In the midst of some truly challenging times in higher education, the Kinder Institute feels lucky to have recruited a new wave of exciting young scholars to help deliver our recently-expanded programs. While the COVID-19 pandemic has limited our (and our students’) actual interactions with them so far, we nonetheless were thrilled to welcome four faculty members to our ranks at the beginning of the fall semester and to see a couple old friends transition into new and more central roles.

On the political science side, the addition of a pair of eminent young scholars, Jennie Ikuta and Connor Ewing, has expanded our faculty’s range of expertise and its potential audience among students and the public alike. By putting these two together with our existing political science faculty—KICD Director and constitutional scholar Justin Dyer, empirical analyst of federal bureaucracy and the constitutional separation of powers Jen Selin, and social scientific historian of voting and political institutions Jay Dow—we will be able to engage our constituents in even more richly contoured inquiry into the theory and practice of U.S. political development and public law.

A University of Chicago graduate with a Ph.D. in political theory from Brown, Prof. Jennie Ikuta brings fresh perspectives on democratic theory, a cornerstone of our scholarly mission since the Kinder Forum days, to the fourth floor of Jesse. As seen...
in her new Oxford University Press book, *Contexting Conformity: Democracy and the Paradox of Political Belonging*, Jennie approaches democracy in a broadly cultural yet rigorous manner perfect for the undergraduate seminars we specialize in, closely reading andconstellating texts both expected and unexpected, from Tocqueville and Jefferson to Nietzsche, in order to examine the relationships between nonconformity and modern democracy. Continuing to delve into the role of moral psychology in 19th- and 20th-century political thought, Prof. Ikuta’s second, currently in-progress book will turn toward the question of how willful ignorance has, over time, sustained racial injustice.

Joining Jennie is the versatile Prof. Connor Ewing. A scholar of American politics and public law who has equal facility with the study of American political thought and development, constitutional theory and design, and Supreme Court jurisprudence, Prof. Ewing’s first book project presents a reconstruction of the theory of federalism that foregrounds how the Constitution structures contests over political authority and its location. In addition to his scholarship, Connor has been organizing our Shavnee Trail conference for the past few years from his former posts at UVA and University of Toronto, growing it from a friendly regional gathering of political thought scholars into a national conference spanning all of the Kinder Institute’s interest areas. He also brings an exciting track record of public engagement across a broad array of media, not only some of the channels that have so reshaped our world in the past few years, but also nicely updated versions of tried and true formats. Everyone reading this newsletter should check out *The New Ramble*, an online review of books modeled after Dr. Samuel Johnson’s famous 18th-century periodical that Connor created with his partner, Prof. Cindy Ewing, a University of Toronto historian who not coincidentally joined the MU History Department this fall to teach Asian and international history. An extremely significant addition to the university is Connor’s colleague and friend, Dr. Samuel Johnson’s famous 18th-century periodical that Connor created with his partner, Prof. Cindy Ewing, a University of Toronto historian who not coincidentally joined the MU History Department this fall to teach Asian and international history. An extremely significant addition to the university is Connor’s colleague and friend, Dr. Samuel Johnson’s famous 18th-century periodical that Connor created with his partner, Prof. Cindy Ewing, a University of Toronto historian who not coincidentally joined the MU History Department this fall to teach Asian and international history.

While he’ll be residing for the time being in Hulston Hall, Tommy Bennett, a scholar of constitutional and administrative law with particular research interest in how complex litigation strains the relationship between state and federal courts, joined the Kinder Institute in August as an Associate Professor of Constitutional Democracy and the MU Law School as an Assistant Professor and Wall Family Fellow. Tommy comes to Mizzou from NYU Law School, where he served during 2019-20 as the Furman Academic Fellow. Though technically not a new hire, Rudy Hernandez, a 2018-20 Postdoc to the Kinder Institute and a scholar of political theory and American political thought, has officially joined the faculty here and in Political Science as an Assistant Teaching Professor.

On the history side, during the 2020-21 academic year, we will begin to see the fruits of the major changes wrought by the expanded Kinder Foundation gift, which was partly intended to fuel MU’s partnership with University of Oxford. Since hiring Jay Scott away from Oxford four years ago, we have committed to the concept of presenting the theory and practice of U.S. constitutional democracy in its proper Atlantic and global setting: how the ideas underlying it had roots in antiquity but migrated from Europe, how the people came from everywhere to the U.S., and how the consequences and reinterpretations of the dawn of constitutional democracy in the United States have been circulating the globe ever since. An embodiment of this commitment, our new Atlantic History and Politics M.A., which will send students to Oxford for a month in July 2021, launched this fall, fully enrolled.

To support this program and the Kinder Institute’s larger international enterprise, it was crucial to attract an energetic historian of Great Britain, a field of scholarship which has been absent from the MU campus since a wave of retirements several years ago. To that end, we are proud to have recruited one of the most prolific young scholars of the British Empire currently working, Prof. Robert G. Fletcher, from the University of Warwick. Trained at Oxford, Rob is a true historian of the Victorian Empire, in that the sun never sets on his far-ranging expertise. While his primary avenue of research centers on British attempts to govern and transform the desert and nomadic societies of the 20th-century Middle East, Dr. Fletcher has also written a book on the British encounter with 19th-century Japan, in addition to producing major work on British merchants in China, the administration of Western Australia, and even the world history of locust control. Not only did Dr. Fletcher perform the research and writing for these projects, but he also in many cases secured funding for them, all while launching the graduate program in history at Warwick. Hired at the full professor level at a very young age, Rob brings a wide publication history with him to Mizzou and, along with Jay Sexton and Kinder Junior Research Fellow at Oxford Sonia Tycko, will help coordinate the U.K. study abroad programs that we offer not only at the graduate but also at the undergraduate level.

While all of these international activities might seem to take us a world away from the 18th- and 19th-century of the Founders where we started this project, we see it all as integrally related. A global and transnational view of history and politics was as common in the imperial world of the 1700s that Ben Franklin, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams grew up in as it is intellectually current in the “globalized” 2000s. In the Founding era, most Americans were recent migrants, the news came from London and Paris, and events of crucial concern might at any time have been playing out in Poland or India. We embrace the belief that a global perspective enriches our study of early American history and political thought...
Institute after a three-year sojourn in British Columbia, and whose UNC Press book on political music in early America hit the shelves in August—will help supervise the Kinder Institute Residential College for first-year Mizzou students.

Though we don’t have time to detail their incredible contributions in full, we would be remiss not to acknowledge the invaluable support that affiliate faculty members have provided in helping us develop and now launch our new degree programs, from Catherine Rymph in History, who has been there from the beginning, to Daive Dunkley in Black Studies, who officially joined the Institute’s affiliate faculty ranks this summer but who has been a vital contributor at conferences and colloquia for years.

Despite the truly unprecedented challenges ahead for everyone involved in higher education, we are bullish about the faculty team we have assembled, and as excited for the future as it is possible to be in October 2020.
In what we hope will be the first of many such Q&As this year, Kinder Institute Postdoctoral Fellow Billy Coleman took time out of his schedule to answer questions serious and less so about the subject matter of his new book, Harnessing Harmony: Music, Power, and Politics in the United States, 1788-1865, published in August by University of North Carolina Press.

Q: What were the political songs that launched a thousand ships (or, you know, a hundred thousand words in this strained metaphor)? I know you had a “Star Spangled Banner” article in the Journal of the Early Republic a few years back, so I’m guessing that’s one of them, but what, maybe, were the three or four that, when you thought about them on a continuum, made you think that a book was possible?

A: Finding early American political songs was never a problem for this project: not only was so much of it produced, but archives across the country have since done amazing work digitizing countless pages of sheet music, newspapers, brochides, and ephemera that easily show the political presence of music in the United States before the Civil War. The question was really how can I make sense of it all? How can I interpret the meaning, or the purpose, of songs that can no longer be heard, or experienced, in the same way early Americans did? Even historically accurate recreations of these songs cannot necessarily help me accurately understand the sensation of hearing music in an age before recording technology existed. The breakthrough that made the book possible was getting into archives and primary source databases and realizing that, not only did early Americans produce plenty of music, but that they also wrote a lot about music as well.

So, to answer the question: the songs that really made the book possible were those that inspired people to write about them: “Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too” from the presidential election of 1840, “Hail Columbia,” initially written in response to the “Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too” from the presidential election of 1840; “Hail Columbia,” for example, and Jeffersonian Republicans immediately denounced it as partisan. But within a couple of years, Republicans had repurposed plenty of their own versions of “Hail Columbia” to sing instead. The difference, however, really lay in the fact that Federalists and Republicans did not perceive the political power of music in the same way. For Federalists, music was ideally written for the American people (so they might unite in support of the wisdom of their leaders), whereas Republicans saw music more as an opportunity to celebrate the wisdom of the American “people” themselves.

Q: Shifting gears, I know you did a “Music & Politics” course here and at UBC as well, so I wanted to talk pedagogy for a second. Not sure I’m phrasing this exactly right, but what new access to historical narratives do students get—what new ideas about these narratives do they have—by viewing/thinking about history through the lens of music?

A: The great thing about teaching U.S. history through music is that it gives students a chance to access all sorts of different historical narratives. To understand the significance of music in American politics involves coming to grips with questions of power and control, as well as protest and resistance. And it involves shining a light on the construction of American identities, values, and institutions. Nothing is off the table! Students in the course have researched everything from the boundaries of American identity in Woody Guthrie’s “Columbia River Songs” to a relatively unknown musical collaboration between Ray Charles and James Baldwin, TLC’s “Waterfalls” and the HIV/AIDS crisis, Indigenous dance, Motown, the racial politics of Riot grrrl, musical diplomacy in the Cold War, and hymns in hip-hop (just to name a few). What makes music special across all those examples is its capacity to connect the evidence of an emotional truth to the rigor of historical analysis. When we listen to a historical song, say, from the Civil Rights Movement, we can hear the truth of the perspective it conveys. But to understand what that music meant, to judge its impact, or to weave it into a larger historical narrative means assessing its purpose and reception within the politics and culture of its time.

Before you know it, you’re thinking historically and have its purpose and reception within the politics and culture of its time. Before you know it, you’re thinking historically and have the building blocks of an original argument at your fingertips.

Lightning Round

Top-3 best campaign songs, non-“Tippecanoe” category, and maybe a few words on why (and I’ll accept both originals and the Bill Clinton-using-Fleetwood Mac types)

The Obama campaign’s use of Stevie Wonder’s “Signed, Sealed, Delivered” in 2008. Everything about it encapsulated the campaign’s image and message so well that hearing it played in that electoral context seemed almost entirely natural (a rare feat for music in a modern-day political campaign!).

Woody Guthrie’s “Farmer Labor Train”—one of a number of songs written to sing at rallies for the Progressive Party candidate in 1948, William Wallace, published in a collection called Songs for Wallace. Later, Alan Lomax explained how songs like this one were part of a much larger musical strategy that included making sure there was a song for every voice and that singers, like Pete Seeger, would be on hand to perform at every campaign event.

“Get on the Raft with Tift” (Holzman & Kerr, 1968) is perennially tough to overlook, but was also notable for accusations that its Tin Pan Alley publisher, Leo Feist, had planted positive news stories about it in the press to get it more attention. Song plugging, as we’d more or less understand it now, was arguably the building blocks of an original argument at your fingertips.

In a world where things played out quite differently, and you’re currently hitting cleanup for the Pittsburgh Pirates, what would be the song that rings out through the stadium as you stride to the plate (I think about this a lot; mine’s Millie Small’s “My Boy Lollipop”)?

As an Australian cricket fan, this is not a tradition I’m super familiar with…yet. However, if I’m hitting cleanup, my guess is that people should probably be prepared for me to deliver all their Christmases early this year! So…

“Christmas Is A-Coming (Chicken Crows at Midnight)” by Lead Belly.

Required reading for anyone interested in thinking more about the interaction of music and politics?


HASKELL MONROE FELLOWSHIP

There has been much deserved fanfare of late about the launch of the new M.A. in Atlantic History & Politics, and we will, to be sure, share more news on that in future newsletters (of particular interest to this author are whispers of some secret society of barristers having taken shape). Not to be eclipsed by this launch, though, is the work being done by other denizens of the grad school bullpen in Jesse 401. Arc Gooch is leading the Kinder Institute Residential College’s FIG class while dissertating on political party development and elections in the early American republic. Zach Lang is Žižek for “Race & the American Story” while finishing up pre-comps coursework in Political Science. And Joe Ross, now on the other side of coursework, continues to unearth the story of western land development in the 18th and 19th centuries while bouncing between sections of Intro to U.S. History as a Fall 2020 graduate teaching assistant in the History Department. We aim to feature their exploits soon, but for this edition of The Columns, we’ve asked Brendon Floyd for a few words on the work he did last year as the inaugural Haskell Monroe Graduate Fellow in Civil War Era History.

In the spring of 2019, I received an email from Mizzou’s History Department informing me that I was formally accepted into their Ph.D. program. Along with this acceptance, they awarded me the Haskell Monroe Graduate Fellowship in Civil War Era History. Needless to say, I jumped at the opportunity. It has been an honor to work on this project for the last year with a variety of talented scholars, librarians, administrators, and undergraduates. With that said, I would like to take this opportunity to introduce the project to a broader audience and demonstrate the incredible work we have all put into The Haskell Monroe Collection: Life in the Confederacy.

By the time I joined the project in the fall of 2019, Ms. Brekhus had already begun classifying and entering the sources into Zotero (a reference management software) as well as locating any digitized versions available. Together, we mapped out a plan and presented it to other members on the project. Our vision is to create a website that will organize and make these sources accessible and searchable, providing scholars, educators, and students an array of material with which to engage and thereby continuing the legacy of Professor Monroe’s passion for both education and historical research.

To do this, we have tracked down digital copies of the sources; “tagged” them with a defined set of key terms for categorization, and begun to enter their metadata onto the website with links to their digital locations. We currently have roughly 1,300 sources and counting, thanks in large part to help provided by undergraduate students Abigail Mann and Catherine Hutinett. Abby has since graduated, and we wish her all the best! Catherine stayed on the project as an intern this past summer, during which she created a virtual exhibit on our website, using the magazine The Confederate Veteran, a source from the Monroe Collection, to explore the role Lost Cause ideology played in the collective memory of the Civil War. We hope to have the website available for public use by Spring 2021.

During the Fall 2020 semester, I’m pulling back on the project’s website to produce an academic article utilizing the collection’s materials. With assistance and guidance from Prof. Sexton, I am focusing my attention on Confederate Homefront studies and diving deeper into the content available in The Haskell Monroe Collection: Life in the Confederacy.

If you are interested in more information on the project or if you have questions, please feel free to reach out to me at bgfloyd@mail.missouri.edu. Additionally, I would like to thank everyone who has put their time into this project thus far, and to the Monroe family, especially Mrs. Monroe, for making this project possible.

Origin, Introduction, and Progress of The Haskell Monroe Collection: Life in the Confederacy
by Brendon Floyd

Their letters, diaries, books, and other writings provide rich resources to understand this moment in history. Before Professor Monroe’s passing in 2017, the family had amassed a bibliography and archival collection of thousands of pieces of primary source material.

In 2018, Jo Monroe presented the collection to the University of Missouri’s Matt Gaunt and the MU Libraries. In response, Gaunt brought on Rachel Brekhus of the MU Libraries and Professor Jay Sexton of the History Department and Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy to establish the Haskell Monroe Graduate Fellowship, funded by the Monroe family. It was conceived that the fellow would use this collection to research and produce a scholarly article and create a digital humanities project cataloging Professor Monroe’s source material. But what did that mean?

By the time I joined the project in the fall of 2019, Ms. Brekhus had already begun classifying and entering the sources into Zotero (a reference management software) as well as locating any digitized versions available. Together, we mapped out a plan and presented it to other members on the project. Our vision is to create a website that will organize and make these sources accessible and searchable, providing scholars, educators, and students an array of material with which to engage and thereby continuing the legacy of Professor Monroe’s passion for both education and historical research.

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Two final points: First, a hearty tip of the cap to Kinder Institute Postdoc Jordan Pellerito for a lesson on historical memory. Though the Society of Fellows has a typically busy October in Jordan Pellerito for a lesson on historical memory. Though the gathering of our annual Society of Fellows conference offered the same experience as the six that came before it: two days of non-stop, communal inquiry into readings and ideas that helped everyone involved better understand the trajectory of constitutional democracy in the U.S. and around the globe.

As the schedule and recaps that follow show, there were a few new wrinkles to how this inquiry played out, as Fellows had the opportunity to choose between morning sessions each day as well as the pleasure of attending three afternoon keynote lectures.

Two final points: First, a hearty tip of the cap to Kinder Institute Postdoc Billy Coleman, who has been instrumental in finding ways to bring the Kinder Institute on-the-fly weekly debrief session on Kinder Institute colloquia and lectures led by members of the first class of our Atlantic History & Politics M.A. We’ve sold out three consecutive installments of these debriefs in the Jesse Hall seminar room—full disclosure, capacity is limited to six attendees—and from what we understand, students have taken it upon themselves to organize a second such session at a safe distance from one another back in Wolpers Hall, where the KIRC is housed.

While emphasis across campus has been placed on adaptability and innovation—and rightfully so—it’s also been comforting to have some things stay the same. For example, for the second year running, a group of Residential College students have taken it upon themselves to organize a second such session at a safe distance from one another back in Wolpers Hall, where the KIRC is housed.

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the 1892 lynching of People’s Grocery owners Thomas Moss, Calvin McDowell, and William Stewart, and almost immediately after by the deceitful response from government and law officials to it: “It was done by unknown parties,” said the Free Press’ editor. Returning to her initial discussion of intersectionality, Prof. Shonekan also touched on the importance of Weins highlighting the toll of the lynchings on widowed wives and mothers, a sign of how traumatically the currents of white supremacy pound, then as today, against Black women.

Max Roach was initially set to release We Insist: Max Roach’s Freedom Now Suite, the second album bell of Prof. Shonekan’s keynote, in 1961 for the centennial anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. The politics of the early 1960s demanded otherwise. An urgent response to a long history of racial oppression, the album is notable for its expansiveness. Unlike the work of Curtis Mayfield, whose songs addressed the 1970s U.S., or Fela Kuti, whose music rooted itself in Nigerian politics, Roach’s We Insist covers the span of time and space from the dawn of enslavement in Great Britain’s North American colonies in 1619 through South Africa in 1960, making it what Prof. Shonekan called one of few truly Africana texts, and perhaps the only one. The album takes us from the violence of the plantation (“Driva’ Man,” Track 1), through the jubilation and confusion of Juneteenth (“Freedom Day,” Track 2), to the celebration of African sovereignty and the post-colonial reclaiming of African identity (“All Africa,” Track 4), before finally mourning the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre (“Tears for Johannesburg,” Track 5).

The track that bridges the Atlantic Ocean between the United States and Africa—“Triptych: Prayer, Protest, Peace” (Track 3)—however, was the primary focus of Prof. Shonekan’s examination of the album. It is here, in Abbey Lincoln’s vocalization of moaning prayers of distress, yearnings for peace, and the exhaustion of living under slave and colonial systems, that the psychic traumas of racism, imperialism, and sexism are laid barest. Her screams, Prof. Shonekan described, defied silence and demand questions: What is music? What is Blackness? What am I? What is masculine, and what is feminine? This latter question was of particular emphasis in the talk’s closing moments. For one, Prof. Shonekan argued, it draws attention to a relationship between romance and revolution—to the stories of the humans behind revolutionary works and acts—that should not be overlooked, but too often is. In the same gesture, though, Lincoln’s vocals starkly underscore the layers of burden against which Black women in particular struggle. Scapegoated, maligned for their physical appearance, their identities defined for them by patriarchal systems—Lincoln recalled once feeling as if it were from Roach that she learned “about being me when I sing”—Black women have long been put in a position to have to seek re-entry into and dignification in not only America but also Black America. If Lincoln titled her 1966 Jet essay, “Who Will Revere the Black Woman,” the grit and granularity of her later career vocals made clear that this was not a question but rather a demand.

Following Prof. Shonekan’s keynote, Fellows attended one of three breakout sessions: with Kinder Institute Director of Undergraduate Studies Thomas Kane, MU History Ph.D. Candidate Jordan Pelleterio, or Kinder Institute Program Coordinator and recent MU Law and Truman School of Public Affairs grad Caroline Spalding.

A.M. Sessions, Thursday, August 13

9am-10:15am: “How to Read a Room: Spatial Politics in Early America,” Kinder Institute Postdoctoral Fellow in Political History Erin Marie Holmes (Jesse 410) / “The Qualified Immunity Shell Game,” Kinder Institute Associate Professor of Constitutional Democracy and MU Law Associate Professor and Wall Family Fellow Tommy Bennett (Tiger Hotel)

10:45am-12pm: “The Black Founding Fathers,” Associate Professor of Social Studies Education and Director of the Carter Center for K-12 Black History Education LaGarrett King (Jesse 410) / “Slavery, Music, and Resistance,” Kinder Institute Postdoctoral Fellow in Political History Billy Coleman (Tiger Hotel)

Afternoon Keynotes, Thursday, August 13

1:30pm-3pm (State Historical Society of Missouri): “America’s Lion and Unicorn,” MU Professor of History and Kinder Institute Endowed Chair in Constitutional Democracy Jay Sexton

“As I write, highly civilized human beings are flying overhead, trying to kill me.” So begins George Orwell’s 1941 novella-length essay, “The Lion and the Unicorn,” a three-part call for a revolutionary socialist transformation of England in the crucible of World War II in which channeling nationalism—as divisive a concept then as it is today—plays a critical role.

An essay demanding change amidst crises local, intra-imperial, and global, “The Lion and the Unicorn,” MU Professor of History and Kinder Institute Endowed Chair in Constitutional Democracy Jay Sexton

1. Moments of crisis almost always deviate with intense moments of international competition: In times of ease, Prof. Sexton noted, any regime can paper over the cracks. Crisis, on the other hand, stokes deep-set tensions between rival systems of economic production and political organization. And these tensions do not only manifest in competition—sometimes violent competition—in the global arena; likewise do they spur introspection. Which brings us to…

2. Moments of crisis expose both the deficiencies and strengths of political and social regimes: In “The Lion and the Unicorn,” the deficiencies Orwell unpacked were many: a social system riddled with class hierarchies and inequality; an elite class of inept governors whose status generationally reproduced their power; a deranged politics of empire that, after the rise of the telegraph and the central state, were also almost entirely
Prof. Sexton reiterated that we must remember that meaningful change can be partial and contingent. Transforming the social order and political system is necessary but has been made clear; doing so, however, means embracing messiness and hybridization and avoiding the false assumption that revolution is a binary proposition between total victory and unconditional surrender.
While it hasn’t been quite the same as having 50 students, friends, and colleagues descend on the seminar room in Jesse Hall almost every Friday afternoon, our Colloquium Series—and our public programming in general—has nonetheless soldiered on in the land of Zoom. In addition to what’s recapped in this section, we hosted our first MRSSEAH on September 25th, with participants far and wide gathering to discuss Saint Louis University Associate Professor of History and African American Studies Katrina Thompson Moore’s article manuscript, “The Wench: White Male Caricature of Black Women in the Jacksonian Era.”

**The Other Fire Bell: African Americans and the Long Shadow of the Missouri Compromise**

Rochester Institute of Technology Professor of History Richard Newman

Previewing his chapter for the Kinder Institute and MU Press’ forthcoming edited volume examining the Missouri Crisis at its bicentennial, Prof. Richard Newman described his contribution to the book as one that would detail the vital role that African Americans played in shaping the meaning and historical memory of the 1820-21 Missouri Compromise—not only in the immediate aftermath of the legislation but also, as his talk showed, before its passage.

Tackling this task, he noted in introducing his presentation, required situating his chapter within the context of two current scholarly approaches to interpreting antebellum African American protest politics and political agency. As exemplified in Kellie Carter Jackson’s 2019 *Face and Providence*, this approach uses the lens of slave resistance and Black nationalism to explore how many Black abolitionists saw violence—and even the prospect of violence—as the missing piece in reform struggles. These scholars argue, for example, that the attention paid to white abolitionists’ politics of peaceful protest unduly marginalizes how instrumental the threat of slave revolution was to advancing anti-slavery cause. On the other hand, Prof. Newman continued, works like Christopher Bonner’s 2020 *Remaking the Republic* highlight 19th-century Black activists’ interest in institutional reform, placing particular emphasis on how securing citizenship rights was viewed as a necessary means of thwarting the expansion of the slave empire.

Without at all taking away from the tradition of slave resistance as powerful both before and after the Civil War, Prof. Newman explained that his chapter’s argument falls more in line with Bonner’s research, as it shows how African Americans worked within existing political institutions—and created new ones—to aggressively push back against the prevailing politics of compromise that were allowing slavery to grow westward. Among other things, he outlined how this reading would de-center figures like Sumner in the history of abolitionism and reveal how Free Soilers were, in fact, following the lead of “compromise is death” African American activists in embracing attacking the slave empire head on.

In unpacking how institutional reform was ultimately pursued, Prof. Newman first explored the work of Black legal freedom seekers who, beginning in the 1810s, used the Northwest Ordinance as an abolitionist tool to contend in courts that their liberty was implied by their having lived in the territory outlined in the 1787 legislation. Acknowledging the political impact of these liberty claims—rather than treating them as mere loopholes—adds important new contour to our thinking about the Missouri Compromise by framing it not as an argument between white politicians but instead in terms of how Missouri territorial representatives’ fervent petition for statehood was very much responding to a threat to their vision of a slaveholding West that was issued by African Americans. As more 19th-century court records are digitized—we have already seen this happen in Missouri, Ohio, and Maryland, among other states—what will become ever more apparent is the degree to which these liberty claims marked a concerted and often successful Black-led push to neutralize slavery on its own ground.

Prof. Newman then turned toward David Walker, whose *Appeal* channeled an Atlantic-wide Black resistance movement in articulating rebellion as perhaps the most important means of combating white political temporizers and compromisers—most notably, for Walker, Thomas Jefferson—who were paving the way for slavery's expansion into the West. To be sure, Walker conceived of resistance in terms of the rising up of freed and enslaved people. At the same time, Prof. Newman argued, he likewise saw mass organization as a more institutionally-oriented tool of revolution. Walker was, for example, an ideological force behind the Black conventions that arose in states like Michigan, Wisconsin, and Ohio, in which participants demanded the repeal of black laws and the recognition of their claims to equal citizenship as ways to wall off these territories from slavery. A key factor in the disintegration of major political parties, these conventions—which occurred at both the state and national level—are, Prof. Newman offered, a crucial measure of Walker’s legacy.

Finally, he probed the intersection of public outreach—whether in speaking or writing—and institutional reform. At the forefront of this was Frederick Douglass. Not only did Douglass use his orations and newspaper columns to advance the cause of emancipation by decrying compromise: “I spit on compromise,” he declared in an Ithaca speech. Through this, he also entrenched himself in dissident politics, first with the Free Soil Party and then with the Radical Abolition Party, becoming a key spokesperson for African Americans’ voices as central to the vision of any third party that thought itself capable of standing up to the slave republic. Though Douglass was at all times willing to embrace righteous violence as a means to end slavery, Prof. Newman closed by noting that he was equally open to institutional political alternatives to resolving his growing concern with the conservatism of many Republican Party denominants.

“Why not a woman?” *The Improbable Life of Eliza Lucas Pinckney*

Saint Louis University Professor and John Francis Bannon Endowed Chair of History Lorri Glover

To her friend Mary Bartlerr’s tongue-in-cheek question about the gender of a comet soaring above Charleston in 1742, Eliza Lucas Pinckney responded, “If it is any mortal transformed in this glorious luminary, why not a woman?” If this was an audacious thing to ask in the mid-18th century colonies, Saint Louis University’s Lorri Glover showed in her September 11 talk at the State Historical Society of Missouri that it was likewise a question entirely in line with the life and sensibility of the person posing it.

Presenting the research that went into her new Yale University Press monograph, *Why not a woman? The Improbable Life of Eliza Lucas Pinckney*, she detailed her subject’s wealth of scientific achievement. Though Pinckney’s productivity was significant in the 18th century, she was also characteristically energetic in her efforts to push back against the gendered politics of her day. As Glover pointed out, the “luminary” that Eliza Lucas Pinckney hoped to manifest a woman’s voice in astronomy was one that sought out and expressed to the fullest her particular talents, interests, and capabilities, as well as her own unusual standing in the world of scientific discourse.
Eliza Lucas Pinckney: An Independent Woman in the Age of Revolution, Prof. Glover explored in her talk how Pinckney’s life can help us push back against the distorted view of early America as exclusively “a man’s world.” A true planter-patriarch in every way save her gender, Pinckney was, Prof. Glover argued, as formidable, ambitious, and, importantly, as ruthless as the merchant adventurers and colonizers who typically people our textbooks.

Born in Antigua, Pinckney was raised on the expressions of family power and instilled with the sense of racial violence typical of a settler-colonial family (and culture) unashamed of its position as enslavers. If it was on her family’s sugar plantation that she inherited the brutality that would define her rise to prominence and wealth in colonial South Carolina, it was also here that her precocious curiosity about the natural world—another hallmark of her later success—was first sparked.

After returning at 15 from five years of study in England to an Antigua rendered unrecognizable by natural disaster and aborted slave uprisings, Pinckney traveled with her family to Charleston to secure their future there. At 17, following the death of her mother and her father’s return to Antigua for military service, the responsibility for establishing said security fell solely to Pinckney. Now in control of every aspect of the family’s massive estate—from managing the finances of the international rice trade to trafficking enslaved humans throughout (and beyond) the colony—Pinckney began to catalog her work in a letter book, ultimately leaving us with perhaps the most voluminous and enlightening set of writings of any woman in British America.

As the title of Prof. Glover’s talk indicated, the work Pinckney did as executor of the family estate was indeed improbable for a woman of the Atlantic World, but it was also remarkable by any standard. Among other things, Pinckney represented her family in Charleston social circles; dabbled in lay lawyering; and engaged in countless agricultural experiments—with ginger, cotton, and alfalfa—before distinguishing herself as an entrepreneur by serving as a driving force behind the introduction of indigo to the South Carolina economy (indigo would quickly become the second leading crop in South Carolina and an economic staple until the Revolution).

In unpacking and assessing Pinckney’s narrative, Prof. Glover emphasized how we must never lose sight of the fact that the endowment of men, women, and children was, at every turn in Pinckney’s story, central to her wealth and status. After she married Charles Pinckney and moved to England, their lavish life of endless consumption was paid for with American slavery. After Charles Pinckney died and Eliza had to reckon with a South Carolina estate that had fallen into disrepair, she rebuilt the family fortune throughout the 1760s by purchasing land to be labored upon and transformed by enslaved people.

It was at this point—when “there was nobody to call [her] to account” and when Pinckney, borrowing from the tropes of patriarchy, had designs on retiring to “live under her own vine and fig tree”—that her world caved in. If our vision of the Revolutionary War is one of reasoned, peaceable, admirable men in velvet knee breeches, Pinckney’s experience of it was the opposite. Following the British bombardment and occupation of Charleston, Pinckney found herself in the middle of a guerilla conflict that ravaged a South Carolina countryside populated by then mostly by women and children. As Prof. Glover described, not only was the conflict lawlessly vengeful in general; with raids of farms, seizures of property, and the constant threat of sexual violence, it was also specifically designed to break the will of patriotic women.

The obstacles suffragists faced in the “continuous, seemingly endless chain of activity” that led up to the ratification of the 19th Amendment were, Prof. Marjorie J. Spruill described, to some extent built into the United States’ founding history. On one hand, with the principle of coverture erasing married women’s rights to property in the early republic—and with property ownership then considered a pre-condition of being able to exercise the independence of judgment that elections required—the social and legal fabric of the era was, to put it lightly, inhospitable to women’s suffrage (with the exception of New Jersey, states likewise denied the franchise to widows and single women in spite of their owning property). Similarly inhospitable was the nation’s constitutional order. By design, any amendment that did not have broad national support—any amendment, like women’s suffrage, which might be deemed even remotely radical—was more or less dead on arrival. As Prof. Spruill laid out in the opening of her September 17 James E. Fleming & Linda C. McClain Constitution Day Lecture, the suffrage movement thus required ingenuity and strategic adaptability from its leaders. That said, she added that it is of paramount importance to also acknowledge that, with resilience, came a disturbing legacy of betrayal and racial prejudice.

The story of suffrage, Prof. Spruill explained, traces back to the antebellum Northeast, where a critical mass of women began to demand the franchise after they were barred from participating in ancillary reform movements, most notably the anti-slavery movement. The suffrage movement was, in this first wave, integrated across racial and gender lines: Frederick Douglass, for example, spoke out for a woman’s right to vote alongside Elizabeth Cady Stanton at the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, and African American women including Hattie Forten and Sojourner Truth played key roles in sustaining reform momentum throughout the 1850s. The same cannot be said of the movement’s regional orientation, however. The call for suffrage had not yet started to truly spread westward at this point (more on the West in a moment), and the idea was sworn off in the South as a spinoff of abolitionism.

The first major inflection point in the suffrage narrative would come in the aftermath of the Civil War. In the war’s early years, suffragists put aside concern for their own rights to lobby for those of the enslaved, and women activists had a large role in creating the political climate that made emancipation possible. The end of the war, though, ushered in conflict of a new sort. Unity began to fray as old allies abandoned the cause of women’s suffrage in order to ensure that the voting through the chaos. “Fortitude,” she told her daughter-in-law, “is as much a female as a masculine virtue.” And as Prof. Glover noted in closing, Pinckney would rebound from crisis as white families of power, wealth, and stature so often did during the era via slavery. Unlike so many of these families, however, Pinckney’s letter book provides not a snapshot but an in-depth rendering of her tale in its entirety—the legacy of racial power; the extravagance and hierarchy of Charleston society; the wartime decline; and perhaps most of all, what happens when you defy convention.
rights of African American men were secured—"one vote at a time," said Wendell Phillips—and the suffrage movement would ultimately fracture around the issue of ratifying the 15th Amendment, which, in safeguarding the voting rights of African Americans, introduced an explicit corollary between male citizenship and the franchise for the first time in the U.S. Constitution's history. Enraged, Stanton and Susan B. Anthony split off to form the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), which pledged to oppose the 15th Amendment until it was accompanied by a second federal amendment enfranchising women. Lucy Stone, among others, countered by forming the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), which supported the 15th Amendment—though with some disappointment—and focused its attention on leading a grassroots campaign that promoted voting rights at the state level and, more generally, presented the issue of women's suffrage as consistent with post-war national values.

As Prof. Spruill showed, a number of important developments would follow from this schism. After Anthony was arrested and indicted for casting a ballot in New York, the same fate befell Virginia Minor in St. Louis. In the case of the latter, adjudication of Minor's "transgression" made its way to the Supreme Court, which ruled in Minor v. Happersett (1874) that citizenship did not guarantee the vote, thereby making it clear that there was no quick-and-ready federal solution to the question of suffrage and that the movement would have to go through the states. And go through the states it did, at least in the West. Throughout the last decades of the 19th century, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and Idaho would all enfranchise women at the state level, largely, Prof. Spruill posited, because legislators believed that doing so would attract national attention and, in turn, residents (Anthony, for one, was delighted by this and encouraged women to move to Wyoming, the land of liberty). It was also during this time that suffrage went global, due in no small part to the fact that decided non-radicals, particularly Frances Willard and the Women's Christian Temperance Union, were converted to the cause.

The racial bigotry which Prof. Spruill mentioned in framing her talk would likewise rear its head in the late 1800s. Both Stanton and Anthony are roundly criticized today for statements they made in the NWSA's early years about not being able to conceive of being governed by African American men and new immigrants. And in the South, Laura Clay would exploit the region's deeply-rooted white supremacy in crafting a "Southern Strategy" that was built around the idea that circumventing the Southern Strategy's history. Enraged, Stanton and Susan B. Anthony began gravitating toward support for suffrage because they saw courting the burgeoning women's club movement as a gateway to passing reforms. Their ideas about women's nature hadn't changed, Prof. Spruill was careful to point out, but their ideas about government had. Still, a final division of the ranks would precede ratification. In 1914, Alice Paul's National Woman's Party (NWP) would break away from the North American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), to which Carrie Chapman Catt returned in 1915 as president. Paul—who was influenced mightily by her experience with the suffrage movement in Great Britain—would lead the NWP in marches down Pennsylvania Avenue and on picket lines in front of the White House, where she publicly and resoundingly took "Kaiser" Woodrow Wilson to task for claiming to be making the world safer for democracy via participation in World War I while simultaneously refusing to include women in the democratic process at home. To Wilson's chagrin, the violence from male counter-protesters and the work house sentences that Paul and other NWP members experienced during this period of protest only served to garner critical sympathy for the cause. On the other side, Catt, who backed Wilson and the war despite her pacifism, was unwavering in lobbying for congressional support for a suffrage movement that continued to sweep through the states.

It was, Prof. Spruill argued in closing, a combination of Paul's pressure and Catt's skillful political maneuvering that would get a constitutional amendment through Congress. But state-level ratification loomed, and while the West had been won, huge swaths of the South still considered suffrage "unwarranted, unnecessary, and downright dangerous," with many perceiving approval of the 19th Amendment as tantamount to an expression of support for the 19th. Even after Tennessee's Harry Burns cast the vote that would seemingly enfranchise women, the amendment's fate remained undecided. A re-vote was demanded, and anti-suffrage legislators fled Nashville in (dashed) hopes of preventing a quorum.

The conclusions that we should take away from the story of the long road to ratification are many: that it was exhausting, righteous, and not always noble; that while suffragists in the U.S. were victorious, that was not the case around the globe; that to call the U.S. suffrage movement victorious is, in fact, misleading, as African American women, like African American men, could not freely wield their recently won right until the 1965 Voting Rights Act; and perhaps most importantly, that cases like Shelly County v. Holder (2013) expose the sad fact that the franchise is something we must continue to defend.

Many thanks to the MU Department of History and Political Science Women Voters Columbus- Boone for their generous co-sponsorship of the event.

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And he knew it. Churchill was
often a failure. How, then, did he
achieve greatness?

Let us begin with the mistakes, and they came thick and fast from the very start of
his political career. Elected first as a Conservative MP in 1900, he joined the Liberal
Party (“crossed the floor”) four years later. But after serving in Liberal and coalition
governments, he re-joined the Conservatives in the 1920s. In Churchill’s own terms
he “ratted” and then “re-ratted.” This won him the longstanding distrust of both
major political parties: for some, in fact, he was always untrustworthy.
He was also impetuous, prone to ill-considered acts. As Home Secretary (minister of
the interior) in 1911, he sent the army to quell disturbances arising from strikes in the
South Wales coal mines. This was against British traditions. Two miners were killed,
and Churchill earned the lasting enmity of many trade unionists. When anarchists
were hosed-up in a house in east London, Churchill came down to take personal
charge, much to the bewilderment of the police and the derision of the press.
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Why were Churchill’s mistakes overlooked at such a critical point? First, because he had been proved right in this matter, and the nation had need of his energy, initiative, experience, oratory, and even his impetuosity. No one else was as ready for the fight. Beyond this, many in Britain in 1940 showed a subtle understanding that failure and error may make a person—any person, not only a statesman or stateswoman—stronger and more capable. Churchill was admired because of the resilience that had kept him in politics and public life, despite his errors. Often wrong, he never lost the courage to take a position, to speak out. He learnt from mistakes; he became more human because of them; error added a depth of understanding and made him more approachable and more sympathetic in the eyes of his colleagues, the people, and posterity.

Churchill’s errors were not the product of incompetence, but of a passionate nature and a powerful desire to be successful. They could be tolerated in the much wider and deeper challenge of winning the war. But they were not forgotten, and when the war was won, it was widely judged that he was not the man to lead Britain in the difficult job of domestic reconstruction that followed. He lost the 1945 election and was once more in the wilderness.
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For more information about contributing to the Kinder Institute, please feel free to contact Institute Director Justin Dyer, DyerJB@missouri.edu

**NEWS IN BRIEF**

First and foremost, a huge congratulations to Kinder Institute Postdoc **Billy Coleman** on the August 2020 publication of his first book, *Harnessing Harmony: Music, Power, and Politics in the United States, 1788-1865*, available now on University of North Carolina Press . . . Congratulations as well, and with as much gusto, to Haskell Monroe Graduate Fellow **Brendon Floyd**, whose paper on the anti-imperial memory of the 1798 Irish Revolution received the 2020 Jean Palmegiano Award for Outstanding International/Transnational Journalism Research from the American Journalism Historians Association . . . In previously un-reported Class of 2020 alum news, **Jennifer Sutterer** (2018 Kinder Scholars) has officially matriculated at University of Notre Dame’s School of Law, **Thomas Cater** (2019-20 Fellows) has made his way to Houston to serve as an Associate Consultant at Bain & Co., and **Sidney Steele** (2019 Kinder Scholars) will spend 2020-21 as a Media Fellow at Kansas City’s Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation . . . KICD, Political Science, and Truman School Prof. **Jen Selin** continues to educate the public on matters of utmost contemporary importance, most recently providing commentary on the deployment of Homeland Agency troops in Portland and the threats to mail-in ballots (links available on Twitter, @MUDemocracy) . . . One late-breaking, last piece of alumni news: Continuing a recent streak of impressive accomplishments, former Fellow and Kinder Scholar **Christian Cmehil-Warn**, who’s now with the Bureau of Labor Statistics, helped conduct research for Kinder Institute Affiliate Faculty member **Heather Ba’s** forthcoming article in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, “The ‘Nuclear Option’ Has Fizzled, Again: Here’s Why and What to Do about It.”