



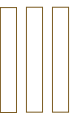
KINDER INSTITUTE
on CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY



NEWSLETTER | FALL 2020



The COLUMNS



Given that we have, in the past, joked about undergrads using us for our Keurig, it's only fair to note up front that our coffee costs are at an all-time low. Jest aside, with KICD classes largely being re-located from Jesse 410 to roomier, safer venues on campus, the fourth floor has been uncharacteristically—one might even say eerily—quiet this fall.

Rest assured, however, that quietness in no way implies dormancy. Necessity, mothers, invention, etc., the new normal has only meant that we've pivoted to alternate delivery methods in order to keep the momentum we've built over the past five years going. This has been especially true of our undergrad

Continued on page 10

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

Continued on page 2

CONTENTS

Cover Story

FACULTY & GRADUATE STUDENTS

“Harnessing Harmony,” Book Q&A
with **Billy Coleman** 6

“Origin, Introduction, and Progress of
The Haskell Monroe Collection: Life in
the Confederacy,” by **Brendon Floyd**..... 8

UNDERGRADUATES

2020 Society of Fellows Conference Recap... 11
Introducing the Missouri Debate Union 15

CAMPUS & COMMUNITY

Friday Colloquium Series

“The Other Fire Bell: African Americans
and the Long Shadow of the Missouri
Compromise”..... 16

“‘Why not a woman?’ The Improbable
Life of Eliza Lucas Pinckney” 17

James E. Fleming & Linda C. McClain

Constitution Day Lecture

“One Woman, One Vote: The Long Road
to Ratification of the 19th Amendment” 19

Kinder Forum: Continuing Conversations

“The Many Failures and Great Success of
Winston Churchill,” by Kinder Institute Senior
Fellow Lawrence Goldman 22

NEWS IN BRIEF

in her new Oxford University Press book, *Contesting 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 and constellating texts both expected and unexpected, from Tocqueville and Jefferson to Nietzsche, in order to examine the relationship 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 Shawnee 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 Rambler*, 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 in her own right, Cindy will be affiliated with the Kinder Institute, and her groundbreaking work on diplomacy and constitutional discourse among the nations of South and Southeast Asia connects astonishingly well with the new themes and activities being pursued by historians at the Kinder Institute and in Read Hall.

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 Associate 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 at 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 Sexton 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 circling 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 S.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 running 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 era 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, which remain our scholarly anchors, the focus of much of our public programming, and the subjects of the core curriculum for our new B.A. in Constitutional Democracy, which includes seminars on “The Intellectual World of the American Founders,” “The Revolutionary Transformation of Early America,” “The Constitutional Debates,” and “The Young Republic.”

Early American historians **Jeff Pasley**, **Carli Conklin**, and **Al Zuercher Reichardt** are active researchers with recent or imminent books in this field, and they are joined in the Kinder Institute’s core subject area by returning Postdoctoral Fellows in Political History **Billy Coleman** and **Erin Marie Holmes**, returning Distinguished Visiting Professor **Alan Gibson**, and our new distinguished visitor for 2020-21, Prof. **John Reeve Huston**, an innovative political historian from Duke University who will be finishing a book while in Columbia that maps out the whole mosaic of democracy in the 19th-century United States, from conventional parties to social movements whose supporters were barred from voting. In addition to teaching the Revolution and Young Republic classes, Billy—who’s coming back to the Kinder

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.



Tommy Bennett



Carli Conklin



Jay Dow



Justin Dyer



Billy Coleman



Daive Dunkley



Cindy Ewing



Alan Gibson



Connor Ewing



Rob Fletcher



Rudy Hernandez



Jennie Ikuta



Erin Holmes



John Reeve Huston



Catherine Rymph



Sonia Tycko



Jeff Pasley



Al Zuercher Reichardt



Jen Selin



Jay Sexton



Constantine Vassiliou

BILLY COLEMAN Q & A

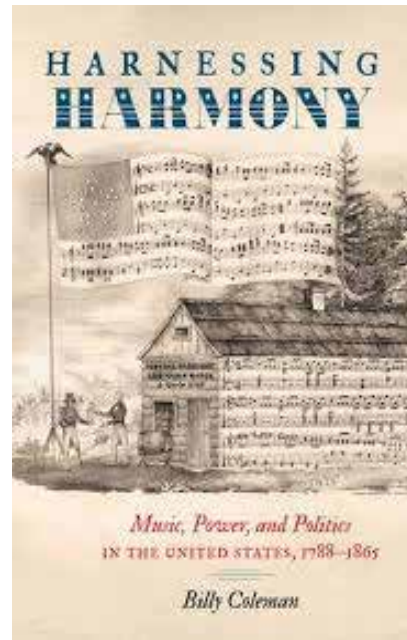
In what we hope will be the first of many such Q&As this year, Kinder Institute Postdoctoral Fellow **Billy Coleman** took time out of his schedule to answer questions serious and less so about the subject matter of his new book, *Harnessing Harmony: Music, Power, and Politics in the United States, 1788-1865*, 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, broadsides, 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 XYZ Affair in 1798; and “Get Off the Track!” (1844) by The Hutchinson Family Singers, who made this outspoken “song for emancipation” incredibly popular at a time when slavery and abolition were otherwise deeply divisive. These songs didn’t just magically appear in American political culture and impact people in one way or another: they were accompanied by justifications, debates, rationalizations, and defenses. And it’s those contests over the meaning of music in politics that helped me explore why it mattered.

Q: The XYZ Affair brought to mind a book I read recently (Colin Wells’ *Poetry Wars*), which looked at how political battles were waged by poets in early American newspapers. Did the same hold true in music, in the



sense of political songs spawning oppositional retorts? Or did contest just play out via interpretation in other media?

Yes, once a political song achieved at least some measure of popularity it was incredibly common for it to inspire new versions that either lauded or satirized its source material. This was partly an outgrowth of the fact

that many political songs *were* poems to some extent, in that they consisted of attaching new lyrics to already well-known melodies. Some of the “oppositional retorts” were more obvious than others: Federalists initially wrote and celebrated “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?

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 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 speech and that singers, like Pete Seeger, would be on hand to perform at every campaign event.

“Get on the Raft with Taft” (Holzman & Kerr, 1908) 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 born here.

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 intersection of music and politics?

Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*. Translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985.

Josh Kun, *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Katrina Dyonne Thompson, *Ring Shout, Wheel About: The Racial Politics of Music and Dance in North American Slavery*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014.

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. Aric 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 TAing 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.

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

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*.

Though I may be the inaugural fellow on this project, the origin of the Haskell Monroe Collection did not begin with me. That honor belongs to Haskell Monroe's family and, more specifically, his wife, **Joann (Jo) Monroe. Haskell Monroe**, a Civil War historian and professor, served as Chancellor at the University of Missouri from 1987 until his retirement in 1993. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the Monroes traveled the country and collected primary source material relating to southern social life during the Civil War. Where the stories of battlefields, politics, and warfare were well-trodden ground, Professor Monroe sought materials that spoke to people's everyday experiences during the Civil War in the Confederate States of America. The collection reflects this mission, containing a robust compendium of material written by men and women, Northerners and Southerners, civilians and soldiers, Freedpeople and enslaved, husbands and wives, children and parents.

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.

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.

Continued from page 1



programs. In addition to making over our annual Society of Fellows conference (see the following pages for more on that), we've brought our first official cohort of Kinder Institute Residential College students into the fold with a conceptualized-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 recently toured the Columbia Cemetery with KIRC Collegiate Fellow and History Ph.D. Candidate **Jordan Pellerito** for a lesson on historical memory. Though the gatherings will be smaller, the Society of Fellows has a typically busy October in store, which will include a quartet of discussions with Kinder Institute faculty, capped off by a weeklong watch party of Mount Vernon's October 26-30 series of online conversations on landmark presidential elections. And with fingers crossed that travel will be open and safe in June, we started accepting applications for our 2021 Kinder Scholars D.C. Summer Program in early September, the same schedule as always and, we hope, with the same results to follow.

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 Residential College cohort together in these tumultuous times. Second, it would be remiss not to note that our undergrads' perseverance and creativity puts ours to shame (not a new phenomenon, we should add). In the midst of juggling busy class schedules, jobs, grad school applications, and more, they have been key cogs in sustaining, and in many cases leading, some of Mizzou's most vital extracurricular programs. We hope to do a better job of featuring the work these students do *outside* of the Kinder Institute in this newsletter, and to start inching toward this goal, see p. 15 for a letter of introduction to the Missouri Debate Union, which will launch in Fall 2020, from co-founders **Paul Odu** and **Luke Pittman**.



SOCIETY OF FELLOWS RECAP

It may not have looked like it always has, but besides the masks and the outdoor dinners, our seventh 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.

A.M. Sessions, Wednesday, August 12

9am-10:15am: "A Promissory Note?" Professor of Political Science and Kinder Institute Director **Justin Dyer** (Jesse Hall 410) / "Race, Work, and Liberal Education," Kinder Institute and MU Political Science Teaching Professor **Rudy Hernandez** (Tiger Hotel)

10:45am-12pm: "Is Nationalism Bad for Democracy?" Assistant Professor of Political Science and Co-Director of the MU Institute for Korean Studies **Aram Hur** / "Anti-Homesteading Imperial Brazil," Associate Professor of History **Robert Smale**

Afternoon Keynote, Wednesday, August 12

1:30pm-3pm (State Historical Society of Missouri): "We Insist: On Life, Liberty, and Freedom," MU Associate Dean of Arts & Science and Professor of Music **Stephanie Shonekan**

When Aretha Franklin covered Simon & Garfunkel's "Bridge over Troubled Water" in 1971, how different, Prof. Stephanie Shonekan observed at the beginning of her opening day keynote, were the troubled waters about which Franklin sang? To even begin to understand them, she continued, we must think intersectionally, about Black lives and the lives of Black women, and only then can we even start to unpack the suffocating legacy of white supremacy and the alarm bells, like the May 2020 killing of George Floyd, that continue to bring this legacy into the light of day.

Two alarm bells in particular were at the center of Prof. Shonekan's talk, the first of which was Ida B. Wells' "Lynch Law in All Its Phases" (1893). Engaging Wells' speech requires knowing Wells the person. Born into slavery in Mississippi in 1862, and raised on the politics of the Reconstruction, Wells, who would later help found the NAACP, moved to Memphis in the late 19th century and started the *Memphis Free Press* on the belief that journalism was essential to holding the nation's institutions accountable for those actions which violently contradicted the ideals—freedom, education, equality—they [these institutions] purported to uphold. She was rudely awakened to the brutal depths of this contradiction, first by



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 jury, in spite of a two-column account of the lynching that was published almost simultaneously with the murders. Wells' writings about these and the hundreds of

other lynchings that ravaged the South during the era would lead to the *Free Press* being burned to the ground, after which she left Memphis for Chicago under threats to her life. Her 1893 speech on the one hand reflected Wells' insistence on keeping the waters troubled—her refusal to let people forget how deeply institutions had eroded. Returning to her initial discussion of intersectionality, Prof. Shonekan also touched on the importance of Wells 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 alarm bell of Prof. Shonekan's keynote, in 1963 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 bare. Her screams, Prof. Shonekan described, defy 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 Pellerito**, 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 Unicorn," Prof. Sexton posited in framing his lecture, offers four key, very much linked takeaways.

1. *Moments of crisis almost always dovetail 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. That transforming the social order and political system is necessary 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.

controlled by feckless elites. And on one hand, the strong sense of nationalism about which Orwell wrote was an inert force, sustaining broken systems and imperial hypocrisies. Still, though, Orwell hypothesized that love of country—not, he was careful to point out, love of Marxism—might be enough to drive forward the socialist revolution he believed to be necessary to national survival. Which brings us to...

3. *Like it or not, in times of crisis, nationalism is often the most powerful force we possess:* Again, the negative byproducts of nationalism that Orwell cited—fascism, racial bigotry, tariffs, an anti-national intelligentsia—outnumbered (and out-harrowed) the positive. That said, never did Orwell back away from his conviction that the intelligent patriotism latent in the hearts of England’s citizens—their patriotic nationalism—could bring about meaningful, progressive change. Which brings us to...

4. *No political change is complete, but incomplete political change can still very much be revolutionary:* Did the six-point revolutionary plan that Orwell delineated come fully to bear? Not at all. Wage gaps, for example, were not systematically compressed. But education was reformed; some industry was nationalized; and India was decolonized—all points of emphasis in Orwell’s transformational schema.

Why should we care today? Because, Prof. Sexton answered, we are in the midst of a crisis with multiple vectors, and what we can take away from Orwell just might help us through it. The global pandemic has functioned as an adaptive stress test, he continued, and the results haven’t been altogether encouraging. In terms of international competition, regimes have sparred but political classes at home and abroad have comprehensively failed to deliver relief. The global future of liberal capitalism hangs in the balance, and yet commitment to personal sacrifice, international collaboration, and political stamina have largely not materialized. The protests of Summer 2020 have yet again forced us to confront a deficient social order in the United States that is plagued at every level by inequality, and their intersection with the pandemic only further hammers this home. While the wealthy had an escape hatch, for example, Black Americans and essential workers have suffered the effects of the pandemic in glaringly disproportionate fashion. And yet national strengths—cultural diversity, a centralized anti-authoritarian spirit—have also risen to the surface recently, bringing the need for social justice into the mainstream to a degree unseen in the lives of many on the front lines. As for nationalism, Prof. Sexton turned Fellows’ attention to centuries past, when it was the driving progressive force behind the end of slavery and the creation of the New Deal. It is a power that, today, awaits direction, though the spirit of change seen in the protests, along with the nation’s inherent economic dynamism and capacity for scientific innovation, should give us hope that nationalism can be properly harnessed.

In closing, Prof. Sexton reiterated that we must remember that meaningful change *can* be partial and contingent. That transforming the social order and political system is necessary 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.

3pm-4:30pm (State Historical Society of Missouri): “What We Remove When We Remove Jefferson...from American Liberalism,” MU Professor of History and Kinder Institute Associate Director **Jeff Pasley**

MISSOURI DEBATE UNION INTRODUCTION

Origin Story and Future Goals of the Missouri Debate Union

by **Paul Odu** and **Luke Pittman**, co-founders

The Missouri Debate Union (MDU) was largely inspired by our former experiences as high school debaters. Though Luke and I loved competing and traveling across the country, something about the *overly*-competitive nature of debate left us looking for something more. There isn’t anything inherently bad about competition, per se, but the most substantive benefits we gained from debate came from countless hours spent preparing research, case-writing, and drafting rebuttals. After our high school tenure, we were eager to seek out comparable opportunities in college.

One of the first things I noticed when I arrived on campus at Mizzou in 2018 was the lack of formal venues for debate and constructive discourse. Though classroom debates were engaging and fruitful, they often featured a “rehash” of the same, familiar ideas discussed in previous lectures. Furthermore, given events that have occurred on campus since 2015, we felt that it was important for students to make their voices heard on issues such as race, politics, and democracy.

During the Fall 2019 semester, I took a course on the American Constitution, led by Kinder Institute Director Prof. **Justin Dyer**. This course was easily one of the best I have taken so far at Mizzou. It was during this class that I first pitched the idea of the MDU to Prof. Dyer and the Kinder Institute. After a few meetings and presentations, we started to recognize the impact that the MDU could have on the University of Missouri student body. Luke and I met several times over the Summer via Zoom to coordinate, and we plan to officially launch in Spring 2021.

What started as a plan to simply host student (1v1) debates on campus has now ballooned into a full-fledged debate society. In the future, we plan to host prominent speakers, lead workshops on debate fundamentals, and potentially start a podcast or regular publication. Inspired by the Oxford Union in the United Kingdom, the MDU will ardently support the principles of free speech, free expression, and civil discourse. Given Covid-19, a lot of our efforts have been disrupted, but we are nonetheless optimistic about the MDU. We hope to have our first speaking engagement early next year, and we are excited to begin putting the pieces together from there.

Currently, we are looking to have students at Mizzou join our team. Things are somewhat informal at the moment, given our current circumstance, but any and all help is appreciated. Right now, we are putting the finishing touches on our organization’s Constitution and are recruiting students to join our Standing Committee. We encourage all interested parties to reach out to us via email (pcozv6 and lukepittman@mail.missouri.edu) or through the Kinder Institute!

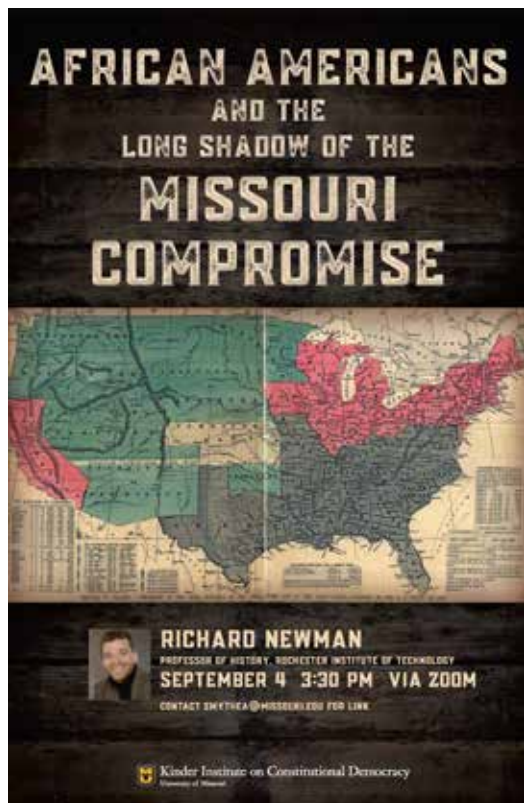
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FRIDAY COLLOQUIUM SERIES

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 MRSEAH 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 Caricaturization 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 *Force and Freedom*, one 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 the 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 combatting 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.

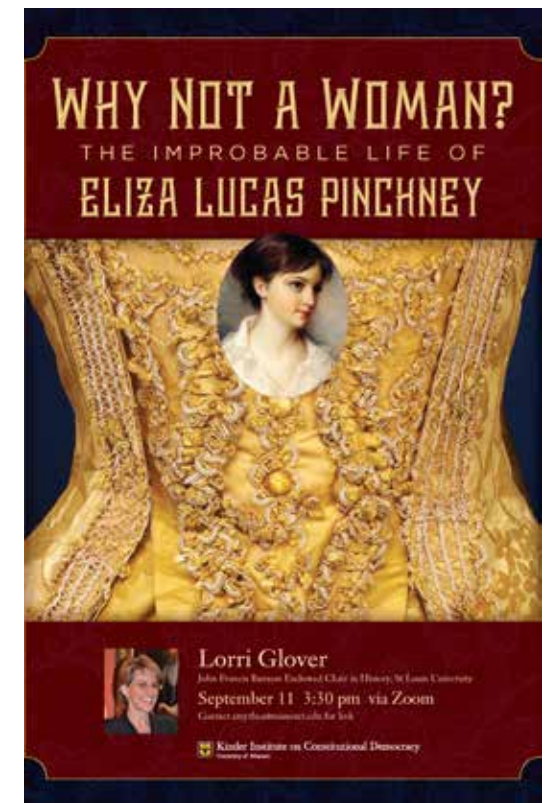
Finally, he probed the intersection of public outreach—whether in speaking or writing—and institutional reform. At the forefront of this was Frederick Douglass. Not only did Douglass use his orations and newspaper columns to advance the cause of emancipation by decrying compromise: "I spit on compromise," 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 denizens.

"Why not a woman?" The Improbable Life of Eliza Lucas Pinckney

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

To her friend Mary Bartlett'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,



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.

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 enslavement 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. Though financially ruined by the war, Pinckney persevered

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.

CONSTITUTION DAY LECTURE

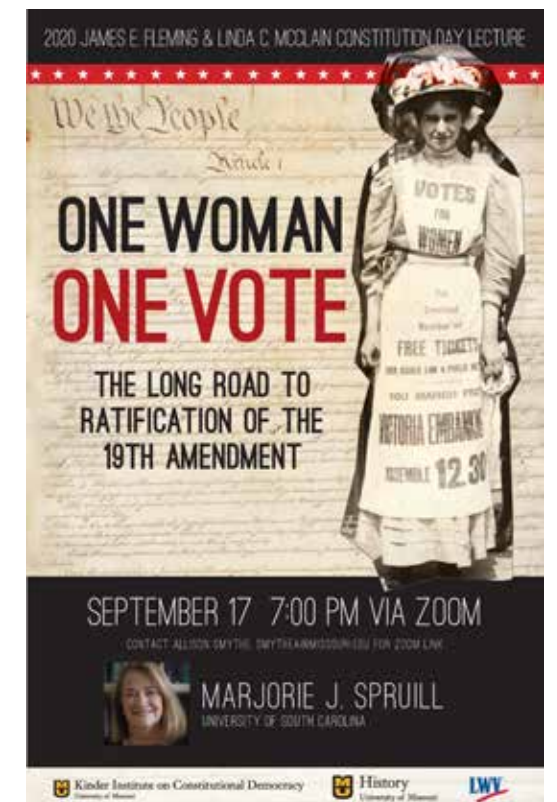
One Woman, One Vote: The Long Road to Ratification of the 19th Amendment

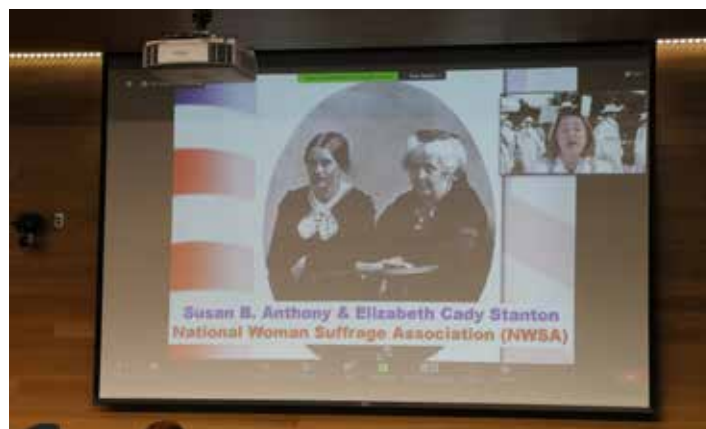
University of South Carolina Distinguished Professor Emerita Marjorie J. Spruill

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 right 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 hand 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





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 15th Amendment and functionally disenfranchising African American men could be done *legally* by extending the vote to white women. Prof. Spruill noted that the rise of Clay’s ultimately doomed Southern Strategy also led to increased participation of Black women in the suffrage movement, including Ida B. Wells and Adella Hunt Logan, the latter of whom argued in *The Crisis* that if white women needed the vote to protect their rights, Black women needed it even more.

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The tides began to turn as the movement entered its final push in the 1910s. Not only were more state-level victories won in the West, including in Washington, California, Oregon, Kansas, and Arizona. Additionally, progressives in both parties 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 15th. 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 *Shelby 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 League of Women Voters Columbia-Boone for their generous co-sponsorship of the event.

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KINDER FORUM

As part of a new community engagement endeavour at the Kinder Institute—our monthly series of *Kinder Forum: Continuing Conversations* Zoom seminars—Professor Lawrence Goldman (St. Peter's College, Oxford) delivered a four-part meditation on “British Prime Ministers of the 20th Century” every Wednesday in August. In addition to Lloyd George, Clement Attlee, and Margaret Thatcher, Prof. Goldman presented to the group on the life and tenure of Winston Churchill, his thoughts on whom he was gracious enough to catalogue for publication here.

The Many Failures and Great Success of Winston Churchill

by Kinder Institute Senior Fellow **Lawrence Goldman**

Four Prime Ministers: British History in the 20th Century

These four classes will examine modern British history through the lives and ideas of the four greatest prime ministers of the modern era: David Lloyd George, Winston Churchill, Clement Attlee and Margaret Thatcher. Each put their stamp on British History; each was associated with a key set of national events together they cover the range of British politics from left to right across the twentieth century. David Lloyd George was a radical and reformer who led the nation in the later stages of the First World War. Churchill needs little introduction, but his career looked as if it had slipped into failure before he saved the nation in 1940. Clement Attlee was the Labour prime minister who beat Churchill in the 1945 election and presided over the creation of Britain's nationalised industries and 'welfare state'. Forty years later Margaret Thatcher dismantled many of these post-war institutions in the successful attempt to reinvigorate Britain. We shall look at these figures in and out of power, consider their leadership styles and records, and also examine their relationship with American presidents: Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson, Churchill and FDR, Attlee and Truman, and Thatcher and Reagan.

Join with us in our new monthly series of online seminars with noted historians, political scientists, writers, and thinkers on topics related to our democracy. We're offering the same robust content that flows out on the fourth floor of Jones Hall with the opportunity to expand the conversation nationally. Each class will run for four weekly one-hour sessions in which you will be in conversation with the featured speaker as well as fellow members of your cohort.

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One day in December 1931, Winston Churchill was knocked down by a car as he crossed Fifth Avenue in New York. He might have been killed. He spent many days in the hospital and then weeks recovering. Had he died at that stage, his career would have been put down as a failure: he had held many of the highest offices in British government, but he had made mistakes and errors galore. 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 holed-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. When war was declared in 1914 and Churchill was put in charge of the Royal Navy (First Lord of the Admiralty), he rushed across the English Channel to organise the defence of Antwerp in Belgium. His cabinet colleagues were amazed and the prime minister, Asquith, ordered him home.

His greatest military disaster, one that hung about him for decades, came the following year, in 1915: Gallipoli. Churchill had the wild idea to open a new front in the First World War by sending an expeditionary force to the Eastern Mediterranean, through the Dardanelles and into the Black Sea. It would knock the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) out of the war and link with the Russians in the fight against the Axis powers, Germany and Austria. But it fell at first base: the allied

troops who landed at Gallipoli were pinned down, unable to advance. After taking thousands of casualties, they had to be evacuated months later. Flawed in execution, the campaign was likewise misguided in conception, and Churchill was blamed for that. His reputation as a war-monger (and no friend of the workers) was only further burnished in 1919, when Churchill called loudly for military intervention against the Bolshevik Revolution. A war-weary country thought Churchill worse than misguided this time and ignored him.

Then the mishaps turned inwards and affected British life at home. In 1924, after re-crossing the House of Commons, Churchill was made Chancellor of the Exchequer (finance minister) and oversaw the return of the pound sterling (£), the British currency, to the Gold Standard, but at the pre-War rate of £1 to \$4.8. This was a vast over-valuation and by making British exports so expensive, added to the depression of Britain’s major industries. Yes, Churchill was under the influence of orthodox voices in the British Treasury who told him what to do: but he did it.

The mistakes continued into Churchill’s “wilderness years,” when out of government in the 1930s. He was a staunch opponent of the independence of India, when all opinion saw it as inevitable. He was a staunch supporter of Edward VIII in the Abdication Crisis, when almost everyone distrusted the king’s judgment and felt he had to go. When, in 1934, Churchill began to warn the British about Hitler and the Nazis, his opposition to the policy of ‘appeasing’ Germany was very unpopular in a nation deeply averse to another war.

But this error of judgement was no such thing: it was the making of Churchill’s greatest success. He built a coterie of military and diplomatic experts to keep him better informed than the government itself, and with each extension of the threat from the Third Reich, Churchill proved himself to be a far-sighted statesman, not a war-monger. In the crisis of 1940, when France fell and Britain tottered, it was Churchill to whom the king, George VI, parliament, and the people turned, and he became Prime Minister in May 1940.

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.

One day in December 1931, Winston Churchill was knocked down by a car as he crossed Fifth Avenue in New York. He might have been killed. He spent many days in the hospital and then weeks recovering. Had he died at that stage, his career would have been put down as a failure: he had held many of the highest offices in British government, but he had made mistakes and errors galore. And he knew it. Churchill was often a failure.



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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. **Jan 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 Cmeheil-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.”

