots leadership," something SNCC

activists accomplished by "identify[ing] local individuals with the potential to be song leaders, usually designating those with previous singing experience, often in church or school choirs." Leading songs, they believed, could be a vital aspect of directing political action at the local level. They thus sought to transfer "songleading responsibilities from fieldworkers to local songleaders." In addition, in the summer of 1962, Cordell Reagon, a SNCC activist who had previously helped carry out lunch-counter sit-ins in Nashville and broader desegregation efforts in Albany, Georgia, organized the SNCC Freedom Singers as a vehicle for spreading the message of the civil rights movement across the nation. The group's original members included Reagon himself, along with fellow SNCC members Charles Neblett, Rutha Mae Harris, and Bernice Johnson, who later married (and subsequently divorced) Cordell and today is known as Bernice Johnson Reagon (Dunaway and Beer 2010: 138–140; B. Martin 2001: 170). In her doctoral dissertation on the use of song in the civil rights movement, Reagon (1975: 127–128) reports that by the early 1960s, song had become essential for civil rights organizing, to the point where "no mass meeting could be successfully carried off without songs." Krys Verrall (2011: 60) describes the relationship between the Freedom Singers and on-the-ground SNCC activism as follows:

> Together, the Freedom Singers and the freedom songs (as part of activists' performance repertoire) brought a twofold approach to the intersection of civil rights activism and musical performance. On one hand, the Freedom Singers, as a group of politically engaged musicians and singers, made music and singing an integral feature of their practice. On the other hand, all movement workers could sing freedom songs publicly, collectively, and peacefully. Nothing could more forcibly convey the peacefulness of civil rights workers—in contrast with the often staggering violence of white bigots—than singing.[6]

"We Shall Not Be Moved" was a constant in the Freedom Singers' repertoire (Dunaway and Beer 2010: 138–140). They performed it widely, including at prestigious concert venues, such as Carnegie Hall in New York City, and recorded it on a long-play record of their

songs (B. Martin 2001: 171). Their most notable performance of the song was undoubtedly on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial before tens of thousands of participants in the August 1963 March on Washington, from the same podium where Martin Luther King Jr. made his famous "I Have a Dream" speech (Reagon 1975: 165).[7] Here we should note that "We Shall Not Be Moved" was sung not only from the podium, by the Freedom Singers, but also by many of the marchers. A white woman who attended the march shared the following remembrance with the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* on its fiftieth anniversary:

> At Mount Mercy College (now Carlow University) we were urged to work for social justice. Five of my friends and I made that trip for the Aug. 28 March on Washington, feeling we were doing just that. My mother wasn't too keen on my going, but I left home with enough fried chicken and chocolate chip cookies to feed all six of us. The day was hot and humid, the Washington, D.C., police were lining the way, the mall was crowded, the crowds were noisy, and the PA system was inadequate. It was hard to see the speakers, and harder yet to hear them. Yet we were thrilled to be there! A high point was the New York Ladies Garment Workers Union, arriving late, marching through the vast crowds to the front, singing "We Shall Not Be Moved." I joined the singing as best I could through my tears. ("March on Washington" 2013)

In this regard, sociologists Robert Rosenthal and Richard Flacks (2011: 154) note that the most important message of the Freedom Singers in their performances was not to denounce segregation and racial discrimination, since their audiences already agreed with them, but rather to confirm for listeners that "there was a vibrant movement of resistance to segregation sweeping across the South." The singing of "We Shall Not Be Moved" and other freedom songs at the March on Washington palpably affirmed for those present that their core beliefs were shared by many thousands of others from all over the United States, that these thousands were prepared to act on their beliefs, and, if they all refused to be moved, that segregation could indeed someday soon be overcome. It is no coincidence, then,

that Martin Luther King Jr. (1964: 57–58) himself had noted that "the freedom songs are the soul of the movement." The participation of the SNCC Freedom Singers in folk festivals, in mass demonstrations like the March on Washington, and in performances before largely white audiences also had the effect of familiarizing young white folk-singers, such as Joan Baez and Peter, Paul, and Mary, with the freedom song canon; they, in turn, added some of the songs to their own repertoires (B. Martin 2004: 42–43).

Conquering Fear through Song

"We Shall Not Be Moved" was an important freedom song in the civil rights movement of the early 1960s for a number of reasons. As previously mentioned with regard to the song's adoption by the U.S. labor movement, the religious roots of the song lent an aura of the righteous and sacred to the civil rights struggle (see Denisoff 1970b). In addition, like most of the main songs in the freedom song canon, it was directed toward the community of believers who were singing it, stressing the role being played by the group in achieving its shared goals (Denisoff 1970a: 819–820). As sung by civil rights activists, "We Shall Not Be Moved" also served as a public statement of resistance to oppression. As Richard King (1988: 11–12) notes, "The freedom songs were less concerned with conveying information or arguing a position than with expressing resolve and solidarity in public." In this way, "freedom songs were particularly striking ways of making a collective presence known to hostile whites and to the nation—and to the participants themselves."[8]

More generally, this type of group singing as an "embodied spiritual practice" can produce "religious experience and a sense of community," which can be very important to carrying out effective collective action. According to Meredith McGuire (2008: 112), it is therefore not surprising that the phenomenologist Alfred Schutz "used 'making music together' as a metaphor for the ways people relate deeply with each other, sharing subjective experiences." Just as importantly, given the physical dangers that civil rights activists repeatedly faced, songs like "We Shall Not Be Moved" helped conquer activists' justified fear of beatings and murder. In some situations, it even constituted a form of "audaciously talking back" to

white oppressors. One of SNCC's field secretaries, Phyllis Martin, explained it this way to a *Newsweek* reporter:

> The fear down here is tremendous. I didn't know whether I'd be shot at, or stoned, or what. But when the singing started, I forgot all that. I felt good within myself. We sang "Oh Freedom" and "We Shall Not Be Moved," and after that you just don't want to sit around anymore. You want the world to hear you, to know what you're fighting for! (quoted in Spencer 1990: 91–92)

In the same spirit, SNCC leader and Freedom Singer Neblett noted that singing was a way for civil rights activists in the South not only to deal with their fears but also to celebrate their survival when they regrouped in safe places after the dangers they had faced in the field. "The singing and the power of the singing echoes the intensity with which you have been living your life," he said. "It[']s a way in which you can announce to each other where you have been and celebrate what you've been doing and also to celebrate that you're in fact alive to be together again" (quoted in Monson 2007: 58).

It is not surprising then, that "We Shall Not Be Moved" was sung by activists throughout the South in the early 1960s on picket lines; during sit-ins; at mass meetings in the 1963 campaign to desegregate Birmingham, Alabama; on buses by Freedom Riders; by the marchers from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama; and in the jails of Albany, Georgia, and Hinds County, Mississippi (J. Lewis 1998: 173; B. Martin 2001: 169; Reagon 1975; Seeger 1965). Documentation of the singing of "We Shall Not Be Moved" can be heard on a number of LP recordings from the period, including *We Shall Overcome: Songs of the Freedom Riders and the Sit-ins; Freedom Songs: Selma, Alabama; Sit-in Songs: Songs of the Freedom Riders;* and *The Nashville Sit-in Story: Songs and Scenes of Nashville Lunch Counter Desegregation (by the Sit-in Participants).*

Singing in Defeat

It is worth noting here that "We Shall Not Be Moved" and other freedom songs were sung at moments of defeat as well as at moments of

triumph—in other words, at moments when demonstrators were, in fact, moved by police or other adversaries of the civil rights movement. M. J. O'Brien (2013: 165), for example, describes the circumstances under which "We Shall Not Be Moved" was sung in May 1963 by youthful demonstrators in Jackson, Mississippi, during a march led by civil rights martyr Medgar Evers:

> All of the four-hundred-plus marchers were arrested and all for the same crime: parading without a permit. *The New York Times* reported that children as young as "grade school age" marched from the doors of the church straight into police lines. Teenaged couples laughed and held hands as they were seized by police. Nearly all of the demonstrators waved small American flags as they joyously marched, two by two, shouting "We want freedom!" or singing "We Shall Not Be Moved" as they were led away.

In another more famous case, demonstrators sang "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Around," a freedom song similar in its message to "We Shall Not Be Moved," as Martin Luther King Jr. led them in retreat from a phalanx of armed police blocking their march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, on the Edmund Pettus Bridge on March 10, 1965 (D. Lewis 1970: 281, quoted in Carson 1981: 159–160). As discussed more generally in Chapter 1, the fact that these demonstrators were moved physically did *not* mean that they were moved in terms of the identities to which they aspired or their commitment to the struggle in which they were engaged.[9]

Singing Together: First-Person Singular or First-Person Plural?

The origins of the song in the African American slave community as the jubilee spiritual "I Shall Not Be Moved" raises the question of why, when the song was adopted by the civil rights movement, the original first-person singular lyric was not retained, especially given the predominant notion of a collective "I" in the lyrics of the slave spirituals (see Ames 1960: 139 and Cone [1972] 1991: 61–62). One obvious answer is the one given by a black sharecropper in the South-

ern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU) to the labor organizer Harry Koger in Arkansas in the 1930s—namely, that there is strength in the solidarity of a unified collective:

> Speaking of strength in unity, I remember back in the old sharecropper union days in East Texas and the Mississippi River Delta region that one of the favorite union songs, which was sort of a reconverted hymn, was "We Shall Not Be Moved." The original hymn from which this song was made over was "I Shall Not Be Moved." One night up near Earle, Arkansas (that's where Rev. Claude Williams was severely beaten some years before that by plantation bosses), one of the union leaders started singing the song, but instead of the newer union-inspired version, he started out "I Shall Not Be Moved."
>
> About the time he started leading the audience in the second stanza, one of the rank and file members, a Negro, raised his hand and shouted. "Wait a minute, Brother! You've got it wrong! It's WE who cannot be moved. You can be moved and I can be moved—and you and I have already moved many times—moved with our families into shacks that aren't fit for a mule to move into—moved away from enough of the right kind of food, moved away from decent clothes for ourselves and our families and moved away from our freedom. The only way we can ever hope not to be moved into misery and away from a more abundant life is to let the boss know that from now on he's got a bigger job than just moving you and me separately. From now on, he's dealing with a union. He's dealing with US!" Then with a booming voice he led out with "WE shall not be, we shall not be moved!"[10]

In fact, as noted by Jon Michael Spencer (1990: 85), the switch from "I" to "We" in converting spirituals to "freedom songs" was "a common textual alteration." Kerran Sanger (1995), for her part, notes that the freedom songs are largely self-referential, with the majority of the lyrics written in the first person. The songs that were meant to emphasize group unity or resolve were typically voiced in the first-person plural, even if the original spirituals were voiced in the first-

person singular. In this regard, Sanger (1995: 74–75) observes that "the communication strategies of any mass movement must serve to unify group members and encourage new converts. When activists for a cause use the pronouns 'we,' 'us,' and 'our,' they tacitly propose that a cohesive group already exists, and, in so doing, subtly circumvent a conscious decision on the part of the individual to join the group."[11] Sanger's observation in this regard hearkens back to Eyerman and Jamison's (1998) broader point, discussed in Chapter 1, that social movement singing contributes powerfully to movement participants' sense of themselves vis-à-vis other groups in society. Now that the song "We Shall Not Be Moved" is sung by activists in a wide variety of movements and contexts in the post–civil rights period, the question of the I-We distinction has been raised in other contexts as well. Thus, a feminist writer asks, "What political movement could create itself without a 'we'? Change the songs of freedom to a disinterested 'I shall not be moved,' and you begin to see that 'we' alone can stand for solidarity" (Lanser 1986: 19). Bernice Johnson Reagon, for her part, credits the shift from "I" to "we" to the entry of white, left-wing activists into the black civil rights movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s:

> "We Shall Overcome" was originally "I Will Overcome," "We Shall Not Be Moved" was "I Shall Not Be Moved." I'm so glad they didn't change "This Little Light of Mine / I'm Gonna Let It Shine." So you've got these collective expressions in the African-American tradition that are "I" songs. Those songs are a way to express the group. However, one of the wonderful things about evolution of songs is that the change of some of the songs to "we" documents black people coming together with a predominantly white Left that was heavily intellectual about *collectivism*. They told us very quickly, "'I' means individualism and 'we' expresses the group. 'We' means we're together." We said, "Okay, if you need it—'We.'" Because the important thing is that you're here and if in order to be here you need this "we," we're going to give you this "we." We'll do all the "we's" you need. You get a document of when another presence joined in collaboration and commitment against racism by following the changes in the words of the songs. (quoted in Harding and Harding 2004)

From Reagon's point of view, the shift from "I" to "We" was neither particularly needed nor even desirable in the case of transforming spirituals into freedom songs. This owed, on the one hand, to the fact that, in traditional African American congregational singing, individual voices retained their unique identity within the chorus. On the other hand, she believes that the use of the word "I" in instances of collective action actually proved to be a better organizing tactic:

> If you've got a group of people and all of them are saying "I," you actually have a group. If you have a group of people and they are saying "we," you don't know who is going to do what. Just try to organize something. You say, "We gon bring food tonight." If you are the nervous wreck organizer, you will leave that meeting and you will end up bringing enough food for everybody because you won't know who or if anybody's going to bring anything. So you've got the vegetables, and the chicken, and the cake just in case because nobody said, "I'm bringing this," "I'm bringing that." You don't get a group until you get some individuals who will say "I'm in." (quoted in Harding and Harding 2004)

The slave spiritual "I Shall Not Be Moved" was converted into a civil rights song following the example set by the labor union movement in the United States. Indeed, during the 1930s and 1940s, the progressive wing of the labor movement was one of the most powerful forces for racial justice in the United States. Like the labor movement, the civil rights movement was a singing movement and, as we have seen, "We Shall Be Moved" was one of the indispensable songs in its considerable repertoire. Moreover, just as the song symbolized the resilience of union members and gave them strength to confront their violent adversaries, so did it give courage to civil rights activists as they faced constant danger in the U.S. South. It continues to do so quite dramatically today, as civil rights activists have been singing the song to demand that the police officers who in 2014 shot and killed Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and who suffocated Eric Garner in Staten Island, New York, be brought to justice (J. Cobb 2014; Kuszmak 2014; Pearce, Srikrishnan, and Zucchino 2014;

A. Scott 2014). As is detailed in the next chapter, the song's translation into Spanish in the United States owed not only to its importance in the labor movement but also to the example set by the freedom singers of the civil rights movement. The first documented singing of "No nos moverán" dates to a strike in the 1930s in San Antonio, Texas, during the same period that "We Shall Not Be Moved" was becoming popular throughout the U.S. labor movement. Decades later, Mexican American activists in the farmworker movement would put together a new Spanish-language version of the song inspired by its singing in the civil rights movement. It is no accident that in both instances the song was pressed into service to advance the cause of not only workers but also the Mexican people of the United States, for in many parts of the country, the struggle of workers for labor rights and the struggle of Mexicans for civil rights were one and the same.

5 / From English in the U.S. South to Spanish in the U.S. Southwest

"We Shall Not Be Moved" Becomes "No nos moverán"

On its way to becoming "No nos moverán," the song "We Shall Not Be Moved" followed several distinct routes that connected a number of widely dispersed locales at different historical junctures. The people who adapted "We Shall Not Be Moved" for use with Spanish-speaking audiences at different moments in different places appear to have done so without knowledge of one another. The rise of "No nos moverán" as a "movement" song in several different Spanish-speaking countries is, in this sense, a good illustration of Bernice Johnson Reagon's metaphor of the "river" of U.S. African spirituals branching into many different "tributaries" only to join together again further downstream. In this chapter, I outline the principal instances in which "We Shall Not Be Moved" was translated into Spanish for use by activists in social justice movements in the United States, first in the 1930s and then again in the mid-1960s. The first time "We Shall Not Be Moved" was sung by Spanish-speaking activists appears to have taken place more than seventy years ago in a jail in San Antonio, Texas. The song continues to be sung in Spanish today by social justice activists in San Antonio, though few of them are aware of the special historical connection "No nos moverán" has to their city.

The 1938 Pecan Shellers' Strike in San Antonio, Texas

To people in the United States, San Antonio is most famous for having been the site of an 1836 military battle at the Alamo that marked the first skirmish in the wars leading to Texas's secession from Mexico and subsequent conquest by the United States. Following the annexation of Texas by the United States in 1848, Mexicans residing in the territory either fled across the Rio Grande or remained to live as second-class citizens in their longtime home. In the early twentieth century, these Texas Mexicans were joined by many thousands of others who migrated north of the border in search of work in U.S. farms, mines, factories, and railroads. By the 1920s, San Antonio had grown into one of the principal urban destinations for Mexican migrants as well as a major labor recruiting center for employers in other parts of the United States who sought to contract manual labor at wages considerably lower than they would have had to pay to white U.S. citizens. San Antonio came to be known as the "Mexican American cultural capital" of the United States due to its considerable Mexican population, a title it would hold until the 1960s (Arreola 1987). In addition, by this time San Antonio had also come to be known as the pecan-shelling capital of the world, due to the pecan groves that dotted the central and south Texas landscape and the availability of a racially oppressed Mexican workforce who could be tapped to shell the nuts by hand for extremely low pay (Shapiro 1952; Tenayuca and Brooks 1939; Vargas 2005).

The wages and working conditions facing the twelve thousand Mexican pecan shellers in San Antonio, the majority of them women and girls, were abysmal. They labored on a contract basis from November to March, working in approximately four hundred wooden sheds on the city's West Side, which were poorly lit, were inadequately ventilated, and lacked indoor plumbing. Workers earned five to six cents a pound for shelled pecans and only one to four dollars a week for a six-day workweek. The principal pecan company often paid its contracted Mexican workers in kind, doling out rations of coffee, flour, rice, and beans from its commissary. When the Great Depression hit, wages plummeted, falling to as low as sixteen cents per week (figures taken from Vargas 2005: 134; see also Pecan Workers Local No. 172, 1938; Shapiro 1952; and Ybarra 1932). The archbishop of San Antonio at the time spoke of the terrible conditions suffered by the Mexican pecan

shellers, melodramatically stating that "the Negro slaves before emancipation were a thousand times better off than these poor, defenseless people" (quoted in Lambert 1938: 2).

At the end of January 1938, six to eight thousand pecan shellers walked off the job in a spontaneous strike. One of its principal leaders was a young Texas Mexican woman named Emma Tenayuca,[1] whose brilliant oratory and Communist Party membership earned her the nickname of "La Pasionaria de Texas," a clear reference to Dolores Ibárruri, the Spanish Communist leader made famous only a year before for her cry of "No pasarán" ("They will not pass") in rallying Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War to the defense of Madrid during the fascist siege of the city. Soon thousands of family members and other Mexican residents of San Antonio took to the streets in support of the strikers. Seeing the opportunity to organize these workers as part of its struggles nationwide, the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America, a union affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), supported the strike through a local chapter known as the Texas Pecan Shelling Workers Union (Vargas 2005: 134–139).

Police repression of the strikers was quick and brutal. Tenayuca and hundreds of other strikers, union organizers, and demonstrators were arrested and thrown en masse into the city jail. Conditions in the jail were inhumane, with as many as thirty-three women crammed into a cell built for six, making it impossible for them to sit or lie down and leading the pecan shellers' union to refer to the San Antonio jail as "the black hole of Texas" (Pecan Workers Local No. 172, 1938: 9). In spite of the brutality of the police and the conditions in the jail, the Mexican workers and their families who participated in what had become a general uprising against white Anglo capitalist rule in the city remained jubilant in jail, even as guards turned fire hoses on them. As noted by labor historian Zaragosa Vargas (2005: 141), at night the jailed strikers kept their spirits up by singing labor songs from both the United States and Mexico. On one night in particular, two CIO organizers, Santos Vásquez and George Lambert, spent the night in jail together and helped lead their cellmates in Spanish versions of their favorite English-language union songs. Lambert recalls the scene in a 1971 interview in Dallas with historian George Green:

> I remember spending one night in a cell, which was made for about six people, and there was about twenty some-odd people in there. Twenty or more of us were in there, so we couldn't lay down. Vásquez was in there with me, and I gave him the words to a number of labor songs—the English words—and he translated them into Spanish. The only one that I can remember now was "We Shall Not Be Moved." He had difficulty and found it almost impossible to translate the words and make some of them rhyme in Spanish. The words go "just like a tree planted by the water" and he puzzled with that for quite some time and decided that the closest translation he could get was in the Spanish words for "just like a rock that stands against the windstorm"—"como peñón que resiste el viento" ["like a boulder that resists the wind"]—instead of "just like a tree planted by the water." We got the people in that jail singing that night! They were all packed in there. The favorite verse, and you could hear it all over the jail, was "¡Kilday está loco!" ["Kilday is nuts!"], referring to the Chief of Police, and something about Seligman [the main pecan company owner]. He wasn't crazy, but he was a tyrant or Simon Legree[2] or something of that sort that was translated into Spanish.
>
> I can no longer recall, but the jailers were trying to quiet it down. There was some talk about using the [fire] hoses on us. The inmates of the jail who had been in there for some time were all joining in—even the Anglos that were in the county jail. And, of course, nobody could sleep because it was just packed so there was just no way to sleep. These labor songs were just pouring out of there in Spanish all that night. I often wish that we had written them down at that time. We had "Solidarity [Forever]." Vásquez translated that, and we got that started, and somebody came up with some labor song from Mexico that also got into the festivities that night. (quoted in Green 1971: pt. 2:28–29)

Later in life, the workers' leader Emma Tenayuca also shared her memory of this glorious night of singing in jail in an interview with historian Zaragosa Vargas (Zaragosa Vargas, pers. comm., September 3, 2011; see also Vargas 1997).

After two months of mass meetings, confrontations with the police, and appeals to the Roosevelt administration and the courts, the strike was settled by a board of arbitration. The pecan shellers' union was legally recognized, and the pecan companies were obliged to negotiate with it in good faith. New contracts to shellers were issued in the fall of 1938 that "provided for a closed shop,[3] a check-off system, grievance machinery, and piece rates of seven and eight cents per pound," considerably higher than companies had been paying on the eve of the strike (Shapiro 1952: 239). This enormous symbolic victory, not only for pecan shellers but also for the labor movement in Texas and for Mexican Americans as a people, turned out to be short-lived in material terms. Within a few years, the pecan companies in Texas mechanized shelling, displacing the Mexican women and girls whose labor they had only recently been exploiting so ruthlessly and profitably (Shapiro 1952; Vargas 2005).

Not only was the victory of the striking pecan shellers Pyrrhic; this first rendition of "No nos moverán" as a Spanish-language song disappeared following the end of the strike and the subsequent replacement of the pecan industry's Mexican workforce by machines. In fact, there is no evidence it was ever sung again after Lambert and Vásquez taught it to their cellmates that night in the San Antonio jail. It would take almost thirty more years for the song to reemerge among Spanish-speaking activists in the United States. Interestingly, in 1939, two Mexican members of San Antonio's Texas Pecan Shelling Workers Union attended workshops for union organizers at the Highlander Center, which had played such a prominent role in the transmission of "We Shall Not Be Moved" in both the labor and civil rights movements. The historical record shows that this was the first time that U.S. Mexicans had participated in a Highlander program, but it does not indicate whether participants sang any Spanish-language versions of labor songs (A. Horton 1989: 123, 294n47; Muñoz 1939; Oviedo 1939). Today, "No nos moverán" has nevertheless been associated retrospectively with the figure of Emma Tenayuca and the striking pecan shellers. For example, the 1979 documentary film *Talkin' Union,* which details the history of activism by women workers in Texas, features the song on its soundtrack in the segment covering the 1938 strike in San Antonio (Scott and Flores 1979). When Tenayuca died in San Antonio in 1999, the scores of activists and

community members who attended her rosary spontaneously broke into a spirited rendition of the song.[4] This moving moment was recreated in the play *An Altar for Emma* by the writer Beva Sánchez Padilla, which was performed on several occasions in San Antonio in the years following Tenayuca's death, as recognition of her accomplishments as a pioneering Chicana feminist and labor leader grew.

An interesting footnote to the song's connections to San Antonio and Mexico is that by the time of 1938 pecan shellers' strike, the legendary country music band the Carter Family had begun wintering in San Antonio. They did so in part due to the city's proximity to the Mexican border, where an enterprising U.S. entrepreneur and quack-physician named Brinkley had begun to broadcast country music continent-wide from a radio studio in Ciudad Acuña, Coahuila (see Fowler and Crawford 2002). The Carter Family did not have to travel to Mexico to perform their songs for Brinkley's radio station. Instead, they recorded songs on acetates known as "transcription disks" that Brinkley would transport across the border to his Mexican studio. In 1939, one of the numbers they recorded in San Antonio for broadcast from Ciudad Acuña was their rendition of the gospel tune "I Shall Not Be Moved" (Kahn 1996: 214). In spite of this Tex-Mex connection, no Spanish-language version of the spiritual comparable to the translation of "We Shall Not Be Moved" seems to have emerged, given the racial segregation of the times and the Carter Family's and Brinkley's disengaged visitor status in the city and state. It is possible, however, that the Carter Family witnessed some of the demonstrations in support of the Mexican pecan shellers during their winter 1938 stay in the city. Much later, June Carter, a member of a younger generation of Carters, would marry the country singer Johnny Cash, who himself recorded "I Shall Not Be Moved" several times during his long career.

The Struggle of Chicanos in the Fields and in the Cities

Although there were some important connections between the U.S. labor movement and the African American civil rights movement in both political and cultural terms, the struggle for the rights of farmworkers that bloomed in the 1960s and early 1970s combined demands for the rights of workers and for civil rights in a creative

new way. Moreover, the United Farm Workers (UFW) movement, under the leadership of César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, and others, paid special attention to cultural work, both in terms of claiming Mexican religious and cultural iconography (see Bardacke 2011 and Watt 2010) and in making extensive use of theater and song in its organizing efforts. Furthermore, as detailed by David Gutiérrez (1995), the Chicano civil rights movement as a whole considered the farmworker movement to be emblematic of the struggles of Chicanos as an oppressed people in the United States.

In the mid-1960s, El Teatro Campesino (The Farmworker's Theater) emerged as the UFW's principal vehicle for movement culture, raising the consciousness of field workers through its bilingual plays and skits (*actos*), lifting the spirits of UFW members at meetings and on the picket lines, and serving as the UFW's cultural ambassadors to the rest of the Chicano community and activists in other social justice movements (Broyles-González 1994). The two young activists who founded Teatro Campesino, Agustín Lira and Luis Valdez, were familiar with the English-language repertoires of both the U.S. labor movement and the African American civil rights movements. Together, with the encouragement of Chávez, they set about developing Spanish-language versions of the songs that they could use in the farmworker movement.[5] Lira shares this remembrance of creating Spanish renditions of the songs during the famous strike against grape growers in Delano, California, which began in 1966:

> In Delano during the early years of the strike it was Luis [Valdez] and myself who translated the civil rights songs from English to Spanish. Of course this didn't take very long composition-wise because the songs are very simple, but effective—the mark of good songs. What took longer was getting the music, the chord structures to the songs. In those days I had my hands full with Mexican music since I had only played the guitar in rock and roll bands before then. My practical knowledge of chord structures then was nil, so I bummed from one guitar player to another, stealing as much as I could retain. Luckily for me, Delano was a magnet for artists; musicians came from everywhere, and I drained as much as I could from everyone. The songs . . . were played

> everywhere imaginable, including burials. (Agustín Lira, pers. comm., September 3, 2011)

Luis Valdez, Lira's collaborator, adds the following details about their translation of "No nos moverán":

> As I recall, "No nos moverán" was a direct lift from the Civil Rights Movement. I began marching for civil rights at San Jose State in 1958, so I was pretty well acquainted with "We Shall Not Be Moved." It was one of the songs I regularly heard at demonstrations all over the San Francisco Bay Area, together with "Solidarity Forever." One of the first things Augie [Lira] and I did as we began to work together was translate old labor and civil rights songs into Spanish; sometimes on César's [Chávez's] suggestion, most often on our own initiative. The verses of "No nos moverán" were fairly fluid as I recall, subject to change according to our circumstances. . . . In 1967, when the Teatro performed at Howard University in Washington DC [the nation's most prominent African American university] on our first national tour, we sang "Nosotros venceremos" ["We Shall Overcome"] and "No nos moverán" specifically to underscore our solidarity with the civil rights movement. Now that I think about it, another Spanish version of the song was circulating with slightly different words, "Fuertes, fuertes, fuertes somos ya" ["Strong, strong, we're already strong"] instead of "No, no, no nos moverán."[6] In any case, the song is still viable. It is still part of the song book of El Teatro Campesino, which remains active after 46 years. (Luis Valdez, pers. comm., September 7, 2011)

In his comments to the authors of an essay accompanying a 2005 recording of UFW songs by the movement's activist musicians, Lira shares the following recollection of hearing a record of black civil rights movement "freedom songs" for the first time while working with the union in Delano:

> I walked into the pink house [union headquarters] in Delano one day, and I remember hearing a record on the record player.

> It was a black group, a gospel group. I think that they were called the Freedom Singers. I remember hearing them singing those songs—it was a chorus—all of those voices, singing together. It was very powerful. They were all movement songs. We just took those songs and started translating them into Spanish. They were songs that a whole group of people could sing. I think that we actually got a chance later to hook up with that group, and sing with them. (quoted in Peterson and Scott 2005: 17)

These Spanish lyrics written by Lira and Valdez have become the standard version of "No nos moverán" in the United States:

No, no no, no nos moverán	No, no, no, they will not move us
No, no, no, no nos moverán	No, no, no, they will not move us
Como un árbol firme junto al río[7]	Like a tree firmly next to the river
No nos moverán	They will not move us
Unidos en la lucha . . .	United in the struggle . . .
Unidos en la huelga . . .	United in the strike . . .
Etcétera	Et cetera

The song was sung routinely by UFW activists at their union meetings, on picket lines, and during their epic strike against California grape growers (see Heisley 1983; López 1995; Peterson and Scott 2005; United Farm Workers of America 1975). Several farm worker and Chicano movement versions of the song were recorded, circulated, and widely listened to by Spanish-speaking activists (see, for example, *Rolas de Aztlán* 2005 and United Farm Workers of America 1976).

The importance of "No nos moverán" in the farmworker movement and among Chicanos more generally was underscored by its prominent inclusion in *Cesar Chavez*, the 2014 Hollywood movie about Chávez's life directed by Mexican actor and filmmaker Diego Luna. Thirty-five minutes into the film, Chávez and other UFW members are in the orchards of the San Joaquín Valley in California, where they approach fruit pickers to try to convince them to join the UFW's strike against growers. Along a dirt road at the edge of the

orchard, a *conjunto* (Tex-Mex) band with *bajo sexto* (twelve-stringed Mexican bass guitar), upright bass, and accordion sing, "¡Firmes estaremos, no nos moverán!" ("We will be firm!") as picketers shout "¡Viva la huelga!" ("Long live the strike!") and "¡Viva César Chávez!" while waving the red UFW flag emblazoned with its famous águila azteca (Mexican eagle). Moments later the picketers are nearly run over by a tractor speeding toward them. Chávez has the picketers bunch together in a group to protect themselves, only to have the men on the tractor spray them with tear gas or some kind of pesticide, leaving the picketers coughing and rubbing their burning eyes as the men on the tractor tear away down the road.[8]

Dolores Huerta, who along with Chávez was one of the founders and principal leaders of the UFW, remembers that music played an essential part in winning the union's famous five-year strike against grape growers in Delano, California. Singing led by Valdez, Lira, and others in the movement was a staple of the strikers' weekly Friday night meetings, which served as much as a celebration of their comradery as a time to plan strike actions and conduct union business. Huerta, who continues to be active in a variety of labor, civil rights, and women's struggles in the United States today, recognizes "No nos moverán" as being an especially important song in the farmworker movement:

> We sang "No nos moverán" every day. It was a song that was in our repertoire and we sang it every single day. Because we were on those picket lines from early morning till late in the evening and we had to keep our spirits up on the picket lines. And one way that we kept our spirits up on the picket lines was to sing these songs. . . . You know, when you're talking about a strike going on for five years—that was a long time to be on strike! Music was extremely important to keeping people from getting discouraged. "No nos moverán" symbolized the spirit that we had and that we needed to maintain. To keep people strong and let them know that eventually we're going to win as long as we don't give up. That was one of the most important things, and I always liked to quote César on that. César always said, "You'll always win if you don't give up. The only time we lose is when we give up." So "No nos

> moverán" pretty much symbolizes that saying. When you put the song in that context, it gives it a lot more meaning. It was our battle cry, so to speak. We are on strike and we are not going to give up until we win. And we did! (Dolores Huerta, telephone interview with author, February 11, 2014)[9]

In an interview a year before his death in 1993, Chávez himself testified to the importance to the farmworker movement of the cultural work done by Teatro Campesino, including its singing of "No nos moverán":

> Well, it helped with the workers. . . . It was street theater. . . . [I]t was able to deal with three important things. One was just deal with . . . like we're here to stay. You know, [Luis Valdez] came out and sang "Viva la Huelga" ["Long Live the Strike"] and "No nos moverán" and that stuff—great! The other thing he was able to ridicule . . . growers . . . which was great. Not attack them. But ridicule . . . [t]hen deal with the internal problems we had about the strikebreakers or being afraid. . . . Oh the Friday night meetings would be jammed with people . . . because even though we were losing the strike . . . they're still coming because the teatro was there. (César Chávez, interview with Luis Torres, April 20, 1992, quoted in Rosales 1996: 136)

By the latter half of the 1960s, the famous folk singer Joan Baez, whose father was a Mexican immigrant, began lending her voice to the farmworker cause, giving benefit concerts and singing at rallies, on picket lines, and at member funerals, much as she had done for the African American civil rights movement (Chatfield 2004; KPBS Radio 2010; United Farm Workers of America 1975). Baez was so well known and appreciated by farmworker activists at the time that the union's newspaper, *El Malcriado,* published a reader's effusive poem written in her honor in its December 29, 1966, issue (Meza 1966). She would already have been familiar with "We Shall Not Be Moved" as an English-language freedom song, having in fact sung from the same stage at the legendary 1963 March on Washington where the Freedom Singers performed the song for tens of thousands of march-

ers.[10] Baez presumably learned Lira and Valdez's Spanish rendition of the song through her contact with the farmworker movement.[11] It is not surprising, therefore, that when she recorded her first album of Spanish-language songs in 1974, "No nos moverán" was featured prominently. What was surprising, perhaps, was how she imaginatively linked the song with the cultural expressions and struggles of the rest of Latin America by reciting verses from the Chilean poet Pablo Neruda's famous poem "Las Alturas de Machu Picchu" in the song's introduction. Here perhaps Baez was unwittingly channeling Neruda's indirect connection to the song through the figure of Paul Robeson. In the 1950s, Neruda commissioned a studio recording of the Chilean song "Canto a la pampa" ("Song to the Plain") from Robeson, whose right to perform in Peekskill, New York, as discussed in Chapter 3, had been defended by unionists singing "We Shall Not Be Moved."[12] At the same time, Baez was already thinking about Chile when she recorded the album the year following the military's takeover of the country. Indeed, the album's title, *Gracias a la vida* (*Thanks to Life*), comes from the most famous song written by Violeta Parra, the "godmother" of the Chilean new song movement, and also includes a cover of Víctor Jara's song "Te recuerdo, Amanda" ("I Remember You, Amanda").

Later, when she visited Chile on a human rights mission in 1981, Baez led the women of the Agrupación de Familiares de los Detenidos Desaparecidos (Organization of Family Members of the Detained and Disappeared) in a spontaneous rendition of the song, a moment that was captured in the documentary *There but for Fortune: Joan Baez in Latin America* (First Run Icarus Films 1983). Interestingly, although these Chilean women clearly were familiar with the song, they did not appear to know the lyrics of the refrain—"como un árbol firme junto al río" ("like a tree firmly next to the river")—that Baez sang, with the women smiling and humming most of the song except the line "no nos moverán" itself. Surely, this was because they were instead familiar with Tiemponuevo's lyrics, "y él que no crea que haga la prueba" ("let he who does not believe it put it to the test"). Thirty-three years later, in March 2014, Baez returned to Chile to perform for the first time since her 1981 human rights visit. She performed two nearly sold-out concerts at the Teatro Caupolicán in Santiago, leading the audience in a rendition of "No nos moverán" on both

evenings as her final encore. On the first evening, she sang the refrain with most of the audience enthusiastically singing with her the initial "no, no, no nos moverán" only to have them drop out when she completed the refrain with the lyrics "como un árbol firme junto al río." On subsequent refrains, she motioned for the audience to sing it on their own, which they did, even more enthusiastically: "y él que no crea que haga la prueba." On the second night, she did not bother to sing "como un árbol" at all, enjoying listening to the audience sing the Chilean refrain from the outset.[13] Baez has sung the song many times in the Spanish-speaking world, but to no greater applause than when she sang it on a television program in Madrid, performing in Spain for the first time in her career following the death of Francisco Franco, the fascist military dictator who had ruled the country with an iron fist for four decades. In the next chapter, I explore how the song traveled to Spain and gained popularity as an antifascist protest anthem.

6 / Across the Atlantic to Spain

By the time Joan Baez arrived in Spain in 1977 to perform for the first time, "No nos moverán" was already well known as a protest song against the country's fascist regime. Generalísimo Francisco Franco, the country's dictator, had died in 1975, but Spain had not yet made the transition to democracy. Baez had been an international star for many years by then and was better-known in the Spanish-speaking world than ever before, following her well-received album *Gracias a la vida,* which had been released in 1974. She had refused to perform in Spain until that moment to avoid the appearance of condoning Franco's fascist regime and its many human-rights violations. One of the highlights of Baez's tour, and one that generated considerable controversy, was her appearance on a popular television show called *Esta noche, fiesta,* where she sang "No nos moverán," dedicating it to Dolores Ibárruri, "La Pasionaria," the famed communist leader and orator who in 1936 had rallied Republican forces in the defense of Madrid, and for whom San Antonio's Emma Tenayuca, discussed in the previous chapter, had been nicknamed. Baez reminisces about this moment in her 1987 autobiography:

> I spoke of the best-known heroine of the antifascist resistance: "I wish to dedicate a song to a very brave woman who

> is known for her courage in the resistance. I, too, am a soldier for justice, but I fight without guns, with nonviolence. But with much respect, I sing this song for La Pasionaria." . . . I began the song I had chosen to honor La Pasionaria, which was "No nos moverán," one of the anthems of the resistance, known and sung in English as "We Shall Not Be Moved." It was one of the songs censored from my Spanish album *and had not been sung openly in Spain for forty years*. . . . At the time, I had no idea of the impact this simple song would have on so many people. . . . I was told that hearing "No nos moverán" and La Pasionaria's name had broken a spell, or perhaps broken through a layer of protective silence that still surrounded the great, though entombed, Generalísimo Franco. There was wild celebration, hugging, kissing, weeping, and toasting in the living rooms and bars of Spain. Fresh strength was lent to and derived from the ghostly memories of the armies of the poor. The children in their rows of tiny coffins were remembered again and through the tears were rocked again by their mothers and kissed on their foreheads by their fathers. I had brought healing and jubilation as my gift to Spain. (Baez 1987: 256–258; emphasis added)[1]

The International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War

Based on Baez's account, it would seem that "We Shall Not Be Moved" must have originally arrived in Spain in the 1930s, in time to have been sung by loyalists in the face of the fascist onslaught of the civil war. Given that the song had not been put to the service of union organizing and other left-wing causes in the United States until the early 1930s, it would seem that the song likely went to Spain with U.S. volunteers in the famous Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which was organized to aid the defense of the Republic. This makes sense especially given that many of its three thousand volunteers were either union members, Communist Party members, or both, who shipped out to Spain starting in 1936, a time when Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) organizing and strikes in the United States were at their height and the song "We Shall Not Be Moved" was known by many unionists all over the country. Robert Rosenstone (1980: 98), author

of one of the definitive works on the Lincoln Brigade, reports that "the average volunteer . . . was a man between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-seven who lived in an industrial, urban center where labor unions and radical political parties were active" and that "if he did not work in a factory or on the docks, he might very well be a seaman, struggling to organize a union, or a college student active in the League Against War and Fascism." More specifically, Rosenstone (1980: 100–101) notes that "more than 1,000 of the Lincolns had seen violence and death on the picket lines long before they had reached Spain . . . [f]or this was the era when workers were seeking to unionize the great American industries and when many employers were resisting to the bitter end, utilizing private police, strikebreakers, thugs, spies and agents provocateurs [as well as] tear gas, machine guns and firearms." Although many *brigadistas* were communist sympathizers or members of the Communist Party USA, no definitive figures on the proportion of volunteers who had been party members are available. Moreover, as Rosenstone (1980: 114) remarks, "to say a man who went to Spain was a member of the Communist Party is not to differentiate him ideologically from nonparty members in the ranks," since "there was a community of belief among the men who went to Spain; all shared in one way or another in the 'conscience of the thirties'" and "all believed that the rise of the right in Europe was a threat to the workingman of America and all saw the war as a means of hitting back at the fascism they abhorred."[2] It is not surprising, therefore, that when I asked Pete Seeger whether he knew who might have carried "We Shall Not Be Moved" to Spain in the 1930s, he replied that "there were so many lefties in the United States that knew the song by then that it could have been anybody" (Pete Seeger, pers. comm., July 21, 2011). That said, Peter Carroll (1994: 19) estimates, without citing sources, that "between two-thirds and three-quarters of all American recruits identified themselves as members of the Communist Party or one of its affiliated groups."

Looking at the backgrounds of some of the Lincoln Brigade's individual volunteers is even more suggestive of the likelihood that the *brigadistas* brought "We Shall Not Be Moved" to Spain with them and then upon arrival saw the lyrical relevance of the song for steeling the resolve of troops and civilians dedicated to the defense of the Republic. In his memoir, *Comrades: Tales of a Brigadista in the*

Spanish Civil War, Harry Fisher (1997: 3) relates that before shipping out to Spain several years later, he had been a student at Commonwealth College, the radical Arkansas labor school allied with the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU) that, as described in Chapter 3, had adopted "We Shall Not Be Moved" as its anthem.[3] Mack Coad, a black volunteer who had been a steelworker in Birmingham, Alabama, joined the Communist Party in 1930. In the early thirties, before leaving for Spain, Coad had been involved in organizing the Alabama Share Croppers' Union (Collum and Berch 1992: 68; Kelley 1990: 40–41), whose musical repertoire also prominently featured "We Shall Not Be Moved" (Collum and Berch 1992: 12; Kelley 1990: 105). Black communists in Birmingham were apt to sing the song at their gatherings, as were members of local CIO unions (Kelley 1990: 99, 136, 149). Finally, Lincoln Brigade veteran John Tisa, a New Jersey unionist, student of Brookwood Labor College, and an entertainer in one of Brookwood's well-known traveling labor "chautauquas" (Tisa 1985: 48–49), reports that *brigadistas* amused themselves by teaching Spanish children revolutionary songs in English, though he does not specify that "We Shall Not Be Moved" was one of them (Tisa 1937: 8).

Interestingly, the United Farm Workers (UFW) troupe, Teatro Campesino, also included songs from the Spanish Civil War in its repertoire. Luis Valdez says the following about the possible connection between the Spanish Civil War and the Spanish version of "We Shall Not Be Moved" that he and Agustín Lira developed:

> Joan Baez, of course, recorded her own version, but that was some time after we had been singing the song at strike meetings in Delano. The connection with Spain is not out of the ordinary, as we also sang songs from the Spanish Civil War, such as "Si Me Quieres Escribir" ["If You Wish to Write Me"]. These were some of my favorites, and they became part of our repertoire. "No nos moverán" was not part of this group, but I suppose it could have been. The link with the Civil Rights Movement was more immediate. (Luis Valdez, pers. comm., September 7, 2011)

Nevertheless, there appears to be no written or aural record of "We Shall Not Be Moved" in its original English version or as "No

nos moverán" being sung by anyone in Spain before the late 1960s. The song does not appear, for example, in any of the *cancioneros* (songbooks) from the *guerra civil* (civil war),[4] nor are musicologists and folklorists familiar with its performance there during the war or in the decades immediately following the fascist triumph.[5] Similarly, it is absent from recorded collections of Spanish Civil War songs, including a selection of songs from the Abraham Lincoln Brigade performed by Pete Seeger, who almost certainly, given his personal role in popularizing the song in the United States, would have included a Spanish version of "We Shall Not Be Moved" from the period if he had known that one existed.[6]

It is impossible to say definitively that no version of "We Shall Not Be Moved" was sung in Spain during or in the decades immediately following the *guerra civil*, for it is quite possible that, like the pecan shellers' Spanish version sung in an San Antonio, Texas, jail in 1938, one was invented and sung on one occasion and soon forgotten to all but those who sang or heard it at that moment. Nevertheless, as the musicologist and producer Xavier Pintanel points out, it is unlikely that any "Republican" version of the song would have survived the savage repression of the Franco dictatorship:

> It is quite possible that this song was brought to Spain with the international brigades. I doubt, however, that it would have survived Franco's repression, where anyone suspected of thinking even slightly differently than the regime was shot or imprisoned if he didn't have the good fortune to be able to cross the border into exile. In fact, the popular songs associated with the Republican cause survived in exile, but not in Spain, and returned at the end of the seventies, once Franco was dead. (Xavier Pintanel, pers. comm., August 8, 2011)[7]

In concluding this consideration of the possibility that the transformation of "We Shall Not Be Moved" into "No nos moverán" in Spain was the product of the participation of the Lincoln Brigade in the *guerra civil*, it seems likely that Baez's belief that she had sung "No nos moverán" for the first time in public in the country since the 1930s owes to her confusing this song with the famous Republican anthem "No pasarán" ("They Will Not Pass"), whose title and refrain echoes

La Pasionaria's famous words rallying Republicans to the defense of Madrid. The music for this song was composed by the German Jewish composer Hanns Eisler in 1937 after he visited Barcelona, and the lyric was written by the Spanish writer and Republican soldier José Herrera Petere (F. Klein 2008: 45). Another song titled "No pasarán" was written in the United States by Leopoldo González, a native of the Asturias region in Spain, who resided in the 1930s in Tampa, Florida, where he worked as a *lector* (reader) in a cigar-rolling factory. González's version of the song was popular among people on the left who sympathized with the Republican cause (Fernández 2012; García 2000).[8] Baez is not the only person to confuse "No nos moverán" with "No pasarán." Several people whom I approached for more information on the history of "No nos moverán" in Spain initially responded by telling me about "No pasarán" instead. More tellingly, a correspondent for the Mexican newspaper *El Universal* who reported on the massive protests by the so-called *indignados* (the indignant ones) in Madrid's Puerta de Sol (the city's central plaza) in May 2011[9] told of thousands chanting, "'No nos moverán,' la célebre consigna que entonaban las tropas republicanas durante la Guerra Civil española (1936–1939)" ("'They will not move us,' the celebrated slogan sung by Republican troops during the Spanish Civil War [1936–1939]") and that it had been "la más coreada durante toda la tarde" ("the most widely sung the whole afternoon"; Anabitarte 2011).

"No nos moverán" and Student Protests against Franco

By the end of the 1960s, "No nos moverán" was being sung frequently in Spain in protests against the Franco dictatorship. Having established that the song did not begin its career in Spain during the *guerra civil*, the question remains of when and how, exactly, it did arrive. In principle, the version sung in Spanish by the Teatro Campesino could have made it through the activist network to Spain by that time. That does not appear to be the case, however, given the lyrical differences between Teatro's version and the one that came to be sung commonly in Spain. While in Teatro Campesino's version, the refrain says "como un árbol firme junto al río" ("like a tree firmly next to the river"), in Spain the refrain typically is sung as "igual que el pino junto a la ribera" ("like the pine next to the riverbank").

Moreover, none of the Spanish informants and written sources I have consulted has mentioned any Spanish version of the song from the United States, save for the one sung by Baez, which she did not record until 1974 and which was not commercially available in Spain until after Franco's death.

Xesco Boix and the Grup de Folk in Barcelona

Interestingly, the first version of "We Shall Not Be Moved" to become popular in Spain was not sung in Spanish at all but rather in Catalan, by a young musician and activist named Xesco Boix, who had learned the song from the repertoire of Pete Seeger, whom Boix had met and idolized. According to his friend and biographer, Lluis Panyella,[10] Boix had participated in the Delegación Diocesana de Escultismo ([DDE]; Diocesan Scouting Delegation) as an adolescent in Catalonia, which in the 1950s operated as a branch of the international Boy Scouts under the protection of the Catholic Church and served as a nonfascist alternative to the Franco dictatorship's Organización de Juventudes Españolas (Spanish Youth Organization). Boix's experience in DDE included a great deal of singing on hikes, camping trips, and jamborees, where he learned to sing folk songs from all over the world. In 1963, when Xesco was seventeen years old, his brother-in-law, a doctor, returned from a sojourn in the United States and brought him the *We Shall Overcome* LP of Seeger's now-historic concert in Carnegie Hall that marked a high point of the folk song revival in this country. The discovery of Seeger's music, which was banned and largely unavailable in Spain except as contraband, inspired the young Boix.[11] He had this to say about it to Panyella:

> When I read the words of Pete Seeger on the cover of one of his albums, I discovered a new world and when I heard that warm voice of his, with its vagabond air and the dynamics of a free-wheeling man that transmitted honorability and sincerity, I felt loved by a man who profoundly loved freedom. That voice communicated conviction and hope through controversial songs beyond the commercial model. It was as if that voice was talking directly to your heart. When I listened to that record, I realized that I wanted to sing, too, and play

> the guitar like him and follow in his path and way of thinking. There were so many things broken in the world! And songs could be a good tool to fix them. What a lovely dream! And how difficult to turn it into reality! (Lluis Panyella, pers. comm., August 28, 2012)

A year later (1964–1965), Boix spent a gap year studying in Los Angeles, California, under the auspices of the international exchange program known as American Field Service (http://www.afs.org). During his time in the United States, Boix witnessed the rise of the antiwar movement and the hippie counterculture, heard about the civil rights movement, learned to play the guitar, and absorbed as much as he could of the Anglophone folk music represented by the example of Seeger. He also attended the famed Newport Folk Festival, where he got to meet Seeger and saw him perform live for the first time, along with other American folk icons, including Bob Dylan, Baez, and Phil Ochs. Upon returning to Catalonia in 1965 and entering university, he found the cultural resistance to the dictatorship in full swing, represented mainly by the Nova Cançó movement, inspired by Francophone singer-songwriters, such as Jacques Brel and Georges Brassens. At the center of this movement stood the singer-songwriter collective Els 16 Jutges (The Sixteen Judges), featuring the singers Pi de la Serra, Raimon, Lluis Llach, Joan Manuel Serrat, and María del Mar Bonet, among others. Boix threw himself musically into the anti-Franco movement, inspired not by the French songwriters but rather by the singers he had heard in the United States. In 1966, he returned to the United States to visit friends there and spent several days with Seeger at his rural home near Beacon, New York. In 1967, Xesco and his friend Jaume Armella founded El Grup de Folk de Barcelona, which performed translations of U.S. songs in an American folk style. “We Shall Not Be Moved,” with Boix singing and playing the banjo, was an essential element of Grup de Folk’s repertoire. Panyella, Boix’s biographer, reports that Boix debuted “We Shall Not Be Moved” in Catalan as “No serem moguts” at an anti-Franco demonstration in Barcelona in 1967:

> The singer Juame Armella testified to me that he was present in 1967 when Xesco Boix debuted the song “No serem

> moguts." In the middle of a student demonstration against the dictatorship in the middle of the "Gran Vía" Avenue in Barcelona, seated on the ground with his guitar and singing with a group of students as Franco's police charged towards them! Xesco Boix was beaten and arrested that day. . . . The anti-Franco struggle inspired Xesco to translate "We Shall Not Be Moved" into Catalan. Armella affirms that "that song was perfect to use at a time when songs like 'No serem moguts' were lacking in our struggle. The songs that Els 16 Jutjes sang, for example, were very pretty but they were difficult to learn and difficult to teach and get people to sing them en masse in a demonstration." (Lluis Panyella, pers. comm., August 28, 2012)[12]

Eleven years after Boix's untimely death in 1984 (see J. Cohen 1984 and "Murió el músico catalán Xesco Boix" 1984), Baez performed his version of the song in a concert in the Pau de la Música de Barcelona, which was recorded for Spanish television.[13] Boix's Catalan lyrics to "We Shall Not Be Moved" read as follows:

No serem, no serem moguts!	We will not be, we will not be moved!
No serem, no serem moguts,	We will not be, we will not be moved,
igual que el pi aprop de la ribera,	like the pine tree near the riverbank
no serem moguts!	We will not be moved!
Ens empara el Sindicat, no serem moguts!	We protect the Union, we will not be moved!
Ens empara el Sindicat, no serem moguts,	We protect the Union, we will not be moved,
igual que el pi aprop de la ribera,	like the pine tree near the riverbank,
no serem moguts!	We will not be moved!
No serem, no serem moguts!	We will not be, we will not be moved!
No serem, no serem moguts,	We will not be, we will not be moved,

igual que el pi aprop de la ribera,	like the pine tree near the riverbank,
no serem moguts!	We will not be moved!
Lluitarem i aguantarem . . .	We'll fight and endure . . .
El Nord i el Sud tots junts . . .	North and South together . . .

Grup de Folk's recording of "No serem moguts," featuring Boix singing lead and playing the five-string banjo, Seeger-style, appears on their 1968 album *Festival de Folk* (Als 4 Vents).[14] It is worth noting here that Grup de Folk's records were published by a label associated with a small bookstore publisher in Barcelona named Hogar del Libro (Home of the Book). Armella, one of the founders of Grup de Folk, had come to work with Hogar del Libro to publish pocket-size editions of songbooks to be used by schools, churches, and scouting groups on their excursions. Once this connection was established, Ángel Fábregas, one of the directors of the bookstore and an enthusiastic booster of the Catalan language and fan of the Nova Cançó, legally incorporated the record label Als 4 Vents to distribute the recordings of Grup de Folk. The runs of these discs were always very small, never more than three hundred copies that were distributed to only a few stores that sold records. It appears that Franco's censors did not believe that the pressing of these records constituted any kind of political threat to the regime. Nevertheless, things were different with regard to Grup de Folk's public performances: "You have to bear in mind that of every three concerts, two were prohibited by the government. On many occasions the singing took place clandestinely without permission or even hidden out in the woods" (Lluis Panyella, pers. comm., July 25, 2013).

Canción del Pueblo in Madrid

While Boix and his companions in Barcelona formed Grup de Folk, a group of young singer-activists in Madrid formed a collective called Canción del Pueblo (Song of the People), whose members were also familiar with the Anglo American folk-protest repertoire. Like its Catalan counterpart, Canción de Pueblo was founded in 1967 and lasted only through the following year before its individual members, who included the subsequently well-known singer-songwriters Hila-

rio Camacho, Adolfo Celdrán, and Elisa Serna, went their separate ways. Its members, mostly students at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, began to meet informally in 1966 and became known to the public only after their first recital, titled "Folk Song (música popular)," took place in the theater of the Instituto Ramiro de Maeztu in November of the following year. After that concert, Serna explained to a reporter that the mission of the singers who had performed in the concert had been "to narrate, in a direct and easily understood way, using a pure melody devoid of any commercialism, real situations or the psychological reactions of the man on the street, of the people, in the face of current social and political events" (quoted in Cárdenas 2011). Years later, Celdrán explained that while all the members of Canción del Pueblo shared their opposition to Franco's dictatorship, the group had no specific party line, although several participants were then or later became affiliated with the Partido Comunista de España (Spanish Communist Party):

> We were an opposition group. We took that as our role. It is very clear to me that, in those days, opposing the system was to be alive. To talk about sexuality or politics was to oppose the system. To do what you wanted and what you felt was to be opposed to the system. To shout out your happiness was to oppose the system. (quoted in González Lucini 1998: 129)

Like Grup de Folk in Barcelona, the members of Canción del Pueblo were strongly influenced by the folk-protest-song movement of the English-speaking world; the new generation of Francophone songwriters; the poetry of Frederico García Lorca, León Felipe, and Miguel Hernández; and Latin American folk protest singers, such as Atahualpa Yupanqui, Daniel Viglietti, and Violeta Parra (López Barrios 1976: 28; González Lucini 2006: 399). Beginning in the early 1960s, Spanish youth had been able to listen to English-language pop and folk music of all types on a popular radio program titled *Caravana Musical*, which broadcast songs by Dylan, Seeger, Baez, Ochs, and Tom Paxton (Claudín 1981: 171). According to Serna, she and several other members of Canción del Pueblo believed that their access to socially and politically conscious music from outside fascist Spain was so important that they rented a secret space to store

records and songbooks that had been brought into the country clandestinely (Claudín 1981: 174). Celdrán had the following to say about the influence of U.S. singer-songwriters on the collective:

> These were times, in Franco's Spain, when we admired the hippie movement and the movement against the war in Vietnam and listened to the singers of U.S. folk songs: Pete Seeger [with whom I have a photo, taken in Madrid with one of my Spanish singing partners, Elisa Serna, from when he made a brief visit to our country], Joan Baez, Woody Guthrie, Bob Dylan, and so many others. . . . We played and translated their songs into Spanish. (Adolfo Celdrán, pers. comm., June 13, 2012)

As a musical collective, Canción del Pueblo was unstable and unwieldy from its outset. Upon leaving it, individual members continued with their solo careers and other groups emerged. One of these groups was La Trágala, composed of Ignacio Fernández Toca, Hilario Camacho, José Manuel Bravo, Manuel Toharia, and Serna, named for the song from the Republican repertoire from the *guerra civil*. The journalism student Antonio Gómez was also affiliated with the group, but more as the group's "political theorist" than as a musician and singer. In early 1967, Fernández Toca went to Barcelona to visit some friends during the holidays. He had lived in Barcelona as a child, and one of his boyhood friends was, coincidentally, Xesco Boix. Fernández Toca looked up Boix on this trip and got together with him and his fellow singers and musicians in Grup de Folk. The purpose of the trip, according to Fernández Toca, was social, not musical:

> It was really just happenstance. When we were just getting going with singing [in Madrid], I got in touch with Xesco in Barcelona to see him while I was on a trip there and he was the one who put us in touch with the groups there. But I already knew him for personal reasons that had nothing to do with singing. There was really not much contact between Barcelona and Madrid at that time in terms of [protest song]. Barcelona had a big head start, going back to 1960 or 1961. You had the group Els 16 Jutges from the beginning, reviving folk-song in Catalan, and then other groups formed, and you

> had Raimon in there, too. So Catalonia was way ahead. They were more professional. But really, at this level there wasn't much contact. Perhaps with a few people, but nothing more. (Ignacio Fernández Toca, telephone interview with author, June 9, 2014)

Fernández Toca learned the Catalan version of "We Shall Not Be Moved" directly from Boix on this visit and soon thereafter translated it verbatim from Catalan to Castilian Spanish.[15] Fernández Toca subsequently taught the song to activists and fellow musicians in Madrid, explaining to them what he knew of the song's history in the United States as a union and black civil rights song, which he had learned from talking with Boix on his visit to Barcelona.[16] When I spoke with him by phone some forty-seven years later, he told me that he really had not known very much about the song's origins and history when he taught it to his fellow activist singers in Madrid:

> It evidently had to do with black civil rights, that part I understood. I don't remember anything else. I don't know if it was linked with themes of racists, of segregation, when they didn't let blacks into certain places or how they had to sit in the back of the bus or things of this sort. And that the song was tied to union struggles as well. But although I may have known some other details then, I can't remember them now. I'd be lying to you if I said otherwise! (Ignacio Fernández Toca, telephone interview with author, June 9, 2014)

Needless to say, Franco's censors and the politically oriented nature of Canción del Pueblo's project made certain that the songs performed by the collective's members would have trouble getting recorded and distributed by a commercial record label. In the face of this situation, in early 1968 a group of university students, among them Luis José Leal, one of the members of Canción del Pueblo, gathered small donations from fellow students to found their own independent record enterprise they named EDUMSA—Editorial Universitaria Madrileña, Sociedad Anónima (González Lucini 2006: 405). EDUMSA quickly published several records by various members of the Canción del Pueblo collective. One of these was a single

containing two songs performed by Fernández Toca, accompanied by Manuel Toharia on guitar. Side 1 features Fernández Toca singing one of his own songs, "El cañaveral," and Side 2 contains his now famous version of "No nos moverán." In the absence of documentation of other recordings of the song in Castilian Spanish[17] that might have existed at that time, it seems that this must have been the "grabación casi casera de activistas españoles" ("almost homemade recording from Spanish activists") obtained by members of the Chilean group Tiemponuevo, whose own adaptation of the song to their country's reality was broadcast on Radio Magallanes as the socialist government of Salvador Allende fell on September 11, 1973. Fernández Toca confirms the primitive nature of his recording of the song:

> They were really bad recordings. Really bad because none of us had ever seen the inside of a studio before. And we'd go into the studio and sit down and record whatever. [And when they played it back for us] we'd say "Great! Wonderful!" because we'd never ever heard ourselves like that in our lives! And that's how things worked. With four friends who got together to applaud one another. That was it and then we were out of there! And then later, things got more professional. Some of us started studying music more seriously and so on. But at that moment, we were real amateurs. At least from my point of view. (Ignacio Fernández Toca, telephone interview with author, June 9, 2014)

According to Antonio Gómez, a fellow member of the Canción del Pueblo collective, fewer than one thousand copies of EDUMSA's recording of "No nos moverán" were ever circulated. Neither Gómez nor Fernández Toca has a copy today. The song caught on via word of mouth through the recitals of Canción del Pueblo and the singing of songs at student demonstrations throughout Spain, as Gómez relates:

> You have to take into account the situation in Spain at that moment. It's a dictatorship. And in addition it was a time of strict censorship. So the verses that were recorded [on the single] say practically nothing: *like a pine on the riverbank.* And this has almost no meaning. But the song took on meaning when it

> was sung collectively, when people sang it. In reality the records that were put out in Catalan, in Castilian Spanish, and later in Galician, had almost no impact. What did have an impact was that the song got sung more and more in protests on university campuses in the years '68, '69, and '70 and gets converted into an absolute anthem. It was basically an anthem for university students, who were the only ones who were in a position to demonstrate, since they were all together in the same place in the university and they saw each other every day and had a lot of free time. And logically it was where it was easiest for spontaneous and ongoing demonstrations to take place. And it was more complicated in the working-class world. (Antonio Gómez, telephone interview with author, July 22, 2013)

Adolfo Celdrán, a fellow member of the Canción del Pueblo collective, offers the following reminiscence about the early singing of "No nos moverán" in Madrid and elsewhere in Castilian-speaking Spain:

> We would sing various songs adapted from American folk music in our performances. For example I translated and sang "Kum Ba Yah." And in our performances, in which one would sing some of his or her own songs, we'd frequently finish up singing, performers and audience together, "No nos moverán" that Ignacio Fernández Toca first adapted into Castilian Spanish and that then was converted into an anthem of resistance against the dictatorship and in favor of the democracy that we all aspired to. . . . Before Ignacio's record came out in May 1968 no recorded version was in circulation, unless there were individual homemade recordings out there, which I doubt because back then tape recorders were pretty primitive and quite heavy. We only sang the song at our performances. And people learned it and sang it in strikes, demonstrations, sit-ins, etcetera, making up verses to fit the occasion. (Adolfo Celdrán, pers. comm., June 13–14, 2012)

Fernández Toca confirms these accounts from his old comrades in song and provides additional observations:

> It took off on its own right away, completely independent of me. Because it's a song that appeared at a moment when sit-ins had become a common activity, which went along with a pacifist attitude. And then because the people that were directing mass meetings and things like that understood that the song practically taught itself. It could be sung in chorus without any rehearsal. And it got sung in situations like that, and really quite horribly! It was sung really badly! [*chuckles*] Totally messing it up! Like it was a military march or something, when there was nothing military about it! But anyway, it was a song that started to get sung in demonstrations that were basically promoted, as I recall, by the Spanish Communist Party. . . . I wasn't a member [of the party]. I was someone who was involved in the student movement but I didn't belong to any party. At that time in all the major actions in the struggle—mass meetings, demonstrations, whatever it was—a lot of different people took part, even though it was the parties, among them the Communist Party, that played a bigger role in organizing them. They were the ones that took the lead. (Ignacio Fernández Toca, telephone interview with author, June 9, 2014)

Gómez offers the additional observation that whereas in the civil rights movement in the United States the song "We Shall Not Be Moved" was often sung defiantly in sit-ins as demonstrators nonviolently faced arrest, in Spain students would typically sing it as they ran from the police who appeared on the scene to suppress a demonstration. Gómez's anecdote offers an ironic illustration of the point made in this book's Introduction—that the identities social movement participants affirm in song are just as often subjectively aspirational as they are objectively real.

Franco's censorship and lack of resources severely limited the ability of artists like the members of Canción del Pueblo to reach a mass audience via professionally produced commercial recordings, even compared to their Catalan-singing counterparts during the same period. Fernando González Lucini (2006: 409) explains that the problems facing these singers in the Madrid of the mid- to late 1960s amounted to more than lack of access to the media. Their

counterparts in Barcelona, for example, had the backing of a Catalonian intellectual bourgeoisie for their *nova cançó,* who saw this musical form as part of the struggle to defend Catalonian language and national identity. Moreover, González Lucini notes, the Madrid singers found themselves "in the eye of the hurricane" of Franco's repression, "with nothing more than their songs and their dreams to blaze a trail for their shared ideals." Performers who violated censors' rulings about what they could and could not play in public could be jailed, as Serna and others were on numerous occasions. The reasons given by censors for banning performances of certain performers and certain songs could be truly comical. In the case of Serna, for example, the Brigada de Información Social (Press Information Brigade, the censorship agency) found on one occasion that a public performance by her might "provocar un grado de excitación en el público capaz de dañar la paz social" ("arouse the public to the point of damaging social peace"), which, according to the Madrid newspaper *El País,* was a review that the U.S. singer Madonna later would have paid half her fortune to receive (Niño 1996). Adolfo Celdrán had this to say about how the censorship of records and performances took place under the Franco dictatorship in the late 1960s and early 1970s:

> When you were going to make a record, the record company had to submit the song lyrics for approval ahead of time to the Censura del Ministerio de Información y Turismo [the Censorship Office of the Ministry of Information and Tourism]. The same was true for all the books and anything else published in that period. They would read them and put a seal on them saying "permitted" or "prohibited." I have photocopies of songs filled with "prohibited" seals, among them my version of the song "No nos moverán."[18] In some cases, they would permit you to record the song but they'd put a seal on it saying "NO RADIABLES" ["NOT FOR RADIO BROADCAST"]. For example, on my first album *Cajitas* [*Little Boxes*] in 1969, a song based on a text by Bertolt Brecht that I titled "General" was classified by the censorship office as "not for broadcast." And that's what we put on the back cover of the record. I don't

> think that the censorship office liked that much since they preferred that people not be reminded that censorship existed, even if everyone knew it. (Adolfo Celdrán, pers. comm., June 15, 2012)

Gómez reports that although the pressing of the original records in Catalan, Castilian Spanish, and Galician of "We Shall Not Be Moved" was permitted by censors, all of them were immediately classified as *no radiables*. Once the authorities realized that the song had quickly become part of the repertoire of anti-Franco demonstrators, its public performance was also banned. In 1977, after the death of Franco and during the campaign for the first free elections in Spain since the fall of the Republic, Celdrán released an album containing songs that had been censored, titled *Denegado* (*Censored*).[19] "No nos moverán" was the opening track on the album. Even though Franco had died and the dictatorship was in its death throes, Celdrán still had to deal with the censors, as he relates here:

> Paradoxically, even the songs I recorded in 1977 on my *Denegado* [*Censored*] LP had to pass the censors. And to our surprise the song "General" that in 1969 had passed as "not for broadcast" this time was "prohibited." And this in the middle of the campaign for the first democratic elections in Spain since the [civil] war! Finally it came out because we presented the permit for the song from 1968 for its recording in the studio in 1969 and they had to shut up, ashamed, I imagine, and permit it to be recorded. (Adolfo Celdrán, pers. comm., June 15, 2012)

Nevertheless, the songs of Canción del Pueblo and other artists "con conciencia" ("with a social conscience") could occasionally be heard on the airwaves in at least some places, such as on the Partido Comunista de España's (Spanish Communist Party's) shortwave Radio España Independiente, better known by its nickname La Pirenaica (the Pyrenean) that broadcast to Spain from Bucharest, Romania. Ramón Mendezona, the last director of La Pirenaica before it ceased broadcasting in 1978, commented that by the late 1960s,

"protest song" occupied "an extremely important place" in the mission of the station, ranging from "el ¡Basta ya! (Enough already!) by Atahualpa Yupanqui (of Argentina)[20] to the catchy ¡No nos moverán! sung by students in Zaragoza" (Mendezona 1995: 123).

"No nos moverán" in Post-Franco Spain

Since the fall of Franco, the song "No nos moverán" has become a stable element, if not a major one, of Spanish popular culture. At the beginning of the 1980s, it was part of the soundtrack of a popular television series called *Verano azul* (*Blue Summer*), whose antepenultimate episode bore the song's name.[21] "No nos moverán" has also become a common *cántico* (chant or cheer) among Spanish soccer fans as well as among fans in Great Britain, where presumably it derives from the popularity of "We Shall Not Be Moved" with the labor movement there (Labour Party 1955).[22] And the song has been a staple at rallies and meetings throughout Spain in recent years as millions of *indignados* (indignant citizens) have taken to the streets to demand a solution to the problems they face as a consequence of the country's dire financial and employment crisis (Niño 2011 and Tejeda 2011). Indeed, in 2011, a group calling itself "Indignados" recorded several songs, including "No nos moverán" as part of an mp3 "album" titled *Canciones para un movimiento popular: Madrid 15 M* (*Songs for a People's Movement: Madrid May 15*) that was available for download on the sites of a number of online vendors of music, including Amazon.com. Paradoxically, the song did not seem to have gained much currency in the massive student protest movement in Chile that blossomed in 2011 (see McSherry and Molina Mejía 2011), where presumably it would have made sense to sing in the face of police attempts to dislodge young people from the public school campuses they had occupied, on the one hand, and to disperse their street demonstrations with tear gas, clubs, and water cannons, on the other. "No nos moverán" nonetheless lives on in the memory of older activists and aficionados of the *nueva canción* in Chile, as evidenced by their hearty singing of Tiemponuevo's version of the refrain when Baez performed the song in Santiago's historic Teatro Caupolicán in March 2014.

My comprehensive review of the empirical aspects of the history of the journey of "I Shall Not Be Moved" and how it came to be sung as "No nos moverán" in support of Chile's socialist government of the early 1970s ends here. As I have traced its route from the camp meetings of the U.S. South; through the U.S. labor, civil rights, and farmworker movements; to student mobilizations against the Franco dictatorship in Spain, I have shown how the song, in all its versions, has fulfilled important functions for the social movements in which it has been sung. As explained in the book's Introduction, these functions have been varied. The song has helped movement participants forge their identities as people committed to changing the world and to building solidarity among themselves. It has enabled people to overcome their fears, whether in an automobile workers' strike in Michigan or in the face of a fascist mob in Peekskill, New York. It has helped people to combat discouragement and to spiritually sanctify and sustain their collective efforts in the face of adversity, from the cotton fields of Arkansas to the streets of Santiago. In Part II, I consider other conceptual aspects of the song's history, using the empirical details presented in Part I as data to interpret and analyze. The chapters in Part II address, in turn, three main questions. First, what were the social factors that promoted or inhibited the dissemination of the song through so many social change movements? Second, what cultural and linguistic complications did the participants in these movements have to contend with to make the song work for them? And third, to what extent might we regard a shared set of underlying values and orientations among members of a transnational left-wing "tribe" or "diaspora" as having facilitated the adoption of this song as a transcultural resource for social change?

II /

MOVEMENTS AND MEANINGS

7 / Social Movement

A Song's Journey across Time and Space

Even the loudest singing by the grandest choir cannot be heard by anyone more than a few hundred feet away. Songs do not just "blow in the wind" toward people geographically distant from those who have sung them. Additionally, after their live performance, songs do not remain in the air surrounding their singers and audiences, except in some metaphorical sense. Even within the same geographical community, whose members are in regular face-to-face communication with one another, songs are learned not simply "by osmosis" but rather through repeated performance, listening, repetition, and memorization. For a song to be learned by others outside the immediate confines of the community in which it originated, concrete, socially constructed mechanisms must exist to facilitate its transmission. Today, the transmission of songs is facilitated on a massive basis by electronic communication systems of varying types, often promoted by the investment of substantial commercial resources. Most of the travels of "I Shall Not Be Moved" from one place-bound and culturally distinct community to another in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries took place largely without the benefit of instantaneous electronic communication systems and without commercial promotion. The song's travels through social movements also occurred largely without recourse to written musi-

cal scores, although its written arrangement did appear in a number of popular church hymnals in the early decades of the twentieth century. In this chapter, I examine and analyze the specific types of social mechanisms that permitted the song's widespread dissemination from one movement to another across cultural, linguistic, and national boundaries.

Globalization and the Deterritorialization of Culture

Scholars in a variety of disciplines have argued that one of the key features of everyday life in the contemporary period is the way that cultural practices, objects, and symbols have become increasingly *deterritorialized*. By deterritorialized, they mean that such expressions of culture have been detached from their places of origin and made available for appropriation by geographically distant others owing to historically recent advances in transportation and communication technologies.[1]

Thus, if the travels of "I Shall Not Be Moved" were to have taken place today, they would be quite unremarkable, insofar as any song in any language can be instantaneously downloaded from the ether by anyone in any part of the globe, who can then put it to use for the purposes she or he sees fit. Given the historical periods in which they took place, the travels of "I Shall Not Be Moved" across time and space were actually quite remarkable, depending not on anonymous consumption facilitated by advanced electronic technologies and transnational capitalist enterprises[2] but rather on sets of purposive civil society organizations composed of individuals committed to a shared world view and moral project that transcended national boundaries and that slave owners, capitalists, and states often did their utmost to repress. Of course, the material and technological aspects of the song's transmission in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries cannot be discounted, either, given that, as John Law (1994: 24) reminds us, "left to their own devices human actions and words do not spread very far at all" (quoted in Urry 2000: 192). Thus, the transmission of "I Shall Not Be Moved" depended on the publication of the printed word (the Psalms in the King James Bible); transatlantic ship travel to enable European military forces, missionaries, and settlers and their African slaves to arrive on America's shores; and

a system of roads and canals in North America to permit the circulation of people, goods, and spoken and printed ideas throughout the continent. Later, the development of the phonograph as a way of recording and listening to music, combined with the possibility of transoceanic air travel, made it possible for a young Xesco Boix to first hear the music of the folk singer Pete Seeger in Barcelona in the early 1960s, when Boix's brother-in-law returned from a trip to the United States with one of Seeger's LPs. Nevertheless, the importance of the participation of individuals in networked organizations that promoted face-to-face cooperation should not be underestimated in the way that "I Shall Not Be Moved" was adopted by different social movements in far-flung geographical places. In this sense, we would do well to think less in terms of how "I Shall Not Be Moved" traveled from one spatially fixed, territorially bound society with its attendant culture to another[3] and more about how societies and cultures might best be thought of sociologically as networks of material "scapes" and flows of people, objects, and symbols (Appadurai 1996; Urry 2000). In the next section, I examine the networks and scapes through which "I Shall Not Be Moved" flowed on its way to being sung as "No nos moverán" in Chile, using the concept of *infrastructure* to make better sense of the social terrain traversed by this itinerant hymn.

Social and Institutional Infrastructure: The Wind beneath the Wings of a Song

The Mexican social anthropologist Efrén Sandoval refers to the set of material and social networks outlined above as *infrastructures* that permit the movement of persons and the circulation of objects among institutions and individuals who inhabit a shared social space. In this sense, he notes, "infrastructures are organized . . . by social actors that interact within the same social space; they are a manifestation of and a means for carrying out the relations that constitute that social space" (Sandoval 2008: 45). On the basis of his study of the transborder circulation of people and objects between the Mexican city of Monterrey, Nuevo León, and the U.S. city of San Antonio, Texas, Sandoval identifies three basic types of infrastructures: *physical, institutional,* and *social.* For the purposes of analyzing the dissemination of "I Shall Not Be Moved," the second two types are of greatest interest.

By *institutional* infrastructures, Sandoval (2008: 46–48) means those infrastructures developed and maintained by formal organizations, including the state, private businesses, and civic associations, while in his typology, *social* infrastructures refer to the structures underlying the circulation of people and objects deriving from informal economic activity and interpersonal relations.

I am not the first scholar to recognize the importance of infrastructures to the adoption and dissemination of songs by and through social movements. The sociologist William Roy (2010) has amply demonstrated the crucial role played by infrastructures in his path-breaking study of the deployment of song as a tool of struggle in the U.S. labor and civil rights movements of the twentieth century. Although he does not develop a detailed typology comparable to that of Sandoval, he makes it clear that cultural expressions in a society require more than just creators and consumers of cultural objects; they also require an "infrastructure" consisting of the "organizational and material activities and resources through which content is expressed" (Roy 2010: 81). More specifically, he highlights the importance of "musical infrastructure," which includes "record companies, music publishers, instrument makers, radio facilities, buildings and managers, agents, professional associations, and so forth" (2010: 82). In this regard, we could say that Roy is talking about an *institutional* type of infrastructure, using Sandoval's framework, which exists for the field of music. Relevant to analyzing the trajectory of "I Shall Not Be Moved" on its way to becoming "No nos moverán," Roy contributes the additional element of the necessity of infrastructure to the mobilization of both material and cultural resources by social movements. Counter-systemic movements, he argues, cannot rely on the physical and institutional infrastructures of the wider society to achieve their ends, pointing out that if a movement "does not mobilize cultural activities within its own organizations, it cannot control the culture and is dependent on others and vulnerable to cooptation of content and degeneration of form." It was important, then, for the movements that sang "We Shall Not Be Moved" to rely on their own infrastructures for disseminating their cultural products and thus prevent the cooptation and corruption of "insurgent content" that was likely to occur if they depended on the commercial mass media (Roy 2010: 82).

Retracing the Route of "I Shall Not Be Moved" to "No nos moverán" with an Eye toward Infrastructure

The conceptualization of society as consisting of a network of flows of people, objects, and symbols across time and space combined with the concept of infrastructure developed in parallel fashion by Roy and Sandoval allows us to see the improbable journey of "I Shall Not Be Moved" as a far more comprehensible and organized itinerary than first meets the eye. Institutional infrastructures of the associative type (i.e., those involving civic associations) played an indispensable role in the song's history from the outset, as Protestant denominations brought English-language versions of the biblical psalms with them from the British Isles in the eighteenth century and taught them to both free whites and African slaves across the North American continent. The camp meetings of the Second Great Awakening in the rural U.S. South, spontaneous and free-wheeling as they may have appeared, were also institutionally organized affairs, sponsored by evangelical churches with the purpose of gaining adherents and founding new congregations on the frontier. Transmission of early versions of "I Shall Not Be Moved" as a spiritual among slaves may have occurred informally, through a social infrastructure of personal relations, though there is no firm historical record of this taking place. On the other hand, the institutional role of churches was clear following the emancipation of slaves, as the song became a standard part of the repertoire of both African and white Protestant congregations throughout the southeastern United States, eventually making its way into such hymnals as *Spirituals Triumphant: Old and New,* published by the National Baptist Convention, a leading African American Protestant denomination (see Chapter 2).

The initial adoption of "I Shall Not Be Moved" and its reworking as "We Shall Not Be Moved" by the U.S. labor movement undoubtedly owed to the overlapping organizational memberships of miners in Protestant churches and trade unions in the West Virginia coal fields in the early 1930s. Its spread outward across the breadth of the union movement in the United States was facilitated by not only the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) during the Great Depression but also the founding of labor education orga-

nizations, such as Commonwealth College in Arkansas (headed by a Protestant preacher), Brookwood Labor College in upstate New York, and the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. During this period, unions published songbooks that invariably included versions of "We Shall Not Be Moved," and scores of unionists received training—including in the use of singing as an organizing technique—in these institutions. In this regard, the figure of Zilphia Horton, the musical director of the Highlander School, looms especially large, as she untiringly promoted singing in the union movement, conducting myriad workshops, producing hundreds of mimeographed sheets of song lyrics, and publishing a number of widely used songbooks. The Communist Party USA also played a significant role in diffusing the song among its adherents, many of whom participated in the trade union movement in the 1930s and 1940s. The role played by social infrastructure in the form of interpersonal networks was also important during this period, as exemplified by the figure of Lee Hays, the musical activist who collaborated with the Reverend Claude Williams at Commonwealth College in support of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU) and then brought "We Shall Not Be Moved" with him to New York City as part of his repertoire of "militant" songs, where he shared them with other musicians and members of the bohemian left who visited the communal house occupied by the Almanac Singers. The recording of the song by the Almanacs on an album of labor songs for the obscure Keynote label never achieved wide commercial circulation, whether in the form of radio play or record sales, but it did serve as a way of getting the song heard among urban activists and intellectuals on the left. Moreover, Pete Seeger's learning of the song from Hays near the start of his lengthy independent professional career as a politically committed folk singer led to the song's being heard by a much wider variety of audiences outside the labor movement and left-wing political organizations.

The concept of infrastructure may also shed some interpretive light on the failure of "We Shall Not Be Moved" to "take" in the Spanish language in the 1930s and 1940s, whether among the pecan shellers in San Antonio or the antifascist movement in Spain. With regard to the pecan shellers' strike in San Antonio in 1938, it is in some ways unsurprising that "No nos moverán," however ecstatically it was sung by strikers in the city jail as spontaneously led by CIO

organizers George Lambert and Santos Vásquez, failed to catch on among Mexican workers in the city. First, the pecan shellers' strike was a locally initiated, more or less spontaneous walkout, to which the existing unions of the CIO lent a hand only once it was underway. The movement of the pecan shellers was neither planned by a CIO union nor was it backed by the full institutional weight of the union federation, including its nascent cultural infrastructure, which in any event did not include much capacity to organize Spanish-speaking workers in the U.S. Southwest. Second, the strike was settled quickly, and within a couple of years mechanization displaced the Mexican workers who had dedicated themselves to shelling pecans in San Antonio. Thus, there was little time or incentive for CIO unions to develop a set of culturally appropriate materials in Spanish to organize the city's Mexican workforce. Moreover, at that time, labor education organizations, such as Brookwood and Highlander, lacked the institutional capacity to develop materials for and train monolingual Spanish-speakers, even though the historical record shows that at least a handful of Mexican unionists from San Antonio attended sessions at Highlander not long after the conclusion of the pecan shellers' strike. Had the labor movement built an institutional infrastructure for recruiting and organizing Spanish-speaking workers in the United States, whether prior to the pecan shellers' strike or as a response to it, it is likely that the permanent transformation of "We Shall Not Be Moved" into "No nos moverán" would have occurred many years sooner than it actually did.

The case of the trail of "We Shall Not Be Moved" going cold on its way to Spain in the 1930s is an intriguing one that also makes more sense in light of the importance of infrastructure to the transmission of varying forms of cultural expression through social movements. In principle, it would seem that "We Shall Not Be Moved" *must have* first been brought to Spain by volunteers in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. After all, many, if not most, of the members of the Brigade were unionists and members or sympathizers of left-wing political groups, including the Communist Party, who would have been familiar with what had rapidly become a standard labor movement "hymn" in the 1930s. At the same time, it is important to remember that the activists who traveled to Spain as volunteers with the Brigade did so under the guise of soldiers prepared to do battle in solidar-

ity with the Republican cause, not to gain converts or maintain the resolve of adherents to their own cause. Thus, there did not appear to be an institutional infrastructure set up in advance to enable the *brigadistas* to bring their own liberatory messages to Spaniards. If anything, it appears that survivors of the Brigade did more to carry Republican songs back to the United States with them following the victory of the fascists than to have contributed cultural expressions of U.S. origin to the Spanish struggle, while left-wing movements' infrastructure did more to preserve those songs than any songs the *brigadistas* might have taken with them to Spain. The other thing to bear in mind is that, even if *brigadistas* collaborated with Republican comrades to develop a Spanish-language version of "We Shall Not Be Moved," the organized Republican infrastructure for cultural expression was obliterated by Franco's fascist regime. Thus, any survivors within Spain who recalled any version of the song they learned from the international *brigadistas* would have been isolated individuals fearing for their lives in the face of the mass repression—including thousands of executions—that followed the end of the war.

As discussed extensively by Roy (2010), associative institutional movement infrastructure also played an indispensable role in the reworking of slave spirituals for use as "freedom songs" in the nascent African American civil rights movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Although these spirituals were known by most of the black activists in the movement, institutional infrastructure served as a catalyst for activating this repertoire as a vital symbolic resource for the movement and for its subsequent transmission as a powerful cultural practice. Without the song workshops organized for Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) activists by the Highlander Center, it is unlikely that such songs as "We Shall Not Be Moved" would have come to play so prominent a role in so many civil rights movement actions. Moreover, without the commitment on the part of SNCC activists in the South to promote and use "freedom songs" as an organizing tool, they would not have come to serve as an instantly recognizable "soundtrack" for the movement. In this regard, the founding of a "professional" singing group whose repertoire consisted largely of reworked spirituals—the Freedom Singers—was crucial to broadening support for the movement by bringing its messages of liberation and redemption to progressive mixed-race audi-

ences outside the U.S. South, including sympathetic white musicians like Peter, Paul, and Mary; Bob Dylan; and Joan Baez. Recordings of the freedom songs, however limited their commercial distribution was, also proved to be important to their dissemination, as evidenced by Agustín Lira's testimony in Chapter 5 that he first heard these songs on a phonograph in the United Farm Workers (UFW) organizing headquarters in Delano, California. The power of institutional infrastructure in the achievement by "No nos moverán" of anthemic status among Mexican Americans is illustrated by the way in which the UFW leadership supported the cultural-outreach initiatives of Teatro Campesino, including its repertoire of union songs translated into Spanish from their original versions in English. The growing role played by commercial television in broadcasting news of the African American civil rights movement nationally and internationally also served to cement freedom songs in the wider public's mind as a symbol of the struggle for racial justice in the face of white repression.

Xexco Boix's importing of "We Shall Not Be Moved" to Catalonia in the 1960s reflects an interesting mix of infrastructural types. First, we see the way in which his attitudes toward music and culture were shaped by his participation in the diocesan scouting program, with its practices of incorporating international songs into its official repertoire for activities and excursions. Second, his network of personal relations played a crucial part, as represented by the gift of a Seeger album from his brother-in-law. Third, his participation in a yearlong program of study in a U.S. high school under the auspices of American Field Service, a civil society association dedicated to promoting cultural exchanges and cross-cultural understanding, enabled him to access English-language folk music with socially conscious lyrics, including by traveling within the United States to attend at least one major folk music festival and by meeting and learning directly from some of the genre's principal exponents, including Seeger. All of this, of course, was also made possible by twentieth-century advances in communication and transportation technologies, including the recording of music, the development of commercial air travel, and even the system of railroads and interstate highways in the United States.

The adoption and dissemination of "We Shall Not Be Moved" in Spain, first in Barcelona and then in Madrid and other regions,

was facilitated by informally organized networks that correspond most closely to the *social* category in Sandoval's typology of infrastructures that construct social spaces. Thus, Boix's debuting of "No serem moguts" in the midst of an anti-Franco demonstration in Barcelona seems to have been a more or less spontaneous and personal decision of his own that then radiated outward among members of his network of personal relations with dissident students and musicians. Grup de Folk, for example, was not itself a formal organization, nor was it sponsored by another social movement organization that offered an infrastructure for circulating its cultural creations. Similarly, the transfer of "No serem moguts" to Madrid as "No nos moverán" took place as the result of personal network connections among students participating in an antifascist counterculture, when a young Ignacio Fernández Toca visited Boix and his companions in Barcelona in early 1967 and brought the translation of the song back to his colleagues in Canción del Pueblo in Madrid. At the same time, the institutional connections of young people with universities in both cities mattered in terms of having venues to perform the song to students opposed to the dictatorship. Some were also affiliated with or sympathetic to the Partido Comunista de España (Spanish Communist Party), whose shortwave radio service, La Pirenaica, also broadcast "No nos moverán" to Spain on occasion from its studio in Bucharest, Romania. In addition, the existence of the Hogar del Libro and its associated record label, Als 4 Vents, provided something of an institutional vehicle, however small, for the dissemination of "No serem moguts" on one of Grup de Folk's albums. Similarly, anti-Franco students in Madrid organized their own small record label, EDUMSA, as a vehicle for distributing the music of Canción del Pueblo artists among members of the activist community there. Although, as noted in Chapter 6, this tiny record label never supplanted the live performance or group singing of "No nos moverán" as the principal means of the song's dissemination, its recording proved to be a necessary ingredient in the song's eventual arrival in Chile on the eve of the coming to power of Salvador Allende and the Unidad Popular (UP).

It was through a copy of the primitive Canción del Pueblo recording, supplied to them by the son of Spanish Republican exiles residing in Chile, that the members of the group Tiemponuevo first heard the

song "No nos moverán." Roberto Rivera Noriega, the group's founder, recalls their receipt of the song as follows:

> Sergio Sanchez [a member of the band] arrived with a recording . . . that was typical of the kind of recordings obtained through contacts with acquaintances of friends that traveled in left-wing circles. That's how we first got, for example, recordings by the Venezuelan singer-songwriter Alí Primera, from which we took the song "Dispersos" that we recorded for our first album on the DICAP label and another song "Oigan muchachos" (by an unknown Colombian guerilla fighter) that we recorded on our first album in Chile for the Peña de los Parra label. In the case of "No nos moverán," that recording came to us through a young Chilean of Spanish descent whose parents wound up in Valparaíso as refugees from the Spanish Civil War. There were a large number of Spanish Republicans that settled in Valparaíso and were affiliated with the "Centro Español" as well as another pro-Franco group that revolved around the "Club Español." They periodically got into fights with one another on occasions such as basketball games, since both groups had their own teams in the league. In this sense you are correct that this kind of information traveled through these channels of social contact. (Roberto Rivera Noriega, pers. comm., January 4, 2014)[4]

Once "No nos moverán" arrived in Chile and was adapted by the members of Tiemponuevo to that country's social and political realities, a variety of institutional infrastructures contributed to its widespread dissemination. These included some that were entrepreneurial (i.e., involving for-profit businesses), such as the folk clubs known as *peñas* in Valparaíso and Santiago; others that were associative and movement-sponsored, such as the DICAP record label of the Juventudes Comunistas (Communist Youth); as well as activities and fora sponsored by the UP government, such as the Tren Popular de la Cultura (People's Culture Train). And, of course, the premiere example of institutional infrastructures that served to disseminate "No nos moverán" was Radio Magallanes, the station of the Chilean Communist Party, which broadcast the song repeatedly in the

months leading up to the military coup on September 11, 1973, that aborted the country's experiment with an electoral path to socialism.

Examining the objective infrastructure that permitted the widespread dissemination of "We Shall Not Be Moved" through social movements on three continents has helped make sense of what at first blush might have appeared to have been the song's random and serendipitous route. As demonstrated by looking at the song's history with an eye toward infrastructure, the connections between individuals and movements involved in its transmission were actually quite ordered in social-structural terms, even as the spontaneous actions of individuals and chance encounters between them served as catalysts for the song's movement farther down the road it was traveling. In the next chapter, I address subjective questions concerning how musicians and social movement participants overcame cultural and linguistic differences to make the song work for them in their unique cultural, historical, and political moments.

8 / Translation and Transcendence in the Travels of a Song

The history of this peripatetic song transcends many borders, making stops in several countries and getting sung in several different languages. In doing so, it provides an apt illustration of Simon Frith's (1996b: 276) recognition that music may well be the cultural form best able to cross the boundaries that groups erect around themselves, given the ways that "sounds carry across fences and walls and oceans, across classes, races, and nations." It also illustrates how musical meanings can be appropriated in serial fashion across different cultural groups, as members of one group take "bits and pieces that appeal" from another group's musical practices and "incorporate them into the larger body of their own practices," giving them new meanings in their own cultural context (Small 2011: xv–xvi). The fact that sounds can carry across a variety of natural and human-erected barriers does not mean, however, that the sounds that make perfect subjective sense to people on one side of such a barrier will immediately make sense to people on the other side of that barrier, unless members of the latter group put in a significant amount of effort. To adapt those sounds to their own purposes implies yet another round of effort. To interpret how this sense-making process has worked for "I Shall Not Be Moved" on its way to becoming "No nos moverán," I turn to the anthropological concept of *transculturation,* a term intro-

duced into the scholarly literature in the mid–twentieth century by the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz (1947).

The Transcultural Dimension

Like many scholarly concepts, the idea of *the transcultural* has been elaborated and employed in differing ways by different authors. In some cases, it has been applied in a quite literal way. For example, in an essay on ethnographic film, David MacDougall (2009: 47) asserts that transcultural refers to that which "transcends the limits of cultures" and that which "crosses cultural boundaries." For this author, ethnographic film is transcultural not only because it crosses cultural boundaries (in the sense that those who watch it are from a different culture than those who appear in it) but also because it challenges cultural limitations, reminding viewers that "cultural difference . . . is a fragile concept, frequently undone by perceptions that are the product of sudden affinities between ourselves and those who are apparently so different from ourselves" (MacDougall 2009: 48). In this way, the transcultural "includes cultural change, movement, and exchange," as members of one culture are placed face to face with members of another culture (MacDougall 2009: 67). Krys Verrall's (2011: 56–57) approach to the transcultural is similar, with the added element that he refers explicitly to the potential of music to build communicational bridges between different cultural groups, using as examples the transcultural interaction that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Freedom Singers had with white, northern audiences in the United States and the cross-pollination that occurred between the songs of the labor movement, on the one hand, and those of the civil rights movement, on the other. The historians Matthew Graves and Elizabeth Rechniewski (2010: 3–4), for their part, highlight how the transcultural perspective refuses to grant analytical primacy to national boundaries, since cultures "take place" at all societal levels, including the national, infra-national, and supra-national. Most importantly, according to these authors, the term *transcultural* "draws our attention to the intersection and confrontation of cultures," which permits new lines of historical inquiry (2010: 6). In the same vein, the Grupo Interdisciplinario de Investigación sobre las Américas (Interdisciplinary Group for Research on the Americas [n.d.]) emphasizes

that processes of transculturation always involve the imposition of borders, the transgression of borders, and/or cross-border interactions, while recognizing that borders need not be national but can also exist between different cultural groups, regardless of whether these groups reside within the same nation.[1]

Without a doubt, the most widely discussed perspective in the social scientific and humanities literatures with regard to the transcultural is the one associated with the process of *transculturation,* the neologism that Ortiz introduced into the scholarly literature in the mid–twentieth century to aid in the interpretation of Cuban history and society, characterized by the mixing of European, African, and Caribbean indigenous elements.[2] Ortiz proposed the concept as an alternative to the concept of *acculturation,* whose use in the anthropological literature was on the rise at that time and which suffered from the bias of overemphasizing the unidirectional movement of the members of one cultural group toward another, with the concomitant abandonment of the cultural practices of their place of origin and their subsequent "de-culturalized" integration into the receiving culture. Ortiz observed that in Cuba and the rest of the Americas, there was abundant evidence that the contact between Europeans, Africans, and indigenous people did not result in one group coming to resemble another in cultural terms but rather consisted of the groups' mutually influencing and transforming one another, even as one group oppressed and exploited another. He asserted that "the result of every union of cultures is similar to that of the reproductive process between individuals: the offspring always has something of both parents but is always different from each of them" (Ortiz 1947: 103). For Ortiz and his followers, transculturation is a dynamic process that never ends once and for all but rather is "the process of individuals and of societies changing themselves by integration of diverse lifeways into a new dynamic whole," in which "subsequent interactions and transcultural lives will again change this new—and transitory—culture" (Hoerder 2006: 91). Of special interest for our consideration of the history of "No nos moverán," Diana Taylor (1991: 91) reminds us that transculturation processes always have a political dimension that involves questions of power and resistance. For Taylor, such processes can promote "the consciousness of a society's own historically specific, cultural manifestations in contact with

but differentiated from other societies." Furthermore, the study of transculturation processes requires us to not only interpret meanings, as in what the same symbols might mean in different contexts, but also investigate how groups make use of symbols in their collective struggles for empowerment, investigating when and why certain "forms, symbols, or aspects of cultural identity" become salient to the advance or defense of a group's own agenda in its confrontations with other groups.

Taylor's observations lead us to consider another aspect of the transcultural: that the knowledge obtained by subaltern individuals and communities in their interactions with other cultures can serve as an important resource—*capital* in the sense that the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu gives to the term—in their struggles to defend and advance their interests in the sociopolitical realm. Here, we can reference the work of Anna Triandafyllidou (2009: 94), who speaks of *transcultural capital,* which consists of "the strategic use of knowledge, skills, and networks acquired by migrants through connections with their country and cultures of origin which are made active at their new places of residence." Although she discusses the case of African immigrants in Europe and not the case of left-wing activists in diverse countries, it strikes me as reasonable to argue that the case that she discusses is analogous to that of people who acquire knowledge through their contact with other cultures and make use of it in their places of origin. Moreover, the concept of transcultural capital nicely complements the observations that Graves and Rechniewski (2010: 6) make concerning the relationship between the process of transculturation and the struggles among groups to valorize the symbolic capital of varying aspects of their history, as well as those of Dirk Hoerder (2006: 91), who speaks of the importance of "strategic transcultural competence" that permits "conceptualizations of life projects in multiple contexts and informed choice between cultural options." And, finally, these observations lead us to Donald Cuccioletta (2002: 8), whose review of the concept of transculturation suggests to him that the phenomenon, being the fruit of the encounter and the mixing of different peoples and cultures, opens the possibility for people to recognize that their identities are multidimensional and can be defined and understood positively with regard to those of others.

The Contributions and Limitations of the Transcultural Perspective

Although it is evident that the evolution of the song "I Shall Not Be Moved/We Shall Not Be Moved/No serem moguts/No nos moverán" exhibits strong features of the process of transculturation described by Ortiz at certain liminal moments in its history, not all stages of its development have exhibited transcultural traits to the same extent and in the same way. In this section, I review the following moments of its evolution, reflecting on the extent to which a transcultural approach helps us understand how and why the song has played an important role in so many different places and movements: (1) its origins as a spiritual sung by African slaves following their conversion to Protestant Christianity, (2) its subsequent spread throughout the southeastern United States in the nineteenth century by Protestant churches, (3) its adoption by the U.S. labor movement, (4) its reinterpretation and appropriation by the African American civil rights movement, (5) its importation into Franco-ruled Spain and its use in Catalonia and Castile as a protest song, and (6) its embrace by left-wing Chilean singers during the years of the Allende government. In reviewing these moments in its history, I seek to add nuance to our understanding of not only how singing is put to work in social justice movements but also how we should conceptualize transcultural processes involved in the relationship between music and social justice movements around the world.

The origins of "I Shall Not Be Moved" in the camp meetings of the Second Great Awakening are perhaps where we can best appreciate this song as the fruit of the kind of transculturation process that Ortiz describes in the case of Cuba. Here, we see very directly how the collision between West African and European Anglo Protestant cultures produced an unexpected and beautiful fruit: the spiritual song of Christianized African slaves. According to Arthur Jones (1993: 7), spirituals emerged as "a creative blend of African traditions and Christianity, creating a new, transformed religion different in form and substance from the religion of the slave holder." This new genre of song retained African structural and expressive forms while at the same time incorporating a liberatory interpretation of the Christian gospel that white Protestants taught to their African slaves, each serv-

ing as a symbolic and communicative resource in slaves' resistance to their oppression and persecution. As several authors have observed, the African musical legacy that slaves preserved in the New World consisted of such elements as the integration of singing into everyday life as a group activity (Epstein and Sands 2006: 36), repetitive choruses led by a "song leader," a call-and-response structure (antiphony) in which the constant repetition for the response encourages all to participate (Burnim 2006: 54–55), and a strong and often syncopated rhythm (Walker 1979: 52–59). For their part, as noted in Chapter 2, Roger Abrahams and George Foss (1968: 57–58) suggest that these African influences are also reflected in a large number of traditional songs sung by whites. The simplicity of the camp-meeting songs owed to not only African influences contributed by slaves but also the physical conditions of these encounters, which often took place at night, lit by torches, and the fact that most of the participants were illiterate. In other words, in these circumstances, lyrical and melodic simplicity, the repetition of choruses, and catchy rhythms facilitated the rapid learning, memorization, and dissemination of the songs that provided the soundtrack for these passionately religious gatherings. "I Shall Not Be Moved" seems to have been taken up as much by white as by black Protestant congregations in their respective musical repertoires in the southern United States, with an evident stylistic and affective bifurcation between the two. At the same time, it should be noted that this bifurcation did not mean that African influences disappeared in the versions of the song sung by southern whites, given that their singing was often accompanied by the five-string banjo, another African contribution to American music.

The African characteristics of the jubilee spirituals described above and their emergence from the crucible of the camp meetings have played an indispensable role in the adoption of "I Shall Not Be Moved" in all the social, political, and linguistic contexts under consideration in this book. In this sense, the transculturation that took place between Africans and European Protestants that gave birth to the song in the southern United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century has been sustained in all the subsequent stages of its evolution, including in Chile. Lee Hays, the activist in the movement to unionize sharecroppers in the cotton fields of Arkansas in the 1930s and who later brought "We Shall Not Be Moved" with him

to New York, where he taught it to his bandmates in the Almanac Singers, was one of the first people to see the potential of these kinds of songs as a weapon to be used in labor struggles. In addition to their didactic and confrontational elements, these struggles contained a deep spiritual dimension that could be nourished by group singing. Furthermore, Hays was the person who nicknamed them *zipper songs,* owing to the way that new lyrics could be quickly and spontaneously inserted in such a way that the songs could be easily adapted to the diverse and changing circumstances that social movement activists confronted.

The adoption of "I Shall Not Be Moved" by the trade union movement in the United States was quite organic, given that it was a song already known by many black and white workers in the South and that the only changes needed were to substitute "We" for "I" and to insert new phrases related to labor struggles for it to serve perfectly well as a union "hymn" that could be adapted to any struggle with any business owner or corporation. Here, it could be said that transculturation did not play a particularly substantial role in the transfer and transformation of the song as it moved from the religious to the union realm.

Curiously, at the moment when African American civil rights activists reclaimed the song "I Shall Not Be Moved," which had originated in the history of their own people during slavery, we observe a greater level of transcultural negotiation than in the case of the labor movement's appropriation of the song for its struggles. To understand why this was the case, it is important to take into account the fact that in African American spirituals, the word "I" typically referred not so much to the individual but rather to U.S. Africans as a people, in such a way that the resistance of this "I" to racial oppression represented not the stance of a single individual who longed for her own liberation but rather the U.S. African people in their totality. Nevertheless, when U.S. African civil rights activists reworked "I Shall Not Be Moved" with white activists who were veterans of the labor movement, they had to be persuaded by these whites that it was necessary to change the "I" to "We" to emphasize that theirs was a collective rather than an individualist struggle, consistent with Bernice Johnson Reagon's explanation discussed in Chapter 4.

One might think that transculturation played a more significant role in the translation of "We Shall Not Be Moved" to "No nos

moverán" than in the case of its move out of Protestant churches into the labor movement and from the largely white labor movement to the black civil rights movement, given that translating a song adequately from one language to another and from one singing style to another is no easy task. Nevertheless, there is little evidence that such was the case, at least the first two times the song was adapted into Spanish in the United States. In the first place, as has been discussed above, the song's structure, melody, and lyrics are all decidedly simple and flexible. Second, the message communicated by the song—that of strength and endurance in the face of oppression—is also straightforward and readily transferable to innumerable situations of struggle for social justice. And third, the people who translated the song in the United States, both in the San Antonio, Texas, city jail in the 1930s and in the San Joaquín Valley in California in the 1960s, were union activists who made the decision to translate what had already been for them a U.S. union hymn and sing it in other union struggles in the same country. It might have implied a greater transcultural effort, for example, had Agustín Lira and Luis Valdez of Teatro Campesino sought to transform a religious song that had derived from the same psalm as "I Shall Not Be Moved," given that if they were already recited or sung in Spanish, the lyrics would likely have been rendered as "Yo no vacilaré" ("I will not vacillate"), "No resbalaré" ("I will not slip"), or "No seré conmovido" ("I will not be moved [in my convictions, rather than in the physical sense]"), as the phrase variously appears in Christian bibles published in Spanish (see Sociedad Biblica Americana 1926; Sociedades Bíblicas en América Latina 1960; and Vicaría de Pastoral n.d.) Moreover, the Anglo Protestant religious tradition was quite dissimilar to the Hispanic Catholicism that most Mexican American families practiced. In reality, Lira and Valdez did not face a very big challenge, given that they never thought that they were translating a biblical song but rather a song of labor and civil rights struggle. In addition, much of the music that the two were accustomed to hearing and playing in California, both Mexican and Anglo American, made use of the simple 4/4 rhythm that "We Shall Not Be Moved" uses, making the task of adapting it into Spanish even easier. In this sense, transforming "No serem moguts" into "No nos moverán" in Spain was similar: it consisted of a literal translation from one language to another within the same country and between

two wings of the same movement, in this case not a labor movement but rather the movement against the Franco dictatorship, a movement whose participants were mainly youthful students, who also shared a generational cultural element in common.

The case of the appropriation of “We Shall Not Be Moved” by the young Catalan singer Xesco Boix to sing in his own language in the movement against Franco in Catalonia might be regarded an intermediate case between the two poles of the transcultural that we have contemplated thus far. On the one hand, “No serem moguts” is definitively the fruit of the contact that Boix had with a culture very different from his own during his stay in the United States, not only linguistically but also politically and musically, as most notably indicated by his distinctive use of the five-string banjo, an instrument that had never before been heard in Catalan music and that was emblematic of his idol Pete Seeger, who to him represented music with social conscience and corresponding attitudes that were sorely lacking in his country. It is worth mentioning here that the young members of the Madrid collective Canción del Pueblo shared with Boix similar attitudes concerning the U.S. folk protest movement of the early years of the 1960s and that some of them made their own adaptations into Spanish of songs by such singers as Seeger, Joan Baez, and Bob Dylan. Adolfo Celdrán, for example, recorded his own versions of two songs popularized by Seeger, “Kumbayah” and “Little Boxes.”

On the other hand, we observe that the adoption of “No nos moverán” by Boix and subsequently by the members of Canción del Pueblo and the Chilean group Tiemponuevo perhaps is less an example of transculturation than of the transmission of ideas and ways of expressing them musically among individuals and groups that even before sharing the same cultural object already shared certain values and leftist political projects to advance social justice. In this sense, we can see that the appropriation of “We Shall Not Be Moved” to express opposition to the Franco regime or to defend the Unidad Popular (UP) did not require much more transcultural processing than did the task of literal translation that Lira and Valdez undertook in California. At the same time, we might ask whether the transcultural process was any stronger in the case of Boix than it was in the case of the negotiation between African Americans and white participants in the U.S.

civil rights movement concerning the difference between "I" shall not be moved and "we" shall not be moved. Indeed, one might just as well say that the transfer of "We Shall Not Be Moved" to contexts in which it is sung in Spanish serves less as an example of transculturation processes and more as an example of how the characteristics of West African and camp-meeting singing that the song still retains—simplicity, rhythm, repetition, and antiphony—have facilitated its application to new situations in diverse cultural contexts. In other words, we might well conclude that the most important transcultural process in the history of the song took place long before its translation from English to Catalan and Spanish.

In this chapter, I have investigated how a traditional spiritual song from the southern United States has been repeatedly transformed as it moved through movements across multiple social, cultural, linguistic, and political contexts over the course of nearly two centuries. The interrelated concepts of transculturation and transculturalism help us better interpret the processes through which the serial transformations of "We Shall Not Be Moved" have taken place. At the same time, it has become clear that as much as the song has been repeatedly transformed, it has retained its essential structure, including its message of unswerving commitment to a strongly held ideal of egalitarian justice in the face of adversity and opposition. Moreover, it is evident that the people who have sung the song in so many different cultural contexts have shared certain moral and political commitments in spite of their different races, languages, and nationalities. In the book's Conclusion, I consider how the shared moral and political commitments of activists living and engaging in a variety of social justice struggles in different national contexts might be best understood as elements of an underlying culture of the left that transcends other, more superficial cultural differences among them.

Conclusion

An Internationalist Culture of the Singing Left in the Twentieth Century

Our faith cries out, "We have no fear!"
We dare to reach our hand
to other neighbors far and near,
to friends in every land.
Isn't this a time?
Isn't this a time?
A time to free the soul of man!
Isn't this a wonderful time?

—From the song "Wasn't That a Time?" by Lee Hays and Walter Lowenfels[1]

The song "We Shall Not Be Moved" has achieved a level of transcendence that few other "political" songs have, in the sense that it has transcended numerous racial, cultural, linguistic, and political boundaries during the course of the past two centuries and continues to move back and forth across such boundaries today. In this Conclusion, I argue that the song's appearance in so many movements and in so many distinct national contexts owes to not only the material infrastructure and transcultural processes discussed in Chapters 7 and 8 but also the internationalist outlook and values of musicians and social justice activists around the world. In some cases, these musicians and activists were members of organized left-wing parties, while in others they were motivated by more diffuse moral and philosophical commitments, much the same as is discussed in Chapter 6 with regard to the U.S. members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War. More specifically, I suggest that the cosmopolitan orientations of many of the participants in the dissemi-

nation of "We Shall Not Be Moved" contributed to their appreciation of such songs as a potentially valuable resource to incorporate into their own struggles. In addition, their adoption of cultural objects from outside their own set of local or national practices reinforced their sense that their particular struggles were part of a larger worldwide struggle for social justice.

Globalization from Below: Another World Is Possible

By the last decade of the twentieth century, the social sciences had begun extensive research and analysis about the impacts that *globalization* was having on contemporary societies. Richard Appelbaum and William Chambliss (1997: 5), drawing on the work of Roland Robertson (1992), define globalization as "the processes by which the lives of all people around the planet become increasingly interconnected in economic, political, cultural, and environmental terms, along with an awareness of such interconnections." In the burgeoning scholarly literature on globalization, most attention has been paid to processes of world economic integration "from above," as a project undertaken by political, corporate, and intellectual elites. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, there has been growing recognition of processes of globalization *from below* as well, undertaken by nonelite actors. In some cases, these processes involve the household survival strategies of international migrants who collectively begin to form transnational communities of interaction and cooperation across borders (see Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc 1994; Smith and Guarnizo 1998; and Portes 1996). In other cases, globalization from below involves the economic activities of small-scale entrepreneurs who construct informal and/or illicit channels for the distribution of varying types of consumer goods in multiple national territories (Mathews, Lins Ribeiro, and Alba Vega 2012). In still other cases, globalization from below involves the rise of antisystemic social movements of varying types (environmental, feminist, peasant-agriculturalist, proletarian) that coordinate strategies and actions across international boundaries.[2] Today, this last type of globalization from below is illustrated annually by the meeting of the World Social Forum, begun in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2001, which brings together thousands of *altermundista* (alternate-world)

activists from dozens of countries to assert that "another world is possible" and to discuss how to work jointly toward its creation (see Brecher, Smith, and Costello 2000; Mertes 2004).

As should already be clear to the reader, the history of how "I Shall Not Be Moved" became "No nos moverán" exemplifies processes of globalization from below in a variety of ways in the twentieth century, long before the term itself came into existence. Here, I would like to focus on globalization from below as it relates to the contacts and cultural exchanges between left-wing movements in a variety of countries in Europe and the Americas. I would like to argue the case that participants in left-wing social movements around the world, at least to a certain extent, can be fruitfully conceptualized as constituting a kind of transnational tribe, insofar as they share a set of values (culture) in common (as a minority or marginalized group with strong ties of solidarity within the group and so forth) and communicate among themselves, making use of institutional and social infrastructures that channel their exchanges of ideas, information, values, and cultural objects (see, for example, the trope of the tribe in Appadurai 1996: 159–164). In other words, in spite of their linguistic differences, the activists who have taken "I Shall Not Be Moved" and adapted it to their own circumstances already shared a "culture of the left" in common that facilitated the incorporation of this song into their own national and in some cases local movements, as was the case of the so-called *nueceras* (pecan shellers) in San Antonio, Texas. In this sense, we might regard matters of cultural and linguistic differences between the members of the different movements in which "We Shall Not Be Moved"/"No nos moverán" has been used as being relatively superficial in comparison with their deeper underlying affinities in terms of egalitarian values and world view.

Internationalism of the Marxist Left

In fact, the profoundly internationalist orientation of left political movements dates to the publication of *The Manifesto of the Communist Party,* by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, in 1848. In it, they make it clear that for them, the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie is a worldwide struggle in which the battles between classes within nations are but specific instances of the wider class conflict

within a global capitalist system. For this reason, Marx and Engels made explicitly antinationalist appeals in the *Manifesto*, insisting that working people had no country to call their own and therefore needed to unite across national boundaries in their joint struggle against the bourgeoisie. It is not trivial, therefore, that they stated that the "ruling class*es*" trembled in fear of a communist revolution and that when the exploitation of one individual by another and one class by another was put to an end, so would the exploitation of one nation by another (Marx and Engels 1848). Neither is it an accident that communist movements in various countries in Europe came together in consecutive federations known as "internationals," beginning in the late nineteenth century and running through the middle of the twentieth century. Prior to World War I, the various communist movements from different nations that participated in the First and Second Internationals were on more or less equal footing. With the triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 and the subsequent launch of the Third International or Comintern, the Soviet Union played a dominant and directive role, hosting the federation's headquarters in Moscow (see James 1937 and Stern 1990). The founding of the Third International in March 1919 included a strong statement of internationalist, anti-imperialist, antiracist, and multiculturalist principles, signed by both Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky, among others. Its signatories declared that "the only means of securing the possibility of a free existence for the small nations is by a proletarian revolution which releases all the productive forces in every country from the tight grip of the national States, unites the nations in close economic cooperation based on a joint social economic plan, and grants to the smallest and weakest nation the possibility of developing its national culture independently and freely." Furthermore, they argued that "the liberation of the colonies will only be feasible in conjunction with the liberation of the working classes in the mother countries." Only then will "the workmen and peasants, not only in Annam, Algiers, and Bengal, but also in Persia and Armenia, have a chance of an independent existence" (quoted in James 1937: 113–114).

Of course, as a state the Soviet Union often did not live up to these principles, especially under the tyrannical rule of Joseph Stalin, who violated them on a massive scale. That does not mean, however, that many communist militants and their sympathizers around the world

did not believe in and act on these principles. Indeed, even after the demise of the Third International, communist governments continued to organize international gatherings of unionists, students, writers, artists, and musicians in which left-oriented individuals from around the world and from many walks of life participated. Participants in these kinds of events included, for example, the acclaimed Chilean singer-songwriters Violeta Parra and Víctor Jara in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s (Acevedo et al. 1999: 10–23; Parra 2009: 225–229). After the triumph of its revolution in 1959, Cuba became one of the main hosts of these kinds of events for Latin Americans.

The Communist Movement

Only a relatively small proportion of all the people who have sung "We Shall Not Be Moved" or "No nos moverán" as part of a social movement in the United States, Spain, or Chile were members of a communist party or even sympathetic to the international communist movement of the twentieth century. At the same time, communists were present and quite active in practically all the movements I have reviewed, at times quite overtly and at others more quietly. Many were active in the great union-organizing campaigns of the 1930s in the United States, for example, and more than a few former communists participated in the African American civil rights movement. Pete Seeger, Lee Hays, and Woody Guthrie, all of whom participated in the dissemination of "We Shall Not Be Moved," had affiliations with the Communist Party USA at one time or another and suffered for them during the Red Scare of the 1950s. Although Xesco Boix was never a member of a communist party, he did sympathize and collaborate at times with the Marxist-oriented Partido Socialista Unificado de Catalunya (Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia).[3] Some of the members of Canción del Pueblo in Madrid, including Adolfo Celdrán and Elisa Serna, also were members of the Spanish Communist Party or collaborated with it in their resistance to the dictatorship. The founder and contemporary leader of Tiemponuevo, Roberto Rivera Noriega, was a member of the Partido Comunista de Chile, and the group recorded its version of "No nos moverán" on DICAP, the record label of the Juventudes Comunistas de Chile (Communist Youth of Chile). Following the fall of the Unidad Popular (UP)

in 1973 and the military takeover of their country, the members of Tiemponuevo were eventually taken in as political exiles by the communist government of the German Democratic Republic in Berlin.

It is important to bear in mind that the Chilean left in the twentieth century was also internationalist in its ideological orientation, dating at least to the taking in of Republican refugees from the Spanish Civil War by the government of Pedro Aguirre Cerda in the 1930s. As a member of the Partido Comunista de Chile, the poet Pablo Neruda venerated and actively collaborated with artists and intellectuals of the left in other countries. These included the U.S. African singer, actor, and activist Paul Robeson (see Chapter 3), to whom Neruda dedicated a famous ode, from whom he solicited a studio recording of the song "Canto a la pampa" ("Song to the Plain") about nitrate miners in the Chilean North, and with whom he shared the World Peace Prize awarded in Moscow in 1959. In the 1960s and 1970s, members of the Chilean left were quite aware and supportive of social justice struggles going on outside their country, and not only elsewhere in Latin America. So, for instance, Chilean university students of the left in 1967 organized a march of several thousand people from Valparaíso to Santiago in solidarity with the people of Vietnam in their struggle to expel the United States from their country (Punto Final 1967). These same activists were aware of and supported the civil rights and black power movements in the United States, demonstrating, for example, in favor of the exoneration of Angela Davis, wrongly imprisoned by U.S. authorities for allegedly abetting the kidnapping and shooting death of a federal judge.[4]

La nueva canción chilena

La nueva canción chilena (the Chilean New Song) movement got its start in the mid-1960s in Santiago and featured poetic lyrics, the use of indigenous instruments from throughout Latin America, and a political message of anti-imperialism and social justice. Its leading songwriting voices included Violeta Parra, Víctor Jara, Rolando Alarcón, Ángel Parra, and Patricio Manns, who promoted a Latin American identity and voice that actively challenged domination of the continent by the United States, Europe, and the ruling Creole elites who were subservient to those foreign powers (see Chaparro,

Seves, and Spener 2013; González, Ohlsen, and Rolle 2009; McSherry 2015). All these songwriters had affiliations of one sort or another with the Partido Comunista de Chile, which had long attracted Chilean artists, musicians, and writers—most famously the Nobel Prize–winning poet Pablo Neruda—and all traveled widely outside Chile, not only throughout Latin America but also in Europe, including to festivals and other cultural gatherings in the socialist countries. Some of the members of the two most well-known New Song groups—Quilapayún and Inti-Illimani—were also party members, as was Roberto Rivera Noriega of Tiemponuevo, the group that recorded "No nos moverán" on DICAP, the record label of the Juventudes Comunistas (Communist Youth). This is not to say that the musical creations of these artists were in any way directed or controlled by the party—although, as noted by Eduardo Carrasco (2003: 137–142), the founder of Quilapayún, the Chilean Communist Party did demonstrate some seriously authoritarian tendencies in its internal organization—but rather that these artists' sympathies and ideological orientations were aligned with a movement that saw itself, in important ways, as an international movement rather than a collection of national ones. Thus, the composers of the New Song movement wrote about struggles not only elsewhere in Latin America but also in Vietnam, Angola, and Spain. In her song "Ayúdame, Valentina," about the corruption and injustices she observes in the world around her, Violeta Parra tellingly invokes the name of the famous Soviet cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova, who in 1963 became the first woman to travel in space. In another song from the early 1960s, "¿Qué dirá el Santo Padre?" ("What Will the Holy Father Say?"), Parra denounces the execution of the Spanish communist leader Julián Grimau by the Franco regime.

The Chilean New Song musicians also adapted and performed songs of struggle not only from other countries in Latin America but also from such countries as Spain and Italy. And although the creators of *la nueva canción* were strongly anti-imperialist in their political and cultural attitudes toward the United States, that did not mean that they evinced a chauvinistic rejection of any and all literature and music from the United States. In fact, like their counterparts in Spain, the New Song musicians were not averse to adapting English-language songs into Spanish and adding them to their repertoires. Thus, in

Víctor Jara's repertoire we find "El martillo," his adaptation of Lee Hays and Pete Seeger's song "If I Had a Hammer," as well as "Las casitas del barrio alto," his version of Malvina Reynolds's song "Little Boxes," the same song that Adolfo Celdrán had adapted to the Spanish context. Rolando Alarcón, for his part, performed a Spanish version of Seeger's "Where Have All the Flowers Gone?" and also translated into Spanish "Oh, Brother, Did You Weep?" ("Hermano llorarás"), a song that protested the U.S. invasion of Vietnam that was written by Peggy Seeger, Pete's half-sister, and her British husband, Ewan MacColl.

It is not exceptional, then, that the members of Tiemponuevo would have been aware of the status of a song like "We Shall Not Be Moved" with the liberation movement of U.S. Africans at that time and have seen it as a desirable addition to their own repertoire to perform in Chile. In so doing, they aptly illustrated the serial appropriation of musical meanings across different cultural groups discussed by Christopher Small (2011: xv–xvi) as consisting of members of one group taking "bits and pieces" from another group's musical practices and giving them new meaning in their own context. At the same time, if we can think of the singing left as something of a global tribe where members share some fundamental values and orientations, we might also want to think of the travels of "I Shall Not Be Moved" through geographically dispersed movements as illustrating appropriations that in some sense, at least, can be thought of as intracultural rather than cross-cultural—that is, that have been facilitated by underlying cultural commonalities instead of being made more difficult by cultural differences. In this sense, we can conceptualize an internationalist, singing left as a specific variant of what Thomas Turino (2003: 61) has called *trans-state cultural formations*—that is, a grouping that shares common "habits and resources for living" that are the result of processes of socialization that have produced "shared internalized dispositions" that transcend national boundaries.

Cosmopolitan Citizenship on the Left

Without intending to romanticize the twentieth-century history of the left in the Americas and Europe, replete as it has been with internal conflicts and failures to live up to its own principles, here I would suggest that at their best, left social movement activists have

tended to manifest a cosmopolitan vision of society and a welcoming of the cultural production of other countries, especially in the case of cultural production that promotes egalitarian ideals of distributive justice. Here, two interrelated sociological concepts—*cosmpolitanism* and *cosmopolitan citizenship*—can help orient our interpretation of this aspect of the history of "No nos moverán." In reviewing the work of Jeremy Waldron (2000), cultural theorist Stuart Hall (2002: 26) argues that *cosmopolitanism* refers to the process in which social actors "draw on the traces and residues of many cultural systems, of many ethical systems [and represents] the ability to stand outside of having one's life written and scripted by any one community, whether that is faith or tradition or religion or culture."[5] In addition, according to Ulrich Beck (1998), cosmopolitanism points to the recognition that "the central human worries are 'world' problems" and require transnational collaboration to address them. Furthermore, he suggests, addressing problems that transcend individual nation-states requires the creation of what he calls "world parties," whose goals have a cosmopolitan foundation that attempts to appeal to "values and traditions in every culture and religion" and whose members "feel an obligation toward the planet as a whole." For his part, Michael Ignatieff (1999: 142) argues that while every cosmopolitan "defends universal values against national ones," he distinguishes between "Marxist cosmopolitans," who "stand for the brotherhood of working men [*sic*] or the brotherhood of oppressed colonial peoples against various forms of reactionary nationalism" and "liberal cosmopolitans," who "proclaim their adherence to universal human standards rather than national cultural traditions." In accordance with any or all of these three authors' explanations of what cosmopolitanism is, *cosmopolitan citizenship* refers to a type of citizenship that engages the individual not only with her or his own national culture but also with cultures at all levels of society, ranging from the neighborhood to the region within a country, to the rest of the continent, to communities on the other side of the ocean (Cuccioletta 2002: 4). Cosmopolitan citizenship refers, in other words, to people coming to understand themselves as citizens of a world of interconnected peoples and cultures. Especially relevant for our discussion of the internationalist singing left, cosmopolitan citizens "are attracted and related to members in the same and other sites around the world

through a substantial degree of cultural similarity as well as travel, institutions, and concrete communication loops" (Turino 2003: 62).

It seems clear to me that most of, if not all, the key participants in the transmission of "We Shall Not Be Moved" as a "movement" song can fruitfully be understood as cosmopolitan citizens. In this regard, Pete Seeger, whose vast repertoire of songs and melodies was multinational and multilingual, is exemplary, having sought out and learned musical forms from multiple cultures as well as having reached across multiple cultural boundaries to perform them. But Seeger was not the only one. At Highlander in the 1950s, Guy Carawan's multicultural vision and knowledge of both black and white cultural forms allowed him to serve as a catalyst for the development of a "freedom song" canon for the civil rights movement. Bernice Johnson Reagon of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Freedom Singers may not have been a cosmopolitan when she began her career as an activist and a singer, but she quickly became one as a consequence of her participating in the civil rights movement and serving as its musical ambassador to white, northern audiences. Similarly, Teatro Campesino founders Agustín Lira and Luis Valdez quickly developed an awareness of and connections to a broader cultural world beyond the daily lives of farmworkers through their organizing work. Moreover, their native bilingualism and biculturalism gave them something of a cosmopolitan perspective from childhood. Although he was a Catalan nationalist, Xesco Boix clearly recognized himself as a participant in cultural and political matters beyond the confines of his country and actively sought to learn from other cultures and bring what he learned to bear on the situation in Catalonia. The members of Canción del Pueblo in Madrid shared similarly cosmopolitan attitudes and behaviors with Boix and his colleagues in Barcelona. And clearly the Chilean participants in the *nueva canción* movement during the time of Salvador Allende were well aware of the relationship between the social, political, and cultural changes occurring in their country and elsewhere in the world, in spite of their country's geographic isolation. In the specific case of the members of Tiemponuevo, their upbringing in the port city of Valparaíso also undoubtedly contributed something to the group's cosmopolitan outlook.

In this regard, it might be helpful to think of cosmopolitanism as an aspect of what Pierre Bourdieu (1977) refers to as *habitus*—that is,

the attitudes, world views, and dispositions toward varying types of stimuli that are the imprint left on individuals by the varying types of socialization to which they have been subjected.[6] These types of socialization can involve a variety of aspects of human existence, including but not limited to nationality, religion, language, social class, occupation, racial and ethnic group membership, historical generation, and urban versus rural residence. Habitus can also be the outcome of *political* socialization, including individuals' experiences in social movements. Thus, we can think of cosmopolitanism of the type discussed here as a "way of being in the world" or habitus associated with political struggles of the left in many parts of the world. More specifically, we can conceive of this habitus as a disposition toward valuing and assimilating the contributions of other cultural groups to a worldwide struggle for social justice, however vaguely "social justice" is to be defined.

Song as a Resource

In Part II of this book, I have interpreted the trajectory of "I Shall Not Be Moved" on its way to becoming "No nos moverán" sociologically and anthropologically, first by looking at the material and institutional infrastructures that permitted the song's dissemination; then by discussing the transcultural aspects of its appropriation by various social movements in different historical, political, and linguistic contexts; and finally by interpreting its adoption by social justice movements of varying stripes through the lens of cosmopolitan citizenship. In conclusion, I would like to return to the question of what singing a song can do for members of social movements in different settings. In so doing, I would like to propose that we think of the deployment of "We Shall Not Be Moved" in particular as an example of what Anna Triandafyllidou (2009) calls *transcultural capital,* which she defines as "the strategic use of knowledge, skills, and networks acquired by migrants through connections with their country and cultures of origin which are made active at their new places of residence." With Professor Triandafyllidou's express approval (pers. comm., June 21, 2014), I extend her definition of the term as follows: "Alternatively, transcultural capital can refer to the strategic use of knowledge, skills, and networks acquired by individuals through

connections with other countries and cultures which are made active in their home countries and cultures."

At this point, I must confess that I am acutely aware of the irony of referring to a song used by anticapitalist activists as a form of capital. Let me clarify, therefore, that I am doing so only in the special sense given to the term *capital* by the (very left-wing) French sociologist Bourdieu (1986), for whom it consists of any tangible or intangible resource that groups or individuals could make use of in any arena of social struggle. In this case, the song originally known as "I Shall Not Be Moved" has served as a significant emotional and symbolic resource for members of social movements in a variety of historical and cultural settings, as documented throughout this book. Of particular interest is the way that this resource has become available to and been used by nonelite actors through social and cultural processes that transcended national boundaries during historical periods in which such processes were presumably far less prevalent and intense than they have subsequently become in a world characterized by instantaneous global communication among geographically far-flung individuals. In Part II of this book, I have been at pains to show that the broadcast of an old slave spiritual from the United States on Radio Magallanes in Santiago, Chile, on September 11, 1973, was much less "random" than it may have seemed at first blush. Indeed, the transmission of ideas, symbols, and songs through complex networks of movements and activists around the world is likely to continue to produce such unforeseen outcomes well into the future.

Coda

As a spiritual, “I Shall Not Be Moved” was born of the oppression, exploitation, and longing for liberation of enslaved Africans in North America. Over the past two centuries, the song has continued to express that deep longing for freedom and justice in many different voices, on several different continents, and in several different languages. It has been transmitted largely by word of mouth among members of intersecting and interlocking social justice movements, unexpectedly popping up again and again in new places in the service of new struggles throughout its history. As the song has traveled through these activist networks, it has also served to forge new links in the chain that ties activists together across time and space. To conclude my telling of the song’s history and to illustrate this point, I leave readers with five vignettes, some involving people already discussed in these pages, and others whose names appear for the first time.

Luis Corvalán was a Chilean senator and leader of the Chilean Communist Party. Committed to the building of socialism in Chile through democratic means, Corvalán was one of Salvador Allende’s most important allies in the Unidad Popular (UP) coalition that governed the country from 1970 to 1973. After the coup, Corvalán was

arrested and imprisoned in a concentration camp on Isla Dawson, in southernmost Chile, in the frigid Strait of Magellan. His son was a member of the Juventudes Comunistas (Communist Youth) and was also arrested and tortured by the Pinochet regime, dying of his injuries in exile. In 1976, Corvalán was released from prison by the dictatorship as part of a prisoner exchange involving the Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky. Following his release, he traveled to Berlin, where he was given a hero's welcome in a ceremony in the Palast der Republik on January 29, 1977, before a host of dignitaries, including Erich Honecker, the secretary general of the governing Socialist Unity Party. The ceremony included a rousing performance of "No nos moverán," sung in Spanish by Dean Reed, a U.S. pop star who had settled in the German Democratic Republic in the early 1970s.[1]

Reed was born in Colorado in 1938 and moved to Hollywood as a young man to pursue an acting and singing career around the same time as such pop stars as Frankie Avalon and Fabian were becoming known. Although he never achieved the notoriety in the United States of other singers and actors of his generation, Capitol Records promoted his music in South America, and Reed became a sensation in Chile and Argentina. While touring the Southern Cone, he was horrified by the extreme poverty he saw and experienced a political conversion to socialism. Reed set up residence in Buenos Aires but frequently visited Chile and Uruguay. In Chile, he met Allende and got to know many of the exponents of the *nueva canción chilena*, including Víctor Jara, Ángel and Isabel Parra, and the members of Quilapayún. While performing at the annual music festival in Viña del Mar in 1971, he met Roberto Rivera Noriega and the other members of Tiemponuevo in the dressing room they shared backstage. Reed asked them about the origins of their two best-known songs, "No nos moverán" and "Hemos dicho basta." He was surprised to learn that "No nos moverán" was from the United States, as he was unfamiliar with the song "We Shall Not Be Moved." Rivera Noriega gave him a copy of the lyrics, and Reed later recorded both songs, first as a single in Uruguay and later on an album published in the Soviet Union. The single was recorded as a jingle for the first presidential campaign of the left-wing coalition known as the Frente Amplio, whose candidate, Liber Seregni, ran in the last free and open national elections before Uruguay's own military coup took place in June 1973.[2]

Luis Corvalán spent the rest of the 1970s living in Moscow and Berlin. In 1983, he underwent plastic surgery to be able to reenter Chile clandestinely. Once back in the country, he worked tirelessly to promote a popular uprising against the Pinochet dictatorship. In 1990, shortly after the return of civilian rule, Corvalán resigned as secretary general of the Partido Comunista de Chile. He died of natural causes in 2010, at the age of ninety-three.[3] The members of Tiemponuevo remained friendly with Dean Reed during the years they all lived in Berlin. Rivera Noriega remembers seeing him at a party of Chilean exiles there, full of *alegría y comaradería* (happiness and camaraderie), just a week before his mysterious drowning death in 1986.[4]

As a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and a founding member of the Freedom Singers, Bernice Johnson Reagon played an indispensable role in establishing "We Shall Not Be Moved" as one of the key "freedom songs" of the African American civil rights movement. Raised in rural Georgia, she cut her teeth as an activist in the struggle to desegregate her hometown of Albany. Then, as a member of the Freedom Singers, she traveled widely throughout the United States and Canada, spreading the "good news" of the movement. In the 1970s, she completed a doctorate in U.S. history at Howard University in Washington, D.C., writing a pioneering dissertation about the importance of song in the civil rights movement. Also in the 1970s, she founded the women's *a capella* vocal ensemble Sweet Honey in the Rock, dedicated to spreading a black feminist message of social justice throughout the African diaspora. In 1974, she founded the Program in Black American Culture at the Smithsonian Institution, which she directed until 1993, and where she established her reputation as a leading scholar of African American music. Sweet Honey in the Rock has performed worldwide and continues to make music today, although Reagon retired as the group's musical director in 2004.

As a scholar of the African diaspora and a committed social justice activist, Dr. Johnson Reagon had developed a global vision of culture and politics by the 1970s. Increasingly, the songs she wrote brought international issues together with matters of civil rights in

the United States. One of the clearest examples of this integration, and the most relevant for the purposes of this book, is her song "Chile, Your Waters Run Red through Soweto," written in 1979 and appearing on Sweet Honey in the Rock's 1981 album *Good News*. In the song, Reagon links the concurrent struggles for justice and liberation in Chile and South Africa with the battle to free ten young black desegregation activists in Wilmington, North Carolina, who were unjustly jailed in 1971 for a crime they did not commit. In the song, she first calls attention to the shared oppressions of Chileans and South Africans, declaring that "the hands that choked the spirit of Allende" were the same hands that pulled the triggers on the guns that killed children protesting apartheid on the streets of the Soweto township.[5] Next, she extends the metaphor by declaring that the hands that oppressed Chileans and South Africans were the same "hands of oppression" that jailed and killed African American dissidents and rebels in the U.S. South, such as those in Wilmington. In the final verse, Reagon reaches back further into history, linking the massacre of Chileans and South Africans with the 1898 massacre of dozens of black citizens of Wilmington by white supremacist death squads that overthrew the town's biracial coalition government. The song ends with the plaintive cry that "the waters of Chile fill the banks of Cape Fear," the name of the river into which the bodies of the victims of the Wilmington massacre were tossed.[6]

The death of Nelson Mandela at age ninety-five in December 2013 prompted a worldwide outpouring of praise for the hero of South African blacks' victorious struggle against apartheid. In Washington, D.C., a mix of hundreds of civil rights activists and official dignitaries attended a memorial service in the National Cathedral in his honor that was organized by the South African embassy. Among the many performers who sang and played music in homage to Mandela were the current members of Sweet Honey in the Rock, the same women's *a capella* ensemble that Bernice Johnson Reagon founded in the 1970s. One of the songs they performed as part of a "civil rights medley" was a rafter-shaking rendition of "We Shall Not Be Moved."[7]

Although we do not know for certain whether Mandela ever heard or sang the song himself, given his long imprisonment on Robben Island, we do know that "We Shall Not Be Moved" was an important piece in the repertoire sung by black South Africans and their white and "coloured" allies in their long struggle to end apartheid.[8]

In 2008, the South African poet Diana Ferrus told researcher Omotayo Jolaosha that she and fellow anti-apartheid activists had learned the song "We Shall Not Be Moved" from Joan Baez's version of it as "No nos moverán" from her *Gracias a la vida* album and adapted it to their own purposes, denouncing the killing of black children and the razing of black homes in the 1970s and 1980s:

No, no, we shall not be moved
No, no, we shall not be moved
We're not afraid, we're fighting for our children
We shall not be moved
Let them kill our children, we shall not be moved . . .
Let them take our houses, we shall not be moved.[9]

On May 1, 2012, in Fresno, California, hundreds of activists, including many agricultural workers, gathered for a May Day march for worker and immigrant rights. At the end of the march, people gathered in Courthouse Park downtown for a rally, which included the performance of songs by El Coro del Pueblo (The People's Choir), a mixed group of Chicana/o and Mexican singers and musicians. The song they chose to end their program was the Chilean anthem "El pueblo unido jamás será vencido" ("The People United Will Never Be Defeated"), led rousingly by their director, Patricia Wells Solórzano.[10]

Wells Solórzano grew up in California's Imperial Valley on the border with Mexico. She became active in the farmworker movement in 1975 while studying at California State University at Northridge. Several years later, she moved to Mexico City to study Mexican and world history at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma. For many years, she has been a member of the musical ensemble Alma (Soul) and co-director of Teatro de la Tierra in Fresno, California.[11] Her

principal collaborator in both Alma and Teatro de la Tierra has been Agustín Lira, co-founder of the United Farm Workers' (UFW's) Teatro Campesino and who, with Luis Valdez, penned one of the first Spanish versions of "We Shall Not Be Moved." In 2007, Wells Solórzano and Lira produced a play with Teatro de la Tierra titled *A Yellow Rose from Texas: Emma Tenayuca,* based on their research about the woman who led the 1938 pecan shellers' strike in San Antonio. The play opens with a group of women walking onto the stage in a single-file line, singing "No nos moverán."[12] In February 2014, Lira and Wells Solórzano performed the song in Alma's concert with Chilean singer Lichi Fuentes in a chapel on the Trinity University campus in San Antonio, Texas. Also on the program that evening was Chicana feminist historian Antonia Castañeda, who linked Chilean and Chicano political struggles and talked about Chicana/o artists' and activists' support of the Chilean resistance to the Pinochet dictatorship in the 1970s and 1980s.

In November 2010, Castañeda participated in a sit-in at the San Antonio office of Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison to pressure the politician to support legislation (the so-called Dream Act) that would allow undocumented youth to remain in the United States legally and pursue university studies. As police arrived to arrest the protestors and end the nine-hour occupation of the senator's office, Castañeda and community activist María Antonietta Berriozabal led students in singing "No nos moverán" in Spanish and English to affirm the spirit of resistance of this struggle and its connection to those that came before. Both women were also among the many people singing the song years earlier at Emma Tenayuca's rosary.

In September 2011, the Occupy Wall Street movement erupted in New York, seemingly from nowhere. By October, the movement had gained tens of thousands of adherents and had spread to many other cities around the United States. It was drawing worldwide attention, mirroring the expression of mass indignation by protesters in Cairo, Tunis, Madrid, and Santiago. On Friday, October 21, Pete Seeger, then ninety-two years old, participated in a benefit concert in Manhattan for Clearwater, the environmental organization he founded

in 1969 to demand the cleanup of the heavily polluted Hudson River. At the end of the concert, Seeger and fellow performers—including Woody Guthrie's son Arlo and Bernice Reagon's daughter Toshi—joined a crowd of more than one thousand Occupy protesters who were waiting outside for them. Pete traded his banjo for two canes and marched several miles with the peaceful crowd to Columbus Circle, as his fellow marchers sang "We Shall Not Be Moved" and other songs he had made famous during his seventy-year career as an activist and musician.[13]

Seeger died peacefully in his sleep on January 27, 2014, in a hospital in Manhattan. The day before Seeger died, Peter Yarrow, of the famed folk trio Peter, Paul, and Mary, went straight from the airport to visit him in the hospital. Yarrow had just returned from the West Bank town of Ramallah, where he had been attending a gathering of activists promoting peace between Palestine and Israel and had led participants in singing several of Seeger's most famous songs, including "If I Had a Hammer." When he arrived, Yarrow found Seeger surrounded by friends and family, who were standing at his bedside singing to him. Here is an excerpt of Yarrow's account of his last visit with his old friend and mentor:

> When I had first entered Pete's room, I had quickly unpacked my guitar and then waited for the loveliest of songs to be finished by one of Pete's extended family. Then I started to sing a subdued but still gently defiant (if that be possible) version of "We Shall Not Be Moved." We all crowded around Pete, singing this old Union Song together, with friends on each side of the bed holding his hands. We sang that song for perhaps 7 or 8 minutes, with many verses about "young and old together," "black and white together," "gay and straight together," "the union is behind us," "no more poison fracking," on and on. Slowly the strength and beauty of the singing began to carry us all with it as we felt each other's hearts unite, all of us singing directly to Pete, and beginning to ride on the sweetness of the sound we were making together. . . . I left feeling really peaceful and complete, with a feeling that Pete was, as he has always been, deep inside me. I also knew, though Pete would

> have been shy to acknowledge it, that there are thousands of (as Mary called our trio) "Seeger's Raiders" who will carry on with Pete in their hearts, sharing the great gift of his music and his truly giving, uncompromising, pure spirit still resonating within us all.[14]

Pete Seeger will never again sing "We Shall Not Moved" on this green, round earth, but others of us surely will, and for the same reasons he did. It is just a question of where and how soon.

Appendix

Note on Methods and Sources

The research that resulted in the publication of this book was conducted in a variety of ways. When I first learned that "No nos moverán" was the last song broadcast on September 11, 1973, on the last radio station loyal to the government of Salvador Allende in Chile, I began searching online for more information about the broadcast of the song on that fateful day. That initial online search led me to a number of Spanish-language books that mentioned that broadcast of the song, which, in turn, introduced me to the names of some of the direct and indirect participants in the drama of that day. Some of these—like René Largo Farías—had already died many years before, while others, such as Guillermo Ravest, the manager of Radio Magallanes, were still living and were reachable via telephone or e-mail. One of the most important informants I was able to interview was Roberto Rivera Noriega, the founder of Tiemponuevo, who has lived in Berlin for many years and continues to perform with the band that made "No nos moverán" famous in Chile.

A similar process put me in touch with key informants about the history of "No nos moverán" in Spain, including the surviving members of the Canción del Pueblo collective in Madrid and Lluis Panyella, the bandmate and biographer of Xesco Boix, the Catalan singer who first performed the song on the Iberian peninsula as "No

serem moguts." Searches of the online databases and consultations and referrals from the staff of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Archives in New York City helped me eventually abandon my initial assumption that "We Shall Not Be Moved" had arrived in Spain with U.S. volunteers in the international brigades who fought on the Republican side in the country's civil war in the 1930s. Chilean musicians and musicologists also put me in touch with their counterparts in Spain, who provided me with valuable orientation to the history of antifascist songs in their country.

Consultations with Chicano historians helped put me on the path to uncovering the history of "No nos moverán" among Spanish speakers in the United States. Materials stored in the Texas Labor Archive in the library of the University of Texas–Arlington proved invaluable to learning the details of the spontaneous singing of the song in the San Antonio city jail during the great 1938 pecan shellers' strike led by the firebrand labor organizer Emma Tenayuca. LeRoy Chatfield, coordinator of the Farmworker Movement Documentation Project, was instrumental in pointing me to written evidence of the song's importance in that movement in the 1960s and 1970s. More importantly, he put me in touch with Agustín Lira and Luis Valdez, the members of Teatro Campesino who translated "We Shall Not Be Moved" into Spanish and taught it to farmworkers on the picket lines.

Candie Carawan and the staff of the Highlander Research and Education Center in New Market, Tennessee, provided me with references to important bibliographic sources concerning the roles played by Guy Carawan and Zilphia Horton in the promotion and dissemination of "We Shall Not Be Moved" in the U.S. labor and civil rights movements. Similarly, the staff of the Tennessee State Library provided access to the Zilphia Horton Folk Music Collection, which contains many labor movement songbooks and mimeographed song sheets that include "We Shall Not Be Moved."

The Dictionary of North American Hymnology (DNAH) was indispensable in my search for nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Protestant hymnals in the United States that include the spiritual "I Shall Not Be Moved." DNAH is a decades-old project of The Hymn Society in the United States and Canada that attempts to index all hymnals printed in North America prior to 1979. It currently indexes the contents of approximately five thousand hymnals

and more than one million "hymn instances." Today, the DNAH is a searchable online database available at Hymnary.org.

A great deal of my effort to sketch the history of "We Shall Not Be Moved" has involved hunting for references to the song in the many scholarly and nonscholarly publications that record the histories of African American and white spirituals, the U.S. labor and civil rights movements, the San Antonio pecan shellers' strike and the Chicano farmworker movement, the Spanish Civil War and the antifascist resistance movement, and the left political movements in Chile that produced the socialist government of Salvador Allende, which held power from 1970 to 1973. Much of my research was akin to looking for a needle in a haystack, since relatively few published histories of social movements give prominence to the role that music has played in them. The challenge, therefore, was to somehow weave together an intelligible and coherent account of the role that "We Shall Not Be Moved" has played in social movements from hundreds of scattered and often fragmentary references to its singing by movement participants. In other words, writing the history of "We Shall Not Be Moved" has involved locating unknown or missing pieces to a puzzle that were widely strewn about across time and space and then, once locating them, figuring out how they fit together to form a coherent whole. It is my hope that readers find that my efforts in this regard have been successful.

Notes

Introduction

1. The group's name fuses the Quechua word "Inti," meaning "sun," with the Aymara word "Illimani," meaning "golden eagle," which refers to the name of the snow-capped volcano that rises above La Paz, Bolivia.

2. Subsequent editions of this songbook, a bit more professionally put together, would be titled *Rise Up Singing,* a line from the George Gershwin song "Summertime," from the musical *Porgy and Bess.*

3. *La sonrisa de Víctor Jara* (*Víctor Jara's Smile*), by Jorge Coulon Larrañaga (2009).

4. A lovely cover of "Letter to Eve," by Greg Artzner and Terry Leonino, the duo known as Magpie, can be heard online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Czm8tFaUSSs. In the lyrics to another song titled "False from True," Seeger conveys a similar sentiment, saying that no song he could sing could "take the gun from a hate-filled man." Nevertheless, he announces that he will keep singing for social justice just so long as he has "the breath within." A cover of this song was performed by Warren Haynes and Steve Earle in Madison Square Garden in New York at a concert honoring Seeger's ninetieth birthday on May 3, 2009. A recording of this performance can be viewed online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W0ZSTCoUMUI.

5. Another musicologist, David Hesmondhalgh (2013: 89–90), has critiqued Small's claims regarding the meaning of musicking in this regard. He disputes the notion that "musicians and listeners have a common concern with bringing into being an ideal set of social relationships" and the presumption that "people have a powerful pre-existing inclination towards community and collectivity" that

is embodied in musicking. Thomas Turino's (2008: 90–91) distinction between "participatory performance" and "presentational performance" is helpful in this regard. In my treatment of the history of "We Shall Not Be Moved," I believe that the strength of Small's musicking concept mainly pertains to instances of "participatory performance," which is typically how the song is performed.

Chapter 1

1. Several written accounts, with contradictions among them, describe how Salvador Allende came to give his last address to the nation on Radio Magallanes and how his words were recorded and saved for posterity. See Ravest Santis 2009 and Valenzuela 2009.

2. In addition to the recording of Allende's speech on Radio Magallanes, his words are preserved in a song titled "Las últimas palabras" ("Last Words") composed by Marcelo Coulon and recorded in exile by the Chilean musical group Aparcoa on their 1975 LP *Chile*. Aparcoa's rendition of the song may be heard online at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_I7446NGur0.

3. Tiemponuevo continues to perform today under the direction of its founder, Roberto Rivera Noriega, who has resided in Berlin for many years since fleeing Chile in 1973. The group's website may be consulted at http://www.tiemponuevo.de/. More information on the history of the group can be found at http://www.musicapopular.cl/3.0/index2.php?op=Artista&id=381. Tiemponuevo's recording of "No nos moverán" can be heard online at https://youtu.be/Du5gxaKRJ8A.

4. The translations of all Spanish-language quotations throughout the book were done by the author. Several other authors also mention the broadcast of "No nos moverán" on Radio Magallanes on the morning of the coup. See Gómez A. 1998; Harrington and González 1987; Valenzuela 2009; and Varas and Vergara 1973. Chilean musicologist Juan Pablo González, director of the Instituto de Música of the Universidad Alberto Hurtado, also has a vivid memory of hearing the song broadcast that fateful morning on the radio of some workers employed on a construction site next to his aunt's home in an affluent section of Santiago, shortly before brown shirts from the fascist organization Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Freedom) arrived in the neighborhood (interview with author, May 11, 2014).

5. An example of this would be the group's verse "ni con un golpe de estado" ("not even with a coup d'état"), which refers to the assassination of General René Schneider, commander in chief of the Chilean Army, on October 25, 1970, in a failed kidnapping attempt by his enemies within the armed forces that was intended to provoke a military coup that would prevent president-elect Allende from taking office. For more information about Schneider, his loyalty to the Chilean constitution, and his murder, see Schneider 2010.

6. The Mapuche are the original indigenous inhabitants of south-central Chile.

7. The Unidad Popular's platform included forty immediate measures to be taken following the 1970 election. Measure number 15 was to guarantee a half liter of milk every day to Chilean children, regardless of their families' ability to pay. See http://www.abacq.net/imagineria/medidas.htm.

8. Eulogio Dávalos performs the guitar and discusses his experiences with the Tren Popular de la Cultura in an informative videotaped interview at the Universidad de Santiago de Chile, available online at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ovw9jiLbLk. To learn more about the cultural promotion projects of the Unidad Popular government, see Albornoz 2005 as well as a brief video on the site of the Asociación de las Televisiones Educativas y Culturales Iberoamericanas, available at http://video.atei.es/development/index.php?option=com_marcas&id=1829&msg=&task=&pageNo=461.

9. In March 1973, for example, Gladys Marín, secretary of the Juventudes Comunistas, was interviewed on this program about the Unidad Popular's slate of candidates running in the upcoming legislative elections that would test the socialist government's support in the face of confrontation with the increasingly restive right-wing opposition (undated recording contained in the archive of the Fundación Salvador Allende).

10. Víctor Jara was one of the Chilean New Song Movement's leading composers and singers. He was also a prominent theater actor and director. Jara was murdered by the military in the Estadio Chile in the days following the coup. To learn more about his life, work, and death, see Chaparro, Seves, and Spener 2013 and Jara 2008.

11. In many English-language publications the Estadio Chile—today known as Estadio Víctor Jara—has been confused with the Estadio Nacional, the country's largest football (soccer) stadium, which was also used by the military as a detention center following the coup. In the years prior to the coup, the Estadio Chile, in addition to hosting sporting events, frequently hosted musical events, including the first festival of the Chilean New Song in 1969, in which Jara won first prize for his song "Plegaria a un labrador" ("Prayer to One Who Works the Land").

12. This famed encounter among the giants of country and rock 'n' roll music of the period has been memorialized in a Broadway musical titled *The Million Dollar Quartet.* See the show's website at http://www.milliondollarquartetlive.com and its review by the *New York Times* at http://theater.nytimes.com/2010/04/12/theater/reviews/12million.html?pagewanted=all&_moc.semityn.retaeht. The quartet's recording of "I Shall Not Be Moved" can be heard online at https://youtu.be/JXrAe5Odzds. Elvis Presley, it should be noted, was a strong supporter of Richard Nixon, visiting the president in the White House in 1970 and offering to serve as one of his informants in the music business, which at the time was home to many countercultural opponents of Nixon's policies. See http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nsa/elvis/elnix.html for documentation of this meeting.

Chapter 2

1. In recognition of the fact that America is an entire continent, not just the nickname of the United States, I try to avoid, wherever possible, the use of *America* or *Americans* to refer exclusively to residents of the United States. I use the term *U.S. Africans* to refer to nonwhites of African ancestry who reside in the United States. I interchange this term with the more commonly used *African Americans* throughout this text, in recognition of the struggle by U.S. civil rights activists to gain acceptance for the latter term, which, they argue, designates people by their cultural traits rather than their phenotype. For a useful discussion of the problems associated with use of the terms *America* and *Americans* in the U.S. context, see Villafañe Santos 2005.

2. These renditions are from *The King James Version of the Holy Bible,* available at http://www.turnbacktogod.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/King-James-Bible-KJV-Bible-PDF.pdf, accessed March 17, 2013. The King James version also contains the following verse from Jeremiah 17:8: "For he shall be as a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out her roots by the river."

3. The terms *spiritual, hymn,* and *gospel* are often used inconsistently or even interchangeably with regard to African American music, by both scholars and laypersons. Generally speaking, the term *spiritual* is used to refer to religious folk songs of anonymous authorship sung by slaves prior to the U.S. Civil War. The term *hymn* typically refers to songs with known composers that appear in published church hymnals. The term *gospel* refers to the style of African American religious songs that became popular in urban African American congregations in the first half of the twentieth century. Gospel songs have known composers and share melodic and rhythmic elements with blues and jazz. Indeed, Waldo Martin (2000: 363) refers to gospel songs as "spiritual blues." The distinctions among these types of songs is complicated by the fact that spirituals could eventually be formally arranged by musically literate composers and published in church hymnals. See Burnim 2006; Darden 2004; Harris 1992; Reagon 2001; and Southern 1997.

4. These lyrics are from Jackson 1968: 17.

5. For more on spirituals and Harriet Tubman's participation in the Underground Railroad, see Cone [1972] 1991: 80–82; Darden 2004: 85–96; Jones 1993: 44–47 and 50–51; and Reagon 2001: 132–140.

6. Harold Courlander (1963: 33), for his part, emphasizes the diversity of African American religious songs, which range from quiet, sorrowful reflections to "rocking and reeling songs that truly shake rafters" and "spirited tunes that are nothing less than marches," so that the customary term *spiritual* is inadequate to describe them.

7. See Darden 2004 for further commentary on African Americans' participation in camp meetings.

8. Charles Johnson (1955: 116–117), citing a variety of primary and secondary sources, similarly characterizes the contrast between African and white musicality in the camp meetings.

9. Eileen Southern's summary here is consistent with Mellonee Burnim's (2006: 53–55) account of the emergence of black spirituals from slaves' places and moments of unsupervised, "autonomous" worship.

10. Pullen Jackson's additional claims that blacks' spirituals were largely derivative of whites' camp-meeting songs have been met with strenuous objections from other scholars of African American music. For a summary of this polemical debate, see Darden 2004: 57–60 and Maultsby, Burnim, and Oehler 2006: 11–12. Lawrence Levine (2007: 23–24), for his part, suggests that conditions in the antebellum southern United States "allowed slaves to retain a good deal of the integrity of their own musical heritage while fusing it to comparable elements of Euro-American music." The result, he argues, "was a hybrid with a strong African base."

11. See also Bruce 1974: 90–91 concerning this point.

12. Johnson (1955: 192) similarly notes that many favorite camp-meeting songs were never written down or published.

13. John Stauffer and Benjamin Soskis (2013: 17–28) similarly propose early-nineteenth-century southern camp-meeting origins for another song that has served a variety of social movements in U.S. history: "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

14. For more on this point, see Walker 1979. Regarding the way the African musical legacy lives on in the practices of African American Protestant congregations in the contemporary period, see Pitts 1991. Dickson Bruce (1974: 84–85) notes that the call-and-response format was also typical of antebellum camp meetings among both blacks and whites.

15. The National Baptist Convention is a predominantly African American Protestant denomination. The Sunday School Publishing Board is its in-house press.

16. In 1906, Alfred Ackley, a white religious composer, published a different hymn titled "As a Tree Planted by the Water" that sometimes also goes by the name "I Shall Not Be Moved." Though it clearly draws from the same or similar biblical text(s), Ackley's hymn has a different melody and structure, both lyrical and musical, than the song under consideration in this book.

Chapter 3

1. For a complete history of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," from which "Solidarity Forever" is derived, see Stauffer and Soskis 2013.

2. A *tipple* was a structure at a traditional mine used to load the extracted coal into rail cars.

3. To learn more of Lee Hays's life and music, see Willens 1988.

4. Although he does not use the term *zipper song*, the union troubadour Joe Glazer (2001: 14–15) gives examples of how he led workers in creating myriad new verses to "We Shall Not Be Moved" in Hays's "zipper" fashion on picket lines around the United States in the mid–twentieth century.

5. Disturbingly, only whites participated in the march. Black workers and their families feared lynching if they participated.

6. By the 1930s, fortunes of the Socialist Party had waned considerably. Its pacifist leader, Norman Thomas, ran for president six times but never competed seriously with the Democratic Party once the New Deal was underway. Readers interested in the history of the Socialist Party in the United States should consult Shannon 1955.

7. For a useful summary of the characteristics of the sharecropping system that emerged in the former Confederacy following the end of the U.S. Civil War, see Jaynes 2000: 168–171.

8. Donald Grubbs (1971: 65–66) also notes the strong religiosity with which (STFU) ritual practices were imbued, including the adaptation of Protestant hymns to the union cause, which prominently featured the singing of "We Shall Not Be Moved."

9. Here it should be noted that this is an English translation of a letter that was originally written in Chinese. The translation was written by a striker named Alice Dong. The author of *Unbound Voices,* Judy Yung, informed me that the original Chinese version of the letter did not contain the reference to "We Shall Not Be Moved" (Judy Yung, pers. comm., December 17, 2014). It is thus unclear whether the Chinese women strikers actually sang the song in their struggle. It is clear, however, that at least one striker knew the song and its importance to the U.S. labor movement in other parts of the country.

10. The term *chautauqua* refers to an educational event consisting of public lectures, concerts, and dramatic performances. The concept originated in 1874 in the village of Chautauqua, New York. Today, the term is used more generically to refer to any such event, especially if it involves travel from one community to another. For more information, see http://ciweb.org/about-us/about-chautauqua/our-history.

11. These materials are contained in the Zilphia Horton Folk Music Collection in the Tennessee State Library and Archives.

12. For a more thorough investigation into the role played by song and singing in the communist movement in the United States, see Robbie Lieberman's (1995) book *My Song Is My Weapon: People's Songs, American Communism, and the Politics of Culture, 1930–50*.

13. Later, to mark the event, Pete Seeger glued to the chimney of his cabin one of the softball-size rocks that crashed through the window of the car in which he was driving his wife and small children away from the concert (Dunaway 1981: 11).

14. Following the Peekskill concert and riots, Woody Guthrie wrote a collection of twenty-one songs in reaction to the events he witnessed there. See Kaufman 2011: 163–164.

15. The veracity of some of the events described by Guthrie in *Bound for Glory,* including this one, should be taken with a grain of salt.

Chapter 4

1. Guy Carawan died on May 2, 2015, in New Market, Tennessee (Fox 2015).

2. Bernard Lafayette and James Bevel were leaders of the African American civil rights movement. They participated in the founding of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and also worked with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

3. It should also be noted that there was initial resistance on the part of some young activists to reviving spirituals as civil rights songs given their association with slavery, whose legacy these activists sought to overcome (see Bledsoe 1969: 237–240). Their reaction to the singing of such songs reflected the ambivalence regarding the singing of spirituals in African American churches in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, discussed by Michael Harris (1992: 111–113) and Walter Pitts (1991: 331–332).

4. See also Denisoff 1970: 820 on this point. For an excellent description of how the song "We Shall Not Be Moved" exemplified this call-and-response process of spontaneous innovation, see Bernice Johnson Reagon's (1987: 110–112) account of a mass meeting held in Greenwood, Mississippi, in the fall of 1963.

5. For a succinct description of how the call-and-response format works in many of the freedom songs derived from U.S. Africans' spirituals, see Gravlee 1987: 60.

6. The value of song to the civil rights movement was amplified when images of singing protestors being brutalized by white police were transmitted to the public on the television news (Verrall 2011: 61). TV was a powerful tool for communicating to a wider public that labor union singers did not have available to them in previous decades.

7. See also *Guitars 101* for a list of the performers who sang at the March on Washington and the songs they sang, available at http://www.guitars101.com/forums/f90/march-on-washington-for-jobs-amp-freedom-1963-a-154385.html. The Freedom Singers' performance of "We Shall Not Be Moved" at the March on Washington can be heard online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WsLYB_g7dg0. Film of them performing the song on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial can viewed at https://archive.org/details/gov.archives.arc.49737.

8. Kerran Sanger (1995) offers a useful discussion of these rhetorical aspects of freedom songs, giving special attention to "We Shall Not Be Moved." See also Reed 2005: 30–32 in this regard.

9. Indeed, "We Shall Not Be Moved" was one of many songs that demonstrators sang to keep their spirits up as they successfully completed the march from Selma to Montgomery several weeks after being attacked by police on the Edmund Pettus Bridge (Seeger 1965).

10. Harry Koger Papers, 1945–1963, AR-66-1-5, housed at the Texas Labor Archive, in the Special Collections of the Library of the University of Texas–Arlington.

11. In her extensive review of the rhetorical characteristics of the "freedom songs," Sanger (1995: 74) also observes that most of the songs are "self-referential" in their lyrics, such that "the sheer frequency of self-references suggests that the activists were concerned with their own stories and with setting forth a clear identity for themselves. The songs provided a potent outlet for this emerging self-definition, one well suited to the goals of the movement and easily shared." Moreover, she notes that many of the songs, including "We Shall Not Be Moved," also contained "negative assertions" about what they "would not do" as a way for movement members to reinforce their "determination in the face of adversity" and their commitment not "to respond in the passive manner expected by whites" (Sanger 1995: 87).

Chapter 5

1. Readers interested in learning more about Emma Tenayuca's life and work should consult Calderón and Zamora 1990; Rips 1983; Vargas 1997 and 2005; and Tenayuca and Brooks 1939.

2. Simon Legree, a vicious southern slave owner, was a character in Harriet Beecher Stowe's famous nineteenth-century abolitionist novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

3. A "closed shop" means that only members of the union who have signed a contract with management may work in an establishment.

4. Telephone interview with Sharyll Teneyuca, niece of Emma Tenayuca, July 28, 2014. The singing of the song at her aunt's rosary was videotaped by staff of the Esperanza Center for Peace and Justice in San Antonio.

5. See Latinopia 2010 and Farmworker Movement Documentation Project 2004.

6. The origins of the "Fuertes somos ya" rendition of "We Shall Not Be Moved" remain obscure. It is much less commonly sung in the United States than "No nos moverán" and virtually unknown outside the United States. Lyrics to "Fuertes somos ya" are included in the *Rise Up Singing* songbook (Blood-Patterson 1988: 260) and were also published in *Broadside* magazine in 1968, which mistakenly attributes this version to El Teatro Campesino. It is also reflected in the title of a Chicago mural painted in 1970 to honor the founding of a free "people's health center" by the Latin American Defense Organization (Cockcroft, Weber, and Cockcroft 1977: 84–86).

7. When performing the song in February 2014 at Trinity University, Agustín Lira and his singing companion, Patricia Wells Solórzano, sang this line as "como un árbol crece junto al río" ("like a tree grows next to the river").

8. Los Rebeldes de Sonora was the *conjunto* who performed "No nos moverán" in the Chávez movie.

9. Dolores Huerta also participated in acts of solidarity with the Chilean people, both during the Salvador Allende years and the subsequent military dictatorship. Indeed, she reports being in labor with a son on the day of the coup on September 11, 1973. In memory of the deposed socialist president, she

named her baby Ricardo Salvador. Readers can learn more about Huerta's life and work on the website of the Dolores Huerta Foundation, available at www.doloreshuerta.org.

10. The list of singers performing at the March on Washington may be reviewed on the website of *Guitars 101*, where recordings of the songs performed may also be downloaded. See http://www.guitars101.com/forums/f90/march-on-washington-for-jobs-amp-freedom-1963-a-154385.html.

11. Joan Baez did not respond to the author's queries concerning how she learned "No nos moverán."

12. Paul Robeson's recording of "Canto a la pampa" ("Song to the Plain"), written by Francisco Pezoa, appears on the 33-1/3 RPM record *Pablo Neruda y Paul Robeson: La pampa salitrera* (*The Nitrate Plain*), published in Uruguay in 1963 on the Carumbé label. The disc also includes a recording of Pablo Neruda reciting his "Oda a Paul Robeson," from his 1955 collection of poetry titled *Nuevas odas elementales* (*New Elementary Odes*).

13. A video of Baez singing the song in her March 14, 2014, concert in Santiago can be viewed online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vZyxsK3Tlao. A video of the singing of the song at her second concert on March 15 can be seen at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SGxNoYVSoGo.

Chapter 6

1. A brief video clip of Joan Baez's dedication of "No nos moverán" to La Pasionaria on *Esta Noche, Fiesta* can be viewed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vpdnoYHMXso. Her performance of the song was noted in Madrid's leading newspaper, *El País* (Costa 1977). In a 2013 interview with the Spanish newspaper *Tiempo*, the host of *Esta Noche, Fiesta* confirmed the audaciousness of Baez's singing of the song and her homage to La Pasionaria. He noted that although he and his staff did not suffer any direct reprisals following Baez's appearance on the show, such reprisals from the military, even in 1977, were very possible (Memba 2013).

2. Michael Denning (1996) makes the same point more generally with regard to labor and left-wing political activism within Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal coalition.

3. William Cobb (2000: 158) notes that several Commonwealth students left the school in the 1930s to enlist in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

4. See, for example, Díaz Viana 2007; F. Klein 2008; and Puche Maciá 2008. "No nos moverán" also fails to appear in the collection of anti-franquista songs *Cantos de la Nueva Resistencia Española, 1939–1961* (Liberovici and Straniero 1963).

5. Personal communication with Joaquina Labajo (June 10, 2012), Geofrrey Lawes (August 9, 2011), and Xavier Pintanel (August 8, 2011).

6. None of the following recorded collections of Spanish Civil War songs include "No nos moverán": *Músicas populares de la Guerra Civil*, by Brigada

Bravo (2008); *Spain in My Heart: Songs of the Spanish Civil War,* by Pete Seeger and other artists (2003); *Songs of the Spanish Civil War, Volumes 1 and 2,* by Pete Seeger, Ernst Busch, and others (1961); *Songs of the Spanish Civil War: From Both Sides,* by various artists (2011); *Pasiones: Songs of the Spanish Civil War 1936–1939,* by Jamie O'Reilly and Michael Smith (1997); *Himnos y canciones de la Guerra Civil Española: España 1936–1939 Volúmenes 1 y 2,* by Coro Popular Jabalón (1994); *La Guerra Civil Española,* by Francisco Curto (2011); *Canciones de izquierdas, Guerra Civil Española: Canciones e himnos republicanos,* by various artists (2011); *Bando Republicano: 25 himnos y canciones de la Guerra Civil,* by Banda y Coro República Histórica (2012); and *Canciones de la Guerra Civil y Resistencia Española,* by Oscar Chávez (2011).

7. For a complete account of the horrific repression meted out by the Franco regime against its opponents, see Preston 2012.

8. In his 1968 album of songs of the Spanish Civil War, the Chilean singer-songwriter Rolando Alarcón includes another version of "No pasarán" using a different melody, presumably of his own composition. See Valladares and Vilches 2009: 109–114.

9. This spontaneous mass movement arose out of indignation with the corruption and inefficacy of Spain's political system in the face of the grave economic crisis that began in 2008. See *El movimiento 15-M* 2012.

10. Lluis Panyella, like Xesco Boix, is an accomplished banjo player and singer who was also one of the members of Grup de Folk, the musical group he founded with Boix in Barcelona in the late 1960s. Today, he and María Josep Hernández form the duo La Bicicleta. See www.labicicleta.cat. To learn more about the life and work of Xesco Boix, readers of Catalán may consult Panyella and Hernández 1995 and 2010. The information provided here about Boix was provided to the author by Panyella via e-mail correspondence in September 2012.

11. In reality, a few of Pete Seeger's records began to be imported and distributed in Spain in 1967. Titled *Cantemos con Pete Seeger, Volúmenes 1 y 2* and distributed by the Movieplay label, these discs were reissues of his Folkways records titled *American Favorite Ballads,* which had been recorded some years earlier. It should be noted that the only songs included on these records were folk songs, devoid of any real political content. It is also worth mentioning that the person in charge of importing and distributing Seeger's records in Spain was Joaquín Díaz, a close friend of Xesco Boix.

12. In 1967, Jaume Armella also recorded a single with Boix dedicated to African American spirituals (González Lucini 2006: 107).

13. A video recording of Baez's rendition of "No serem moguts" can be viewed online at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=apKB72wUTq4.

14. A recording of "No serem moguts" being sung by Boix accompanying himself on the banjo can be heard online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEkM5U9yDM4.

15. According to Lluis Panyella, Boix also exchanged many songs and lyrics with his friend Joaquín Díaz, who imported Pete Seeger's records for the

Movieplay label. Boix and Díaz collaborated on a number of song translations, including a translation of “No serem moguts” to “No nos moverán” (Lluis Panyella, pers. comm., July 25, 2013).

16. A newspaper article published in *El País* in 1996 erroneously reports that members of La Trágala learned and translated “We Shall Not Be Moved” after Antonio Gómez returned to Madrid from a trip to London in 1967 with a Seeger record that he had purchased there. At that point in his life, Gómez had never traveled to London. See Niño 1996.

17. The Galician singer Xoan Rubia recorded a version of the song in the language of his region of Spain as “No nos van mover” for his self-titled album released in 1968.

18. A copy of the letter Adolfo Celdrán received censoring his version of “No nos moverán” can be viewed online at http://fernandolucini.blogspot.com/search?q=denegado/.

19. For more information on this album and other aspects of his musical career, readers may consult Celdrán’s website at http://www.adolfoceldran.com/.

20. The Argentine composer Atahualpa Yupanqui’s “Basta ya” is a different song from the song “Hemos dicho basta,” sung by the Chilean group Tiemponuevo and mentioned in Chapter 1. The Chilean group Quilapayún recorded Yupanqui’s song and popularized it in Chile around the same time that “No nos moverán” was popularized by Tiemponuevo.

21. A clip from this episode featuring the song being sung by the cast can be viewed online at http://www.youtube.com/watch?gl=ES&hl=es&v=ekdmeSkQZM0.

22. To see an example of the chant at a Spanish soccer match, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0mhL_5mkNjg. To hear Manchester United fans chanting/singing “We Shall Not Be Moved,” see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6xrUdFEKC5s. And, finally, there is this lament for fans of teams that get beaten by Real Madrid, sung to the tune of “No nos moverán”: *Por culpa del Madriiid, me voy a emborrachar, por culpa del Madriiid, me voy a emborrachar, lalalalaaalalalalalalaaaa, me voy a emborrachar.* See http://es.answers.yahoo.com/question/ index?qid=20080708132359AAcMAUy. Interestingly, “No nos moverán” does not seem to appear as a *cántico de fútbol* in any Spanish American country, on the basis of an informal survey conducted by the author of his *fútbol*-fan friends from Mexico, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay.

Chapter 7

1. See Hernàndez i Martí 2006 for a useful review of the origins and use of the concept.

2. See, for example, Ritzer 2013 on McDonald’s as a model global network for facilitating mass consumption of standardized products.

3. In this regard, we should bear in mind the mutually defining sociological conceptualizations of society and culture, where a society consists of a group of

interacting people sharing a common culture and culture consists of the shared beliefs, products, and practices of an interacting group of people, regardless of whether the group of interacting people is located in the same geographic territory (Appelbaum and Chambliss 1997: 59–60).

4. In Roberto Rivera Noriega's recollection, the recording they received of "No nos moverán" was not a vinyl record but rather a tape recording of some kind. Given that the group had access to reel-to-reel tape recorders at the Chile-Democratic Republic of Germany Institute in Santiago, among other places, he believes that this was the format in which they received it. Within a few years, the audiocassette format became widely available in Latin America and would serve as a vital means of circulating oppositional music in Chile and other South American dictatorships of the 1970s. See Jordan 2009 and Morris 1986. Here, it is also worth mentioning that a group of students in the music education program at the Universidad de Playa Ancha in Valparaíso who were working on a joint thesis about Tiemponuevo interviewed Sergio Sánchez's sister, who remembers her brother striking up a friendship with some Spanish *sacerdotes obreros* (literally, "worker priests," implying that they were of left-wing sympathies) who were doing missionary outreach in Chile in the late 1960s. According to his sister, Sánchez and the priests shared an interest in the music of each other's countries and spent time listening to music and singing together. Although she does not remember them specifically listening to or singing the Castilian version of "No nos moverán" together, this is another possible route by which the song could have been introduced to the members of Tiemponuevo (Edison Argandoña, pers. comm., May 13, 2015).

Chapter 8

1. See also Triandafyllidou 2009: 103 regarding this point.

2. Here, I should note that a large body of scholarly literature exists that discusses the related but rather broader concept of *cultural hybridity*. One of the exemplary and most frequently cited works in that literature is Néstor García Canclini's 2005 book *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*.

Conclusion

Acknowledgment: The lyrics from the song "Wasn't That a Time?" by Lee Hays and Walter Lowenfels, are reproduced with permission from Sanga Music, Inc. (BMI). Administered by Figs. D Music (BMI) c/o The Bicycle Music Company.

1. Walter Lowenfels (1897–1976) was a U.S. poet, journalist, and member of the Communist Party USA. He was arrested in 1953 while serving as the editor of the *Daily Worker* in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; charged with conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the U.S. government by force; and sentenced to two years in federal prison. His conviction was overturned on appeal in 1957, for lack of evidence (Guttman 1965). A clip of Pete Seeger singing this verse of the song, taken from *Wasn't That a Time*, a 1961 film by Michael and Philip Burton about

Seeger's persecution by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), is available online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DPngPq6HaF8.

2. With regard to political *globalization from below*, it is worth noting that some theorists argue that the term *internationalism from below* better communicates the spirit of this type of solidarity that transcends national boundaries. David Featherstone (2012: 8), for example, insists that the term *internationalism* better captures the efforts of "left political movements to reshape the world on more equitable terms."

3. Lluis Panyella, personal communication, June 14, 2014.

4. Angela Davis visited Chile in 1972 and later denounced the U.S. role in the coup that overthrew the democratic socialist government of Salvador Allende. Evidence of Chileans' support for Davis can be seen in a mural painted by the Brigada Ramona Parra and a poster demanding Davis's release, both of which can be viewed online at http://www.abacq.net/imagineria/exp29.htm, as well as filmed footage of Davis's visit to the Universidad Técnica del Estado in 1972, viewable online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p6YdNf7Z31Y. The mural and the poster are from the work by Fernando Orellana, *Chile: Breve imaginería política: 1970–1973*, traveling and online exhibition (Santiago de Chile: Fernando Orellana, 2000). The film footage comes from the Archivo de Documentación Gráfica y Audiovisual de la Universidad de Santiago de Chile, available online at http://www.archivodga.usach.cl/index.php/en/.

5. Stuart Hall's conceptualization of cosmopolitanism is similar in some ways to that of Robert K. Merton's classic 1940s sociological study of local versus cosmopolitan "influentials" in a small town on the East Coast of the United States (see Merton 1968), except that Hall's version is more explicitly focused on the cultural dimension of people's orientations.

6. Although they do not make explicit use of the term, thinking of cosmopolitanism as an aspect of habitus is consistent with Steven Vertovic and Robin Cohen's (2002: 13) reference to it as "an attitude and a disposition" that is acquired through experience.

Coda

1. Dean Reed's performance of the song, along with images of Corvalán and Honecker, may be viewed online at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bnPgouRYf6Y.

2. The Frente Amplio's José "Pepe" Mujica, internationally admired for his folksy wisdom and personal austerity, was the president of Uruguay at the time of this writing.

3. The sources consulted for information concerning Luis Corvalán are Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional n.d.; Davison 2010; and Ramírez 2013.

4. The sources consulted for information concerning Dean Reed are Diener 2013, Laszewski 2005, Nadelson 2006, and personal communication with Roberto Rivera Noriega, June 21, 2014.

5. In 1976, thousands of black students in the Soweto township outside Johannesburg demonstrated against being forced to receive their instruction in public schools exclusively in the language of the white Afrikaner minority. Police opened fire on the demonstrators, killing many children and teenagers in one of the worst atrocities committed by the apartheid regime (Blackwell 2013).

6. Sources: Cecelski and Tyson 1998; Graham and Blythe 2012; Moore 2010; Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage 2014; *Bernice Johnson Reagon* 2014; and Sweet Honey in the Rock 1981. An *a capella* version of the song performed by Billy Bragg at an open-air Artists against Apartheid concert in London can be viewed online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZYuWNpowaR4. Bragg's performance begins a little more than seventeen minutes into the video.

7. Sources: Markoe 2013 and National Cathedral 2013.

8. Sources: Finnegan 1986: 167; Gilbert 2005: 14; United Democratic Front n.d.; and personal communication with Dr. Shirli Gilbert, professor of history, University of Southampton, June 25, 2014.

9. Personal communication with Omotayo Jolaosho, July 6, 2014. For a more extensive discussion of the circulation of U.S. songs among anti-apartheid activists in South Africa, see Jolaosho 2012. To learn more about the poet Diana Ferrus, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diana_Ferrus.

10. A video of this performance may be viewed at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TtOZIVOW-t4.

11. To learn more about Patricia Wells Solórzano's life and work, see http://teatrotierraonline.org/alma-musicians/.

12. To learn more about Teatro de la Tierra's production of this and other plays, see http://teatrotierraonline.org/performance/a-yellow-rose-from-texas/.

13. A video of Pete Seeger marching with the crowd can be viewed at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kmMiLmHiESs. Unfortunately, the videographer did not capture or did not upload footage of the marchers singing "We Shall Not Be Moved."

14. Sources: Hudson River Sloop Clearwater 2014 and Yarrow 2014.

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