

# History Happenings

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THE UNIVERSITY OF  
**MEMPHIS**  
Dreamers. Thinkers. Doers.

# How to be Paid for Pursuing Your Hobbies

By James E. Fickle

When asked by Professor Dueñas-Vargas to write a brief summary of my research interests and activities I agreed only with great reluctance because the topic is so terminally boring.

I teach U.S. economic and business history, American labor or working class history, and a course on U.S. environmental history with the unfortunate title of “Parks, People, and Public Policy.” This label was applied since at the time the course was created another department had a listing with the word “environmental,” and university authorities decided in their infinite wisdom that this constituted ownership of the term!

In any case, I did my undergraduate work at Purdue University, where I had a dual major in history and economics. One of my economics professors was Jonathan R.T. Hughes, who was one of the creators of econometrics, a highly regarded student of entrepreneurship, and author of *The Vital Few: The Entrepreneur & American Economic Progress*. His courses and books stimulated my growing interest in American business and economic development. I had excellent teachers in the History Department, including John Stover, who was the leading historian of American railroads at that time, with books on the Illinois Central and railroads of the South.

As I considered graduate school I wanted to attend a university with a good program, as well as one where I could experience a very different culture from that of the upper Middle West. Thus I choose Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, because of its excellent faculty and the location in south Louisiana, intending to complete an M.A. and then move to another part of the country for the Ph.D.

Among the faculty members who attracted me to LSU was T. Harry Williams, a student of the Civil War and the South who wrote the Pulitzer Prize-winning biography of Huey Long. A product of the famous William Hesseltine seminar at Wisconsin as was Stover, Williams was a charismatic teacher and mentor who inspired students both in the classroom and the archives. I also had economics courses with Professor F. Ray Marshall, who wrote the standard work on labor in the South and went on to become the U.S. Secretary of Labor.



Lumbering with hand techniques



Dr James E. Fickle

My academic life intersected with “real world” experiences. While not a farmer, my father owned land in northern Indiana, and I became interested in land management and the ethical issues involved. We owned a “patch” of woods where I walked, camped, observed wildlife, and hunted mushrooms as a child and young man. My father also loved those activities, but as a child of the Great Depression he thought private land’s primary value was in commodity production, so he had the land cleared for farming. For me, today, the land had aesthetic and environmental values that exceeded any commodity production potential. But that experience made me think about generational values and how they change over time.

I also worked at a wide variety of summer jobs ranging from construction through farm labor and mechanics. I became very interested in workers—their lives, skills, values, politics, and self-images. I also became convinced that many scholars who study and write about workers have very little “real world” experience with the people and movements they are analyzing, often resulting in a simplistic and condescending attitude.

My family frequently visited state and national parks, historical sites, and other attractions in various parts of the country, and I became fascinated by issues involving the establishment and management of public land sites and other memorials. I also became convinced that one could not really understand the United States, its people, and its history without experiencing different regions of the country.

At LSU I had the extreme good fortune to gain access to the records of a trade association whose history included intersections of my various interests—business and economic development, workers and their experiences, land management and values, etc., and I had also fallen in love with the faculty, graduate students, campus atmosphere, and regional culture (including the food and music) of New Orleans and south Louisiana. I learned that while the forest industries had been among the most important parts of Southern history, scholars had largely neglected their stories.

My research led to books and various articles on the Southern forest products industries and workers.



**A mill log chute**

I got invaluable advice, support, and encouragement from senior scholars at other academic institutions and from the Forest History Society, and after teaching at the University of New Orleans I accepted a position at The University of Memphis where I continued to pursue my interests, helped in no small part by the fact that my subjects were relatively close

by and accessible. Also, in a great stroke of luck, people in several departments of the university began to collaborate, and we put together an interdisciplinary program to train rangers for the U.S. National Park Service and other public land facilities (one of our graduates is the chief ranger at Yosemite National Park!). The “Parks, People, and Public Policy” course developed as part of this effort, and the program culminated with a six-week study tour where we took students on the road to national parks, national forests, wilderness areas, historical sites, and other locations ranging from the Grand Canyon to Banff and Jasper in Canada so that they could observe, study, and learn in the field. We brought scholars like Roderick Nash to campus for classroom sessions and public lectures.



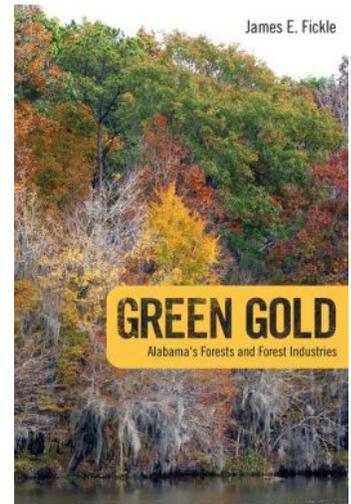
**Burning off a pine forest**

this enabled me to attend seminars, learn, and interact personally with many of the nation’s leading forest management and related professionals. I conducted oral histories with many of them, and also recorded numerous interviews compiling historical information on the Forest Inventory and Analysis program for the U.S. Forest Service.

In the meantime I produced studies of forest and land management in the South; on labor, including a piece on “radical” workers in Joseph Conlin’s *At the Point of Production* (1981); co-authored a history of the forestry school at Stephen F. Austin State University in Texas; and wrote a history of the U.S. Forest Products Laboratory for the U.S. Forest Service and the Forest History Society which has been accepted by both for publication. My latest book, *Green Gold: Alabama’s Forests and Forest Industries*, has just been published (in January 2014), and I am currently finishing a history of the Yale School of Forestry & Environmental Studies, which is the nation’s oldest and where I have served the last few years as a visiting professor. I am also working on a history of hardwoods research in the South for the U.S. Forest Service.

My work has enabled me to be involved in several other rewarding projects, including the founding and planning committee and board of the new U.S. Forest Service History Museum in Missoula, Montana; coordinator of a state forest history project for the Alaska Forestry Association; and the planning and study group for Shelby Farms.

Over the years the university has afforded me the privilege of combining several of my hobbies, such as backpacking, climbing, and whitewater sports with my personal and academic interests in land management, business and economic development, and workers, to have an enjoyable teaching and research career. As “lagniappe” the university has an excellent jazz program and there is a wonderful and accessible jazz and blues scene in the community, as well as ample challenges on the tennis court. I am extremely fortunate to have been paid (albeit modestly) to pursue my interests and hobbies!



Dr. Fickle’s latest book

# An Embroidered Map of the World

By *Walter R. Brown*

*The embroidered map of the world that Dr. Brown writes about is the cover illustration for this issue of History Happenings. Thanks are due to Kayla Young, office assistant for the Department of History, who took the photograph that is the basis for the illustration.*



Dr. Walter R. Brown

In his play *The History Boys*, the English dramatist-actor Alan Bennett explored the nature of education and especially the role of the teacher when the faculty of a state-supported school in urban Sheffield prepares a diverse group of eight senior boys to sit entrance exams at Oxford and Cambridge. Bennett contrasts the young master Irwin, who seeks to drum into the heads of the boys the information and skills necessary to excel on the exams, with that of the older, eccentric master Hector, who seeks to inspire in them a creative personal experience of language and literature unrelated to exams in his belief that “all knowledge is precious, whether it serves the slightest human use.” (xiii) For Hector, such learning, however trivial it may seem, is life-enhancing, because it truly humanizes, as it becomes part of one’s very being.

At a memorial service for Hector after his accidental death, the Headmaster eulogizes:

*If I speak of Hector it is of enthusiasm shared, passion conveyed and seeds sown of future harvest. He loved language, he loved words. For each and every one of you, his pupils, he opened a deposit account in the bank of literature and made you all shareholders in that wonderful world of words. (105)*

Each of the eight, now adults, speaks of his success in a variety of occupations, but there was “only one who truly took everything to heart, remembers everything he was taught...the songs, the poems, the sayings, the endings—the words of Hector never forgotten.” This student relates that “slightly to my surprise, I’ve ended up...a teacher.” Asked why, he simply responds “I share.” As the audience departs, the voice of Hector is heard saying “Pass the parcel. That’s sometimes all you can do. Take it, feel it, and pass it on. Not for me, not for you, but for someone, somewhere, one day.” (107)

In March of last year, I received an email that initiated a series of events vividly reminding me of the truth of Hector's credo. Robert Schueller, a history major who graduated in 2008, stated that he wished to donate a needlework map worked by his mother to the Department of History in honor of those professors who played such an important role in his life during his undergraduate studies.

While I had not seen Schueller since his graduation, he was one of those students a professor never forgets. He entered our program in the spring of 2007 committed to completing undergraduate studies begun elsewhere many years before. From conversation at our first advising meeting, I recognized him to be an interesting, thoughtful individual with a deep interest in and significant knowledge of ideas, art, and the world in which we live, and a commitment to shared learning. He proved this impression in the two upper-level classes that he subsequently took with me, for he was both an inspired and inspiring student whose informed questions and knowledgeable, perceptive contributions to our discussions enriched the course for us all. Working with him in those classes and conversing in my office reminded me what a joy it is to find a student for whom learning is not just a means to an end but a way of life.

In our conversations following his email, I learned that Schueller had committed himself to Hector's creed, "passing on" his love for learning to others, not at an elite private school or a public school in a privileged area, but rather in a high school in an underprivileged, economically depressed area of south Memphis. There, in addition to his commitment to enriching the lives of all his students, Schueller each year ferreted out one or two who showed exceptional promise and devoted much time as mentor to show them how life-enhancing and transformative learning can be. When Schueller came to Mitchell Hall in May to present the map, he brought with him Justin, one of those special students, who was powerful evidence of his success, for we met a bright, intellectually dynamic, articulate young man who had been awarded a place at Brown University for the fall 2013, with full financial support. Subsequently elected president of the Brown freshman class, this young man is the third-generation product of the belief in the transformative value of the shared life of the mind.

This map of the world is a reproduction in meticulously cross-stitched embroidery by Robert Schueller's mother of the famous *Nova Orbis Tabula in Lucem* originally engraved and hand-colored in the workshop of Frederik de Wit in Amsterdam around 1670. It is a masterpiece of the golden age of cartography in the 17th-century Dutch Republic, where the first important atlases were published. This terrestrial map is acknowledged not only for its great accuracy, but also as an important work of art, for the corners of the map are enriched in the baroque style with elaborate, colorful scenes and images reflecting the growing awareness in early modern Europe of ethnography and the diversity of the natural world resulting from the voyages of exploration and colonization and the new science, along with a continuing reverence for the heritage of the classical world.

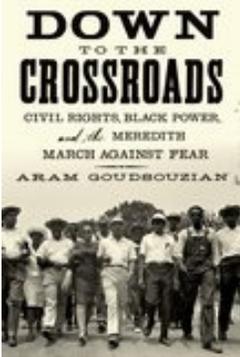


*Nova Orbis Tabula in Lucem*, by Frederik de Wit. Compare it with the embroidered map by Mrs. Schueller that is illustrated on this issue's title page to see how faithfully she reproduced de Wit's design

When in Mitchell Hall, you are invited to examine this impressive needlework map displayed in the vitrine in the foyer and be reminded that we are all shareholders in a common world.

## An Interview with Professor Aram Goudsouzian

# *Down to the Crossroads: Civil Rights, Black Power, and the Meredith March Against Fear*



Dr. Goudsouzian's book

**Guiomar Dueñas-Vargas:** Your book is a fascinating account of the last march of the civil rights movement. What makes this event, which developed in three weeks, so special?

**Aram Goudsouzian:** Thank you, Guiomar, for your nice words about the book. What drew me to write about the Meredith March Against Fear was that it was both an end and a beginning. It was the last great march of the civil rights movement, when a host of political leaders and activists gathered for a nonviolent demonstration that captured the world's attention. But it was also the birthplace of the "Black Power" slogan, which defined the political era to come.



Dr. Aram Goudsouzian

For me, the march offered an answer to a broader question: how do you write about the civil rights movement? I envisioned a dramatic way to capture this freedom struggle from the bird's eye and the worm's eye. The march contained all the movement's personalities, debates, successes, and tragedies. Moreover, it contained an amazing assortment of stories, from instances of horrifying violence to tiny moments of sweet inspiration.

**Guiomar Dueñas-Vargas:** The march, which started at the doors of the Peabody Hotel in Memphis, on Sunday, June 5, 1966, and was promoted by James Meredith, didn't have much publicity or public participation. Only four people walked



Martin Luther King, Jr., Fannie Lou Hamer, and others participating in the march

alongside Meredith. Who was Meredith? How did his solitary endeavor become a major event of the Civil Rights Movement?

**Aram Goudsouzian:** James Meredith is a fascinating, quirky figure. He is famous for integrating the University of Mississippi in 1962, which sparked mob violence and the ultimate intervention of the National Guard. Both his determination to integrate Ole Miss and his decision to start the march sprang from his deep faith in his own personal power to overturn white supremacy. He saw himself as a leader, but he wanted no part of any civil rights organization. From a young age, thanks to his parents' teachings, he considered himself special, a type of elite—he constantly referred to his “divine responsibility.” When he started the march in June 1966, with the plan of walking from Memphis to Jackson down Highway 51, he outlined the goals of encouraging blacks to register and vote, as well to conquer a culture of fear in Mississippi.

On the second day of his walk, a white man named Aubrey Norvell shot him. He survived, but his walk was no longer about a singular individual. As the national and international media sensationalized the shooting, civil rights leaders and activists from around the country descended upon Memphis, determined to carry on his quest.

**Guiomar Dueñas-Vargas:** What motivated Meredith to launch a march against fear? Was there a culture of fear in the South? Would you want to elaborate on this?

**Aram Goudsouzian:** For generations, Mississippi blacks had avoided registering to vote out of fear of white reprisals – lost jobs, denied credit, even outright violence. Those fears were still there on the Meredith March. The marchers encountered racist violence, graffiti, and taunts from various elements of the Ku Klux Klan. In southwest Mississippi, three white supremacists murdered an innocent black man with the hope of attracting Martin Luther King there, so they could kill him, too. In Philadelphia, Mississippi, the marchers were attacked by an angry white mob. In Canton, the Mississippi Highway Patrol attacked them with tear gas. So violent intimidation against black activists was real, and it was scary.



On the march's final leg into Jackson, SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael is at center.



Thousands of marchers came to Mississippi from all around the country.

**Guiomar Dueñas-Vargas:** Meredith's shooting brought to the march a variety of civil rights organization, such as the NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, and CORE. It also included important leaders such as Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, Charles Evers, and Floyd McKissick. How did all these forces converge to energize the march given their different ideologies and objectives?

**Aram Goudsouzian:** The march grew out of the creative tensions among the various organizations, ideologies, and personalities on the march. The NAACP declined official participation in the march because it could no longer work with

more militant groups such as SNCC and CORE, but its message of employing the march to stimulate more civil rights legislation had an important influence. SNCC was the most radical of the organizations: it had already issued a statement

critical of the Vietnam War, chosen to boycott a White House conference on civil rights, and called for independent black third parties in cities and rural areas that featured black majorities. SCLC, and Martin Luther King in particular, bore the burden of moderating the march's message by keeping it nonviolent, finding space for white participation, and preserving media attention.



**Local blacks watching the march pass by. They often had to weigh whether showing support for the march was worth it, as hostile whites could punish them with violence, lost jobs, or denied credit.**

join the marchers, to support them, to register and vote, to believe in better days ahead. He kept appealing to people's best instincts, even at his own expense.

**Guiomar Dueñas-Vargas:** The march occurred just at the time of the ideological transition of the civil rights from a non-violent to a more radical movement. As Carmichael said, "we got to start building around black power," with black sheriffs to protect the lives of black people. What were the debates over black politics? What role did Carmichael play? How did the march catapult Carmichael into celebrity?

**Aram Goudsouzian:** After the march, Black Power became a central rallying cry in the black freedom struggle. It grew out of the civil rights movement, in the sense that it called for black people to control their own political destiny. But in its pointed critiques of nonviolence and alliances with white liberals, Black Power grew out of frustrations with the slow pace of reform and the continued violence against African Americans. Important, too, is how Black Power spread a message of pride in African American culture and history.



**Local whites often waved Confederate battle flags at the marchers as a symbol of resistance against the civil rights movement.**

Stokely Carmichael was a young, talented political organizer with great successes in both the Mississippi Delta and Lowndes County, Alabama. He had just started as SNCC's new chairman, and the march placed him in a national spotlight. His fearless style, direct challenges to white reporters, and dynamic rhetoric made him a hero for many black people, especially a younger generation looking for its own voice in the black freedom movement.

**Guiomar Dueñas-Vargas:** Would you tell us how the Meredith March Against Fear contributed towards the success of the civil rights movement?

**Aram Goudsouzian:** The march has been painted as a tragedy, as the major civil rights organizations never again cooperated on a mass demonstration, the attention of white liberals shifted away from the movement, and the federal government withdrew from the civil rights struggle. But the march was important for registering many thousands of voters, and more importantly for spreading a message to African Americans, both in Mississippi and throughout the nation. It inspired them, taught them to conquer their fears, to take pride in themselves and their own capabilities.

# Apocalyptic Thinking, and the New Spirit of the Department

*By James M. Blythe*

The editor asked me to write about all the changes since I arrived in 1992. Only four professors remain (and Dr. Crouse, who is in post-retirement): Drs. Brown, Caffrey, Crawford, and Fickle. There were few hires since the 1970s, and because of a dispute with the administration and within the department in 1991 there were bad feelings. The administration removed Abe Kriegel from his position as chair (gratingly then usually called “chairman.” The ground floor bathroom still reads “Ladies,” but I soon gave up pasting a “Women” sign over it that was immediately torn down). Jack Hurley, on leave the previous year and away from the struggle, became chair.

Jack was very helpful in helping me succeed and get tenure, and his and others' efforts eventually resulted in an unusually harmonious, dynamic faculty. The hiring of younger professors and many more women (sadly, minority representation is about the same), energized us, and the greater expectation for research (although many older professors have been productive researchers) brought a new spirit to the department and attracted better graduate students. The decisions a few years later to emphasize African American history, and still later to expand the Egyptology program were critical. There were no Ph.D. graduates from 1992 to 1994; in 2012–13 there were sixteen.

I couldn't finish the original assignment. All the funny anecdotes about dysfunctional faculty and students, disputes over hiring and policy, run-ins with administrators, etc. would hurt feelings, and I like all these people (the administrators aside), so I prefer to talk about them, non-maliciously, behind their backs. For better gossip (with professors appearing pseudonymously), you can read Abe Kriegel's 1990s essays in the *Virginia Quarterly*, *Ohio Review*, and *Southwest Review*. The only alternative would be dreary descriptions of department events or condescending relation of student bloopers and ignorance, neither of which is appealing. So, like all professors, I'll tell you about my current research (which, of course, is bound to fascinate everybody).

*(Warning: movie spoilers).* In the amusing comedy “It's a Disaster,” chemical weapons attacks convince a character at a brunch that the End has arrived, although he is muddled theologically in advocating suicide to improve chances of ascending in



**Dr. James M. Blythe**

the Rapture. More serious is the underrated 1981 film “The Rapture,” in which Mimi Rogers loses her faith and is tragically separated from her young daughter at the Rapture.



Title page of Cola biography, 1631

Every year several End-of-the-World films and books appear, and most that use the myth of Revelation include the Rapture of the faithful before the Tribulation and Antichrist. So you may be surprised to learn that this idea originated in early nineteenth-century England, and became popular only in America, in twentieth-century dispensationalism. Earlier interpretations of 1 Thessalonians understood it as referring to the final resurrection and many (now called post-millennialists) believed the elect would establish a perfect society to prepare the way for Christ’s return (the Catholic position, stemming from Augustine (354–430), was that nothing of cosmic significance would happen until Jesus returned, at an unpredictable time).

In 2012 I wrote an article for this newsletter briefly mentioning my new project about post-millennialist movements and two giant influences on them: Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) and, even more, Joachim of Fiore (1135–1202). Postmillennialism influenced secular ideas of progress, whereas pre-millennialism, dominant today, is pessimistic about worldly progress. I’m especially interested in millennialists who discuss the political structure of the perfect society, since this ties in with my work on political thought.

Ezekiel and Revelation feature a purified “New Jerusalem” on earth, so it’s not surprising that this is often associated with the millennial society, not always in Palestine. Among many cities that have taken on this role are Rome, Florence, and Venice in Italy, Münster in Germany, and Canudos in Brazil. Nor does it have to be a literal city. “City” can denote an idealized community, as in in

the Puritan John Winthrop’s 1630 sermon declaring his intent to found a “City on a Hill,” initially Boston, but expanded as a metaphor for American exceptionalism often trotted out by jingoists today. Medieval Christians used the word similarly, especially for religious communities. Augustine’s City of God, synonymous with the Elect, is another example. When Aristotle’s *Politics* became known in the thirteenth century, readers living in large monarchies were soon comfortable using it for their own kingdoms.

I’ll tell you about several examples of such “cities” and the societies their prophets envisioned. Medievals often saw Rome as key in apocalyptic history, and around 1350 Cola di Rienzo proclaimed the reestablishment of the Roman Republic and the current Emperor Charles IV as the apocalyptic “Last Emperor.” He would defeat the Muslims, after which Rome would become the center of the Third Age of universal peace.

An angelic pope would rule until the coming of Antichrist and the Second Coming. Cola restored republican institutions in the city of Rome, with himself as Tribune, but he was killed in 1354, and the pope reestablished aristocratic rule in Rome.

Next to Rome and Jerusalem, Florence and Venice served most. After the Medici expulsion in 1494, the Dominican Savonarola preached that if the Florentines established a republican government, ruled by all its citizens, they would be rewarded with spiritual happiness as well as civic concord and prosperity, creating a paradise on earth. Florence would become the New Jerusalem, leading a world-wide spiritual renewal and establishing universal peace before Christ’s return. In his unflinching belief in popular government, his insistence on the participation of all in a Great Council, and his belief that those who participate in government are most similar to God and most loved by him, we see the closest integration of apocalyptic thought and practical governmental ideas. The republic survived another decade after his downfall in 1498 until the Medici pope Leo X restored his family.



Cola di Rienzo as Tribune



The death of Savonarola

Anabaptist movement. Augustine Bader never had political power, but he proclaimed Easter 1530 as the date for the New Kingdom and himself the regent of his son, the messiah, who would institute a millennium of justice after destroying the Turks. One republican element is that elected representatives of each church chose the king. A couple of years later, in 1533, John of Leyden and Jan Matthy's followers took over Münster, and after Jan's death in 1334, John proclaimed himself king. John saw Münster as the center of a world revival and the New Jerusalem, but had no place for republican government and ruled autocratically. As the local aristocrats closed in to smash the uprising, John instituted a reign of terror, killing anyone who dissented or violated his strict moral regulations.

These prophets were religious figures, but apocalyptic thinking permeated the works of many secular political thinkers as well. In my books on Ptolemy of Lucca I wrote about this, but now I will look at all figures in the period having a historical view predicating secular happiness and spiritual beatitude on a particular kind of government. Such ideas had unacknowledged impact on utopian writers, Marx, and French and American Revolutionaries. My book will end with Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639), who wrote a famous secular utopia, *City of the Sun*. Other writings showed the influence of Joachim and the Book of Daniel. The discovery of America portended the universal spread of Christianity as prelude to the Last Days and a Fifth Monarchy ruled by the Spanish (sometimes the French). So convinced was he of the centrality of the year 1600 (later revised), that in 1599 he participated in a Neapolitan uprising with the hopes of establishing his ideal society, for which and for his heterodox beliefs he served twenty-seven years in prison. Interestingly, the uprising was against the millennial leaders, the Spanish, and intended to establish the society of his utopian society, not the Christian hierocracy we might expect.

Here I've been able only to tell you a few stories, but I hope that my book will offer a new perspective on the interrelationship of political, apocalyptic, and utopian thought in European history, and I also hope that it will appeal both to a scholarly audience and to a broader, educated audience. Since this is a very long-term project, it may be my last book, barring rapid medical advances, or, even better, but less likely, the capacity to upload my brain to a more permanent medium, one permitting routine backup. If so, I have a lot more ideas.

Unlike Cola and Savonarola, the Frenchman Guillaume Postel (1510–81) never set up a government, but his ideas were influential for centuries. Venice, another republican city, was God's chosen city with the perfect government, "the true Jerusalem." Mother Zuana, a poor, illiterate operator of a charity hospice in Venice, was mediatrix between God and humanity and leader of the New Church, into whose body Christ entered and revealed his plan. After she died, her spirit entered Postel, so that he incorporated the Holy Spirit (often depicted as female) and was God's chosen prophet to proclaim the coming peaceful age, which would become manifest everywhere in 1556. Like Savonarola, he partially based the election of Venice on the institutions of that city, but unlike Savonarola he showed little interest in the actual government. He did say that it would be a "democracy without ochlocracy, aristocracy without oligarchy, and monarchy without tyranny," which suggests that he knew of the mixed constitutional ideas circulating as part of the Myth of Venice.

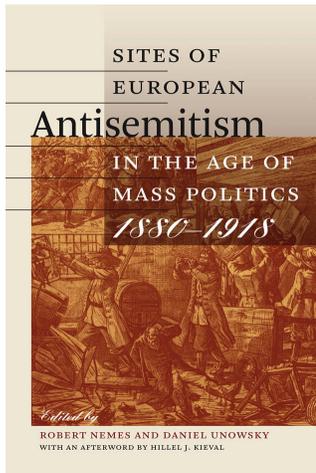
Two Protestant examples came out of the



Guillaume Postel

# Antisemitism and Mass Politics

By Daniel Unowsky



## Dr. Unowsky's latest book (forthcoming)

concentrates on what are now Austria, southern Poland, and western Ukraine.

Some years ago, Robert and I realized that we were taking similar approaches to the study of antisemitism in the decades around 1900. I had embarked on a close study of anti-Jewish violence in the rural regions in the western districts of Habsburg Galicia near Cracow, which I plan to complete in the near future; Robert was working on antisemitism and modern political mobilization in rural Hungary. Both of us were very interested in how very specific contexts—"ethnic" relations; politics; daily life; material culture; social structure; etc.—framed Jewish-Christian relations at the local level. We were interested in religiosity, rumors, and riots. We both set our stories firmly in the era of new mass politics, and we both highlight transnational fingerprints that link our local stories to European-wide developments.

Our search for other historians working on similar themes in the same era of European history was jump-started by my connections with the Institute for the Study of Antisemitism at the Technical University of Berlin. I served as a dissertation advisor for a very gifted German student writing on antisemitism and violence in Habsburg Galicia and was invited to speak at the Institute about my work. I took the opportunity to talk with Ph. D. students and post-docs connected with the Berlin center about the volume Robert and I wanted to put together. Several were eager to contribute their case studies to our volume. We also tried out our themes and connected with other scholars by organizing panels on local case studies of anti-Jewish violence and mass

politics at several conferences: Association for the Study of Nationalities; American Historical Association; Association for Jewish Studies.

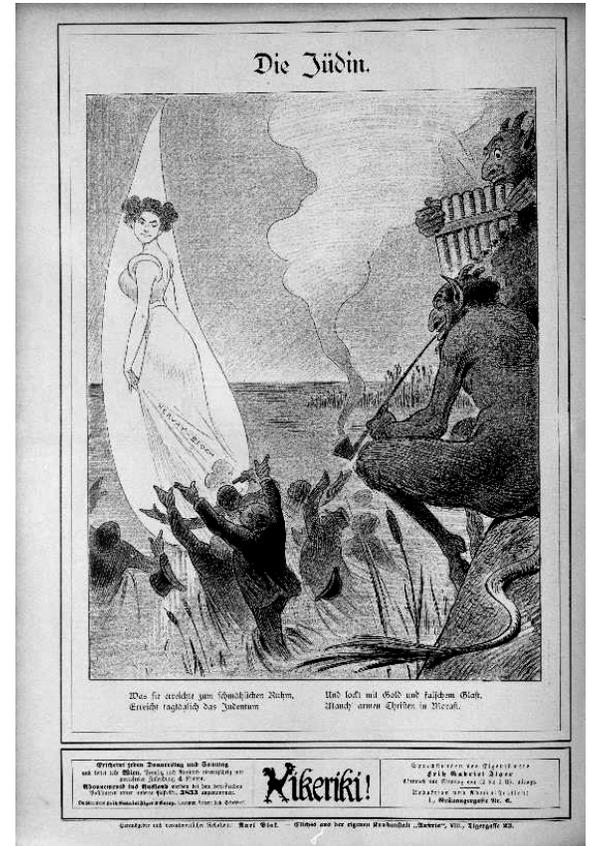
The final result, *Sites of European Antisemitism in the Age of Mass Politics, 1880-1918*, brings together twelve original essays by junior, established, and eminent US and European scholars focused on anti-Jewish incidents in specific locations from Great Britain to the Russian Empire. The first three chapters consider antisemitic violence in Habsburg Galicia in 1898, French Catholics, racism, and antisemitism in 1897, and Catholic anti-Jewish journalism in Milan in the 1880s and 1890s. They are linked by their focus on Catholicism and modern politics. Each demonstrates the importance of Catholic writers to the development and dissemination of antisemitic images, rhetoric, and arguments, reflective of the deep anxieties held by many Catholic thinkers and activists about modern society. The second set of essays consider the relationship between anti-Jewish violence and nationalism in Romania in the 1880s, Moravia in the 1890s, and Croatia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The chapters in the third section—one on London's East End; one on a bigamy trial in rural Austria; the last on ritual murder charges in the Greek Islands—suggest the geographic spread of antisemitism and the many forms it could take. The final group of essays looks more closely at the role of states and state officials in cases of anti-Jewish violence: anti-Jewish riots in Lithuania in 1905; the Russian army and anti-Jewish attacks in the same year; the question of Jewish refugees in rural Hungary during World War I. The volume concludes with an Afterword by Hillel Kieval, the Gloria M. Goldstein Professor of Jewish History and Thought at Washington University, St. Louis.



Dr. Daniel Unowsky

There is a vast and continually expanding literature on the history of antisemitism. Synthetic works focused on modern antisemitism overview well-known landmarks—the French Revolution, Jewish emancipation, Russian Pogroms, the Dreyfus affair. Others consider the influence of texts like *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, thinkers like Wilhelm Marr

(who coined the word “antisemitism”), and organizations like Charles Maurras’s Action Française. The essays collected in this volume owe much to this scholarship, but seek to shift attention away from the intellectual history of antisemitism, away from capital cities, and away from well-known incidents. The authors approach antisemitism “from below,” giving primacy to local contexts and local actors. We try to strike a balance between a close analysis of local conditions and how these “sites” shed new light on broader changes remaking states and societies around 1900. The essays situate modern antisemitism in a Europe being remade by the forces of urbanization, industrialization, rising literacy, capitalist agriculture, new forms of governance, communication, transportation, and electoral politics.



At left: “The Unrest in Galicia.” *Die Wiener Bilder*, July 10, 1898. Upper left caption: “Rescue of a Jew by the gendarmes.” Upper right caption: “Plundering of a Jewish tavern in Nowy Sącz.” At right: “The Jewess,” *Kikeriki*, July 7, 1904. Caricature of the defendant in a bigamy trial in Müzzuschlag, a small Austrian resort town

# The 2013 Annual GAAAH Conference

By Jeff Jones



Jeff Jones

The Graduate Association for African-American History hosted its 15th Annual Graduate Conference from October 24th through October 25th, 2013, at the University of Memphis. Following a very diverse theme, this year’s conference in African American history attracted applicants from various regions throughout the United States. The conference was generously sponsored by the Department of History, the Benjamin L. Hooks Institute for Social Change, the Program in African and African American Studies, Student Event Allocation Funds, and the Marcus Orr Center for the Humanities.

The Hooks Institute co-sponsored an opening luncheon and book talk featuring well-known author and admired scholar Martha Biondi. Dr. Biondi presented an engaging presentation on

her most recent award-winning work, *The Black Revolution on Campus*. Biondi also spoke enthusiastically with conference panelists, faculty, and staff alike during the luncheon's question-and-answer session.

Each day featured panel presentations of original research by graduate students from a variety of institutions. Some themes included: The Politics of Racial Violence, Black Culture and Social Change, and Transnational Perspectives. Notably, David Irwin from the University of St. Thomas held the honor of being the first undergraduate student to present with his paper entitled "Evolving Radical Thought: Politics, Culture, and Black Transnational Space in the Twentieth Century." Presenters and guests alike commented on the level of scholarship evident in each panel session. Awards for the Memphis State Eight Paper Prize were presented to Sarah Rowley (Indiana University), Andrew Amron (University of Alabama), and Carolyn Roberts (Harvard University) for first, second, and third place, respectively.



GAAAH participants making a presentation in the panel on "Literatures of Black America"

The feature event of this year's conference was a keynote address by Dr. Kevin Mumford, professor of history at the University of Illinois. His lecture was centered on his most recent work, *Beyond the Closet: Reinventing African-American Gay History, 1963-1988*. This keynote address came at a critical juncture in our nation's history. Legislation and actions by federal, state, and local governments regarding gay rights have created ongoing social and political discussion and debate. Thus, the theme related to gay activists and their role in our nation's past provided a forum for much-needed debate. Graduate students, undergraduates, faculty and staff from the University of Memphis and surrounding colleges provided a sizable audience of approximately 150 attendees.



Keynote speaker Dr. Kevin Mumford

faculty advisors and supporters such as our own chair of the History Department, Dr. Aram Goudsouzian, Dr. Christine Eisel, Dr. Colin Chappell, Dr. Andrew Daily (GAAAH Advisor), Dr. Earnestine Jenkins, Dr. Deirdre Cooper Owens (University of Mississippi), Dr. Susan E. O'Donovan, Dr. Jodi Skipper (University of Mississippi), and Dr. Sheena Harris (former GAAAH president and University of Memphis graduate, Austin Peay University). We also owe a great debt of gratitude to our History Department's administrative associate Karen Bradley for her tireless support. GAAAH is grateful for everyone's input and enthusiasm. We look forward to seeing everyone at another successful conference next year.

Each GAAAH member worked to ensure that this year's conference was a great success. However, this event would not have been possible without the continuous support from



Dr. Sheena Harris offering her commentary following the panel on "Literatures of Black America"



Left: Dr. Deirdre Cooper Owens commenting on a panel on “Race, Language, and Popular Culture in 20th Century America” at the GAAAH conference. Right: Dr. Beverly Bond (far left) and Dr. Sheena Harris (fourth from left) with GAAAH conference planners Dr. Deirdre Cooper Owens (second from left), Genevieve Donovan (third from left), Kaylin Ewing (second from right), and Le’Trice Donaldson (far right), following the conference

# Student Activism at MSU in the 1960s

*By Jack Lorenzini*

When I arrived in Memphis in the fall of 2006, I hoped to write a dissertation that highlighted the experiences of Vietnam veterans. I never envisioned that I would write about student activists at Memphis State. In two research seminars taught by Drs. Fickle and Goudsouzian, I selected topics that centered around university history. I wrote my papers on the black student sit-in of 1969 and the Memphis State Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). With two papers serving as potential foundations for chapters and with the encouragement and support of my dissertation advisor Dr. Sherman, a dissertation topic was born.

There were no Mario Savios or Mark Rudds or gun-toting African Americans occupying buildings making national news at Memphis State in the 1960s. Student activists were ordinary people who fought for extraordinary changes in their society. They challenged their university to accept the exchange of divergent ideas without repercussions. My dissertation presents a bottom-to-top approach, examining how a group of Memphis State students, black and white, advocated for free speech, civil rights, and an end to the Vietnam War. It addresses how students carried out their ideas for reform, and it demonstrates what changes were achieved at an urban commuter university in the South. This dissertation focuses on a number of important events: the integration of the university by the Memphis State Eight in 1959, the Normal Tea Room sit-in of 1964, the desegregation campaign at Second Presbyterian Church from 1964 to

1965, and the controversial visit by Steve Weissman of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement to MSU in 1965. Important episodes were as well, the emergence of Logos, an anti-war group, and the chaos that resulted in 1966, black and white student support for the striking sanitation workers in 1968, the black student sit-in of 1969, and the failure of the Memphis State Students for a Democratic Society to obtain a charter on campus from 1968 to 1970.

Memphis State activists faced a plethora of challenges. In the South, there was less tolerance for dissent than elsewhere. Southerners’ resistance to integration, their staunch anti-communist sentiment, pro-military views, and their reluctance to criticize the United States made student activism more difficult at Memphis State. MSU activists also faced the obstacle of operating on a campus overwhelmingly comprised of commuter students. The great majority enrolled at the university were first-generation college students, coming from working class socio-economic backgrounds. For the most part, these students attended class during the day and left to go to their jobs and provide for their families. If they were not working, they gravitated toward other pursuits such as football, basketball,



**Jack Lorenzini**



**James Mock holding an impromptu meeting outside the Administration Building, April 1969**

fraternities, and sororities—long considered traditional college pastimes. Despite these difficulties, Memphis State activists persevered in their efforts to alter the landscape.

Did Memphis State student activism matter? The desegregation campaigns by student activists at the Normal Tea Room and Second Presbyterian Church resulted in lunch counters and church pews opening to African Americans. Steve Weissman's visit to Memphis State represented a breakthrough of academic freedom in the South. The effort by Logos to espouse anti-war views generated a political consciousness on campus that previously did not exist. It transformed the university into a center for intellectualism and critical thinking. Furthermore, sanitation strike activism resulted in a watershed moment, when black and white students engaged in meaningful communication and dialogue for the first time in school history. Coupled with the sanitation strike, the black student sit-in was culturally

transformative. Black students, tired of being relegated as second-class students, were determined to be fully accepted by the university community. Finally, the presence of the SDS on campus gave like-minded students an outlet to express themselves politically.

My study challenges the traditional narrative of student activism that concentrates attention on Berkeley, Wisconsin, and Ivy League schools or hotbeds of campus unrest. Analysis of the Memphis State activists contributes to the growing scholarship of southern student activism pioneered by Doug Rossinow, Gregg Michel, and Jeffrey Turner. By learning more about the experiences of southern students we can gain a richer, more complete understanding of student activism in the 1960s. My case study of Memphis State also furthers the narrative of southern student activist repression. The FBI and Memphis Police examined the actions of Logos members and supporters, members of the Liberal Club, and the Black

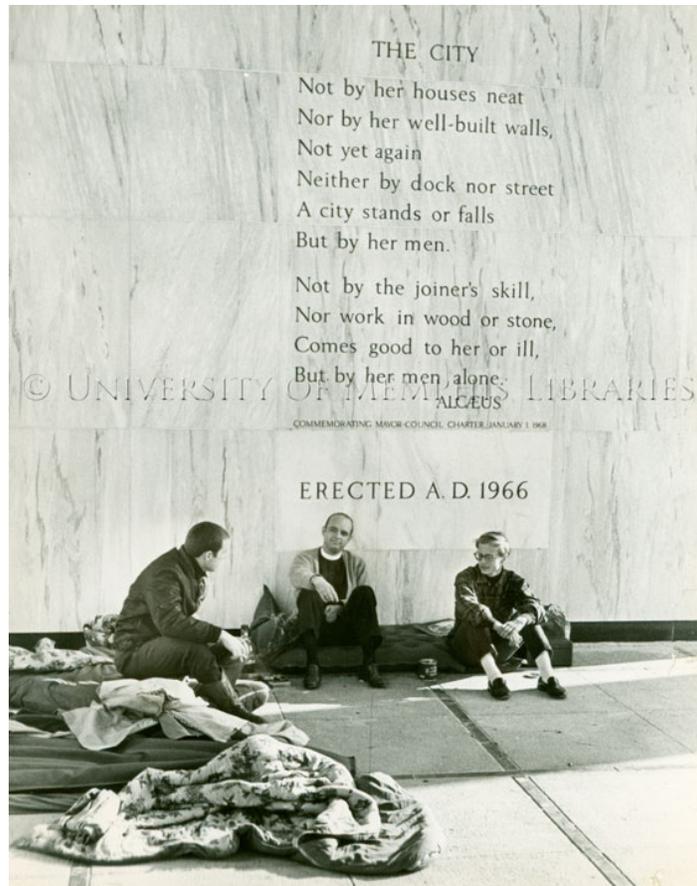
Student Association during the sanitation strike, and relied on informants to gather critical information on Black Student Association (BSA) and SDS activities from 1968 to 1969. This revelation adds to previous work done by Michel, who studied FBI surveillance of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC).

Moreover, this dissertation furthers our understanding of the role of campus religious organizations during this time period.

Religious houses provided students with a foundation if they needed support and a refuge from an otherwise hostile and closed campus society. These were the first integrated organizations on campus. Reverend Gene Etheridge, chaplain of the Westminster House, welcomed members of the Memphis State Eight. He led efforts to set up a summer camp for disadvantaged African American youth. He later established an integrated collegiate group that discussed social problems. His successor, Reverend Richard Moon, was one of the few whites in Memphis to aid, help organize, and participate in city marches for striking sanitation workers in 1968. Reverend Moon also purposely surrounded himself with students of the New Left. He provided sanctuary to the SDS; a number of meetings were held at the Westminster



White students protesting against Normal Tea Room picketing



Hunger strike after King's assassination. From left to right, Memphis State student Jimmy Gates, Reverend Richard Moon, and Ted Carter, April 1968

House. He was also a supporter of the BSA and provided the organization help in the publication of *The Black Thesis*. In addition, Reverend Ed Wallin of the Newman Club served meals at an integrated table, supported civil rights activism, and even harbored those in jeopardy of getting injured by an angry mob of students during the Normal Tea Room sit-in. Wallin also protected Logos members when attempts to distribute anti-war material generated tumult on campus.

I would like to thank my dissertation advisors, Drs. Aram Goudsouzian and Janann Sherman, along with committee members Drs. Charles Crawford and James Fickle, for their continued support, patience, and invaluable suggestions. I would also like to thank the generosity of the Endowment Committee who funded a research trip to Madison, Wisconsin, and awarded me the 2012-2013 fellowship.

*Photographs in this article were provided by the Preservation and Special Collections Department of The University of Memphis Libraries and used with its permission by Mr. Lorenzini in his doctoral dissertation.*

# Dr. John Harkins' Portrait Installed in Memphis University School Portrait Series

By Maurice Crouse



Dr. John Harkins looks on his portrait just moments after the unveiling by John Barton and Headmaster Ellis Haguewood

Dr. John Harkins had been honored by Memphis University School earlier, on May 7, 2013, when on the initiative of David O. Sacks, one of his former students, the school archives in the Hyde Library were renamed the Harkins Archives. On October 3, 2013, he joined an elite group, becoming the ninth person to be honored in this way, when his portrait painted by Steve Moppert was installed in the school's Faculty Portrait Series, which has as its purpose "to honor MUS faculty members that have given much of their lives in service to the school."



Dr. Maurice Crouse

To receive the honor the faculty member must have served MUS for a minimum of fifteen years, left the school in good standing, and be retired or deceased. Dr. Harkins joined the company of Leigh W. MacQueen, John Murry Springfield, William R. Hatchett,

Jacob Courtney Rudolph, Betty Jo Higgs, Leslie C. "Skip" Daniel, Jr., Michael R. Deaderick, and H. Jerry Peters. Dr. Harkins later pointed out that with his portrait being

added, a majority of the honorees have been members of the MUS History Department, which speaks well for that department.

Dr. Harkins served nearly three decades in the school's History Department, teaching a broad array of courses, including the required courses in American and European history, their Advanced Placement counterparts, and electives in recent American, Civil War, Mexican, and Russian history. He served as chair of the department. He held the Ross M. Lynn Chair of History from 1992 until his retirement in 2009. He earned the MUS Distinguished Teaching Award in 1996. He was the author of the centennial history of the school, *The MUS Century Book: Memphis University School, 1893-1993*. Headmaster Ellis Haguewood noted that Christian Brothers High School, which Dr. Harkins had attended, had named him to the CBHS Hall of Fame and added that "MUS, in an attempt to mitigate that designation, made him an honorary alumnus in 2008." In his retirement he is the historian and archivist for Memphis University School.

Dr. Harkins began his career in history with a major in history for his undergraduate degree from what was then Memphis

State University. He returned to earn his PhD in history in 1976, writing his dissertation, “The Neglected Phase of Louisiana’s Colonial History: The New Orleans Cabildo, 1769-1803,” with Dr. William Gillaspie as the major professor. In revised form, and with Gilbert C. Din as co-author, Louisiana State University Press published the dissertation in 1996. In addition to the *MUS Century Book*, he has published *Metropolis of the American Nile: An Illustrated History of Memphis and Shelby County*; *Historic Shelby County: An Illustrated History*; and *Memphis Chronicles: Bits of History from The Best Times*. He is currently engaged in writing a history of the Lausanne Collegiate School.



Portrait of Dr. John Harkins by Steve Moppert

He has served as president of both the West Tennessee Historical Society and the Descendants of Early Settlers of Shelby County and as a member of both the Shelby County Historical Commission and the Tennessee Historical Commission. The Daughters of the American Revolution named him Outstanding American History Teacher for Tennessee in 1997.

John Barton, MUS class of 1995 and president of the Alumni Executive Board, presided over the installation of the portrait and spoke briefly before introducing former student Clayton Chandler, MUS class of 1997; Norman Thompson, instructor in English at MUS since 1972; and Headmaster Ellis Haguewood, to offer their tributes to Dr. Harkins. He also introduced Steve Moppert but Mr. Moppert did not speak, letting his painting speak for him.

Mr. Chandler called Dr. Harkins “the most beloved MUS figure in my eyes, in the eyes of the class of 1997, and in the eyes of the MUS community as a whole.” He based his judgment not only on his own experience but on testimonies from many former MUS students, not all from the class of 1997, as to Dr. Harkins’ resumé as a scholar, his excellence in the classroom, and the care and respect he had for his students. A touching illustration was his showing up stoically, as had been scheduled, in the classroom to give his students practice for Advanced Placement examinations the morning after the Harkins’ son had died. On a lighter note, Mr. Chandler said that a student who was a *Jeopardy* champion attributed his winnings to Dr. Harkins’ classes — the only place he had ever heard of Emile Zola and the Dreyfus Affair was in his 10th-grade AP history class.

Mr. Thompson continued in the light vein, quoting Ambrose Bierce’s famous definitions of history (“An account, mostly false, of events, mostly unimportant, which are brought about by rulers, mostly knaves, and soldiers, mostly fools”) and historian (“A broad-gauge gossip”) for two reasons, he said — “Dr. Harkins’ keen sense of humor will allow him to snicker at the snarkiness of Bierce’s tongue-in-cheek sniping,” and “to show that the life and career of Dr. John Harkins so manifestly belies both definitions.”

Speaking of Dr. Harkins’ work in the Harkins Archives, he said, “In his tome-laden lair he can be found rummaging around in the dustbin of the past like a kleptomaniacal magpie, squirreling away nuggets from times

gone by, which but for John’s obsessive reclamation efforts would be lost forever in the dissolving mists of time.” Mr. Thompson quoted Mrs. Bonnie Barnes, director of the Hyde Library Learning Center, which houses the Harkins Archives, as saying, “If we stop to ask him a question, he never fails to come up with a story — one that may meander like a lazy river but that will also pick up bits and pieces of debris from the shore as it meanders. . . . If you don’t get an answer when you ‘Ask Vance Lauderdale,’ then you have only to ask John Harkins and brace yourself for an answer.”

In the same good-natured spirit, Headmaster Haguewood quoted Winston Churchill (“History will be kind to me for I intend to write it”), noting that it was literally true about Dr. Harkins, since he wrote the official history of the school. He remarked that Georgia, Dr. Harkins’ wife, herself a teacher and tutor, had always been by his side and quoted the famous description of the “wife of noble character” from *Proverbs* 31 in her praise.

Mr. Haguewood said in conclusion: “William James wrote, ‘The great use of a life is to spend it for something that outlasts it.’ John Harkins’ scholarly accomplishments and his many contributions to MUS and to our community will long outlive his life.”

*Memphis University School has placed a video of the ceremony on YouTube:*  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PI58gU9v2DE>