

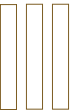


KINDER INSTITUTE
on CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY

NEWSLETTER | FALL 2015



The COLUMNS



PROTESTS

We are sure everyone has been following news concerning the student protests at University of Missouri that resulted in the resignation of UM System President **Tim Wolfe** and University of Missouri-Columbia Chancellor **R. Bowen Loftin** on November 9, 2015. Following these administrative changes, we released this statement on the Kinder Institute website:

“As a scholarly enterprise devoted to fostering debates and discussions that reach across disciplinary and ideological boundaries, the Kinder

Continued on page 3



LAUNCHING THE INSTITUTE

Speaking to a capacity (and captivated) crowd at the Missouri Theatre in downtown Columbia, famed historian and two-time Pulitzer Prize winner **David McCullough** began his October 7, 2015, distinguished lecture with a quote from Harry S. Truman: “The only thing new in the world is the history you don’t know.”

Over the next hour, Mr. McCullough would go on to spin yarns about and offer insights into what he characterized as not only the history we don’t know, but also the history we have ceased to seek out. Focusing specifically on the Founding era, he described how the passion and innovation that the nation’s early leaders brought to the task of freely forging a new government were derived from a thoroughly interdisciplinary breadth of knowledge and, more broadly, from an insatiable intellectual curiosity. He spoke, for example, about Washington’s love of the theatre and Jefferson’s enviable library. In discussing John Adams, the subject of his 2002 Pulitzer-winning biography, Mr. McCullough noted how the second president insisted that the Massachusetts Constitution include language affirming the state government’s commitment to encouraging literature and the sciences and to creating grammar schools dedicated to promoting the study of agriculture, art, manufacturing, and national history.

Continued on page 2



Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy
University of Missouri

CONTENTS

Introduction 1

Protests..... 1

History Colloquium Series.....4

MRSEAH6

Research & Travel Grants7

Kinder Scholars.....8

Community Seminars.....9

Town and Gown10

Faculty Search12

Future Programs12

Minor and Certificate Courses ..13

Faculty Publications14

A Woman’s Voice15



At the heart of the Institute’s mission are the same aspirations that Mr. McCullough’s talk highlighted: that revitalizing civic education is necessary for civic health; that the progress of American society requires knowledge of the nation’s political institutions and history; that interdisciplinary curiosity and intellectual rigor will by their nature breed civil, engaged, and productive dialogue about the obstacles that we face as democratic citizens.



Launching the Institute *continued from page 1*

The theme Mr. McCullough returned to throughout his lecture—that reinvigorating this spirit of curiosity is essential to realizing the ideals that the Founders put forth—could not have been better timed. On the following day, at 10:30 A.M. in the Columns Room at MU’s Reynolds Alumni Center, then Chancellor R. Bowen Loftin announced that the Kinder Foundation had pledged \$25 million to the University of Missouri to fund programming at the Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy going forward. At the heart of the Institute’s mission are the same aspirations that Mr. McCullough’s talk highlighted: that revitalizing civic education is necessary for civic health; that the progress of American society requires knowledge of the nation’s political institutions and history; that interdisciplinary curiosity and intellectual rigor will by their nature breed civil, engaged, and productive dialogue about the obstacles that we face as democratic citizens. Without taking away from what we accomplished during our first year as the Kinder Forum on Constitutional Democracy, we think that the generous gift from the Kinder Foundation, coupled with our faculty’s and students’ unwavering commitment to promoting the study of the philosophical foundations and historical development of the nation’s government, will allow us to transform these aspirations into concrete realities.

We should add that none of the week’s events would have been possible without the help—or as enjoyable without the presence—of our undergraduate cohort, especially members of our 2015 Society of Fellows, who were instrumental in facilitating an engaging lunch discussion with David McCullough, setting up for the October 7 lecture at the Missouri Theatre, and supporting the Institute at the gift announcement.

Protests *continued from page 1*

Institute on Constitutional Democracy does not take positions on current political issues or specific university policy proposals. We are, however, committed to promoting knowledge about the United States’ political traditions and institutions, and endeavor to shed light on the many historical and theoretical issues that arose in the course of recent events on campus, including issues related to the United States’ legacy of democratic protest against racism and other forms of injustice and to constitutional protections for assembly, speech, and the press. Fostering a nuanced understanding of these constitutional freedoms and the principles underlying them is crucial to building a community in which the inherent dignity of all individuals is acknowledged, protected, and celebrated. We fervently believe in a fair, inclusive university that respects the humanity and guards the physical safety and intellectual freedom of every individual on campus, and we hope to provide a forum for the many discussions to come.”

Since issuing this statement, the Kinder Institute has engaged in a number of organized discussions—with students, staff, and faculty—that we think represent a productive first step in building a better understanding of and open dialogue about the issues at hand. On Friday, November 20, faculty members met with representatives from the Missouri Students Association

Executive Cabinet to answer questions related to the 1st Amendment, and following Thanksgiving Break, the Institute hosted a December 10 dinner discussion on difficult dialogues for our undergraduate Society of Fellows, led by MU Law Professors **Paul Ladehoff** and **Christina Wells**. In addition, **Justin Dyer** met on November 30 with **Chuck Henson**, the recently appointed Vice Chancellor for Inclusion, Diversity, and Equity, to begin sketching out a series of Spring and Fall 2016 events that will address issues related to civil discourse, equal protection, and 1st Amendment rights.

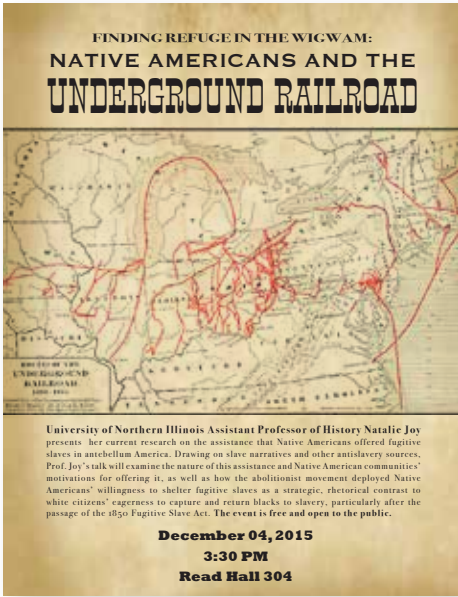


Fostering a nuanced understanding of these constitutional freedoms and the principles underlying them is crucial to building a community in which the inherent dignity of all individuals is acknowledged, protected, and celebrated.



HISTORY COLLOQUIUM SERIES

In order to highlight innovative research being done on the underlying principles and historical evolution of American constitutional democracy, we host a number of small workshops each semester, which bring scholars from around the region to the MU campus to share works-in-progress and exchange ideas with members of the Institute’s ever-growing intellectual community.



Finding Refuge in the Wigwam: Native Americans and the Underground Railroad

In opening her December 4 colloquium presentation with a quote from Frederick Douglass, Northern Illinois University Assistant Professor of History **Natalie Joy** immediately introduced some of the practical and rhetorical factors that complicate the historiography of Native Americans’ participation in the Underground Railroad. The slave went to “the wigwam of the savage,” Douglass wrote, for “refuge from his Christian master.”

As Prof. Joy demonstrated in her analysis of slave narratives and other anti-slavery sources, there is, to be sure, a rich history of Native American communities offering fugitive slaves the kind of sanctuary to which Douglass alludes. For example, Randall Burton, a slave who had stowed away on *The Franklin* (a freighter out of South Carolina), was directed by crew members to seek refuge with the Wampanoag in Gay Head, MA, when it was revealed that the ship’s captain had alerted the sheriff of his presence aboard the vessel. With the help of Beluah Vanderhoop, and through a coordinated effort between the Wampanoag and anti-slavery society members on the mainland in New Bedford, Burton would elude capture and remain free.

At the same time, Douglas’s quote misrepresents Burton’s experience as the singular norm. While there are many similar accounts of Native Americans offering shelter, food, and guidance to runaway slaves, they do not tell the entirety of the story. Jermaine Loguen, for instance, writes in *The Rev. J.W. Loguen, as a Slave and as a Freeman* of the “annoyance [of] the occasional lack of hospitality” that he found among the Native Americans with whom he and others took refuge after escaping bondage in Tennessee. Moreover, and based on prevailing stereotypes of the time, Loguen also reveals a distrust of Native Americans that slaves occasionally fostered, describing how they would sometimes “lay down among their enemies in the wigwam, and [sleep] on the watch, in contempt of them.” Which is all to say that the relationship between runaway slaves and the tribes that harbored them is far more complex than literature on the



subject at times suggests—a complexity compounded by the fact that, given limited primary source materials from the time, it is often difficult to determine whether or not these tribes were, in fact, acting on anti-slavery convictions.

Prof. Joy added that the history of Native Americans and the Underground Railroad is further complicated by the way in which abolitionists introduced the trope of the “wigwam as refuge” into the public record. Maintaining the trope as lacking variance had a degree of rhetorical utility for abolitionists like Douglass, she noted, insofar as it allowed them to deploy the narrative of the “nominal heathen” warmly and uniformly offering aid as a means of critiquing white Christians for assisting slave hunters in their pursuit of fugitives. And while use of this trope peaked after the passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act—and while figures such as Wendell Phillips drew on it as late as the 1870s—it originated, Prof. Joy concluded, during the second Seminole War, which abolitionists claimed was caused by the slaveholding South’s desire to exterminate the Florida tribe because of its willingness to harbor runaways.

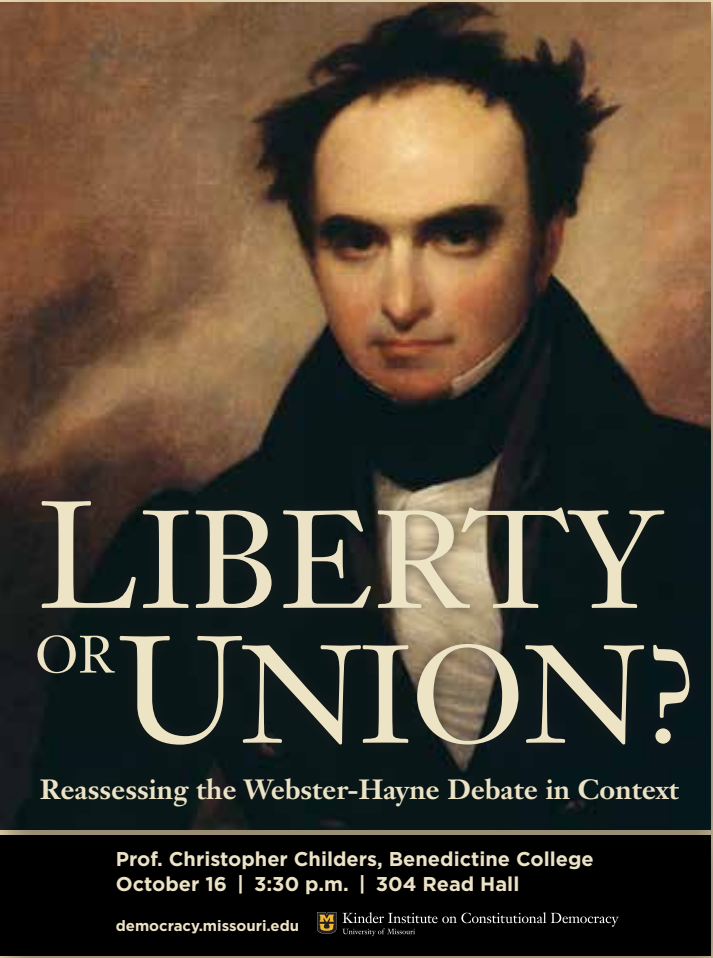
The History Colloquium Series will resume after the break on January 29, 2016, at 3:30 PM in Read Hall 304, with Missouri Western State University Professor Dominic DeBrincat’s talk, “Imperial Claims, Local Justice: The Spanish Ship Affair in a Colonial Connecticut Court.”



Liberty or Union? The Webster-Hayne Debate in Context

The Institute also hosted Benedictine College Assistant Professor of History **Christopher Childers** on campus on October 16, to give a talk on the origins of the Webster-Hayne Debate. Beginning with an examination of the 1829 “Foot Resolution,” a proposal by Connecticut Senator Samuel Foot to suspend the sale of un-surveyed land in the American West, Prof. Childers

traced how the 1830 Senate debate was rooted in broader, sectional concerns regarding how the incorporation of Western states into the Union had already begun (and would inevitably continue) to shift the political balance of power in antebellum America. Focusing largely on the ways in which north- and southeastern politicians tried to align themselves and their regions with the interests of figures like Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton, Prof. Childers concluded by briefly examining Edward Livingston’s March 1830 attempt to tamp down sectional conflict by promoting an ideological middle ground between Webster’s ultra-nationalism and Hayne and Calhoun’s extreme states’ rights politics.





MISSOURI REGIONAL SEMINAR ON EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY

The second fall meeting of the Institute's Missouri Regional Seminar on Early American History took place at Café Napoli in St. Louis on October 30, with participants discussing a chapter from University of Central Missouri Assistant Professor **Micah Alpaugh's** current book project, *Transatlantic Revolutions: The Interconnected Rise of Social Movements in America, Britain, Ireland and France, 1765-1795*. The chapter, the second in Prof. Alpaugh's manuscript-in-progress, examined the rise and rapid spread of the Sons of Liberty in pre-Revolution America, focusing on the group's beginnings as an organized network for protesting the 1765 Stamp Act and on the Sons' broader historical significance as a new model for connecting and integrating local activists that would go on to influence social movements including the Irish Volunteers and the Jacobin Club network in late-eighteenth-century France.



Spring 2016 semester MRSEAH meetings are scheduled for February 19, to discuss University of Missouri-St. Louis Curators Teaching Professor Dave Robertson's "State and Landscape: The Constitution of American Environmental Governance," and April 8, when a discussion of Southeast Missouri State Professor Lily Santoro's work on natural science and evangelicalism in early America will be followed by a presentation from Washington University's Abram Van Engen, entitled "Missionary Impulses and Historical Societies: The Political Theology of American History in the Early Republic."



RESEARCH AND TRAVEL GRANTS

Designed to support the scholarly pursuits of faculty and graduate students at the University of Missouri whose work dovetails with the Institute's academic mission, our program of research and travel grants is central to our goal of establishing the Kinder Institute as a national leader in innovative scholarship on the American constitutional and democratic traditions as well as the application and reinterpretation of these traditions in later periods and around the world. Below are descriptions of three of the projects that we funded during the October 2015 grant cycle:

History Ph.D. candidate and Kinder Dissertation Fellow **Chris Deutsch** received a \$3,500 award from the Kinder Institute to travel to Washington, D.C., during the Spring 2016 semester to conduct research at the National Archives for his dissertation, "Democratic Beef: Modernizing the American Diet, 1945-1975," which explores the historical, economic, and political implications of executive attempts to increase the amount of beef consumed by American citizens in the post-WW II era. In addition, part of the award will be used to fund travel to the Society of Environmental Historians annual meeting in Seattle (March 30 – April 1, 2016), where Chris was invited to present his doctoral research as part of a panel made up of leaders in the field of American environmental history.

Political Science Professor and Kinder Institute core faculty member **Jay Dow** received an award in the amount of \$3,152 to fund archival research for his new book project, which traces Federalist and Democratic-Republican electoral strength from 1792-1824, with particular attention paid to the timing and trajectory of the Federalist Party's demise in the early 19th century and to the history underlying the ideological divisions that resulted in the Democratic-Republican Party's split. Per the terms of his proposal, Prof. Dow will conduct research at the American Antiquarian Society and Massachusetts Historical Society, in addition to conferring with Erik Beck, who serves as project coordinator for *A New Nation Votes* and who was part of a panel of scholars who presented on the organization's groundbreaking work in digital history during an April 2015 event on campus sponsored by the Kinder Forum.

Martha Kelly, an Assistant Professor in the German & Russian Studies Department at MU, received a grant of \$3,500 to travel to Moscow during Summer 2016 to continue work on her current book manuscript, a study of Russian poet and public intellectual Olga Sedakova. As Prof. Kelly outlined in her grant proposal, Sedakova "carries on the legacy of Soviet-era dissidents who upheld human rights and democratic values in a repressive society," and her in-progress monograph, the first devoted to a study of the poet's work and her role as a prominent public figure, will shed light on the challenges that members of Russia's intelligentsia face in promoting a broad range of civil liberties, including freedom of speech and of the press, in a post-Soviet cultural and political landscape characterized by increasing fragmentation.



As is often the case, one deadline passed during the Fall 2015 semester, and another arose to take its place. While applications for our program of research and travel grants poured in during mid-October, we were busy laying the groundwork for nationwide searches for our endowed chair and professorships, as well as for a new pair of postdoctoral fellows in History.

All awards were determined by the Kinder Institute's Executive Committee, which includes Director Justin Dyer and Associate Director Jeff Pasley, as well as History Department Chair John Wigger and Political Science Department Chair Cooper Drury.



KINDER SCHOLARS D.C. SUMMER PROGRAM

One of the Institute’s flagship initiatives, the Kinder Scholars D.C. Program brings 20 elite MU undergraduates to the nation’s capital for a summer of scholarship and experiential learning. The 2016 Kinder Scholars Program will be held from May 28 – August 6, and participation requires students to complete all coursework for HIS/ POL SC 4900, a seminar that explores the philosophical foundations and historical development of constitutional democracy in the United States, and to intern at least 25 hours per week at an organization whose mission relates to and enhances their academic study of American political thought and history.

The deadline to apply for the 2016 Kinder Scholars Program was November 2, and we are pleased to announce the new class of participants, which was selected from an incredibly qualified and diverse pool of applicants by Kinder Scholars Program Director and Political Science Teaching Professor Bill Horner and Professor of History Catherine Rymph (names marked with an asterisk are also current or former members of our undergraduate Society of Fellows):

- Ashleigh Atasoy** (Business Administration & Political Science)*
- Taylor Cofield** (Political Science & International Studies)
- Bishop Davidson** (History & Classics)*
- Cheyenne Dooley** (Political Science & Psychology)
- Delan Ellington** (Anthropology & History)
- Rachelle Engen** (Political Science & Political Communication)*
- Nora Faris** (Agricultural Journalism)*
- Sarah Gillespie** (Accounting and Political Science)
- Kate Hargis** (Political Science)
- Blake Harting** (Political Science)
- Lindsay McManus** (Political Science & Political Communication)*
- William Neer** (Chemistry & Spanish)
- Paige Ondr** (Organizational and Political Communication)
- Jacob Otto** (Economics & Political Science)
- Leslie Parker** (Political Science & Journalism)
- Jennifer Prohov** (Political Science & Journalism)*
- Anne Russell** (Economics & Political Science)
- Kalli Sikes** (History & Classical Humanities)
- Caleb Wilson** (Business Administration/Marketing & Psychology)*
- Andrew Wisniewsky** (History & Religious Studies)*

The Kinder Institute hosted a reception for the new class of Kinder Scholars on Tuesday, December 8 in the T.O. Wright Room at Reynolds Alumni Center. Profiles of all 20 members of the incoming Kinder Scholars class will be made available shortly on the Kinder Institute website.

COMMUNITY SEMINARS

During October, the Kinder Institute sponsored what is likely its most community-oriented seminar to date: “Columbia Government: Learn How Your Voice Matters.” Led by Political Science Ph.D. candidate **Dana Angello**, the seminar, which met weekly throughout the month, brought 20 local citizens together with elected and appointed officials from the City of Columbia to discuss the structure and function of various municipal departments and offices and to open up lines of dialogue about the most effective means by which citizens can participate in and engage with governing institutions. Featured speakers at the seminar meetings included Columbia Mayor **Bob McDavid** and City Manager **Mike Matthes** (Week 1, pictured below), Police Chief **Kenneth Burton** and Citizen Police Review Board Member **Kate Busch** (Week 2), Health & Human Services Director **Stephanie White** (Week 4), and Community Development Department Head **Tim Teddy** (Week 5). An embodiment of the kind of grassroots civic education that represents the “next frontier” for Kinder Institute community programming, the seminar was covered by local media outlets including KOMU and the *Columbia Tribune*.

In addition, the Institute launched two yearlong community seminars during the Fall 2015 semester: “Mormonism & American Politics,” led by Postdoctoral Fellow **Ben Park**, and “Crisis & Constitutionalism,” led by **Justin Dyer**. Both seminars meet monthly, with participants discussing readings ranging from Joseph Smith’s presidential platform, “General Smith’s Views of the Power and Policy of the Government,” to 1863 letters from Lincoln to Erastus Corning and the Ohio Democratic Convention that address the wartime decision to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus and shed light on the broader issue of the constitutionality of emergency executive power.



Columbia Government: Learn How Your Voice Matters

The workshop will be begin on Thursday, October 1st to teach how local government affects citizens and how citizens can affect local government. Local officials—City Manager, Mayor, Police Chief, Fire Chief and more—will speak and answer questions to help citizens understand how they fit in to city government. Participants will receive a certificate of completion in the last session of the course (October 29). Dessert and beverages provided!

Dana Angello
is a PhD candidate at the University of Missouri with a passion for civic education.

Every Thursday in October | 6:30 - 8:35 p.m. | MU Memorial Student Union

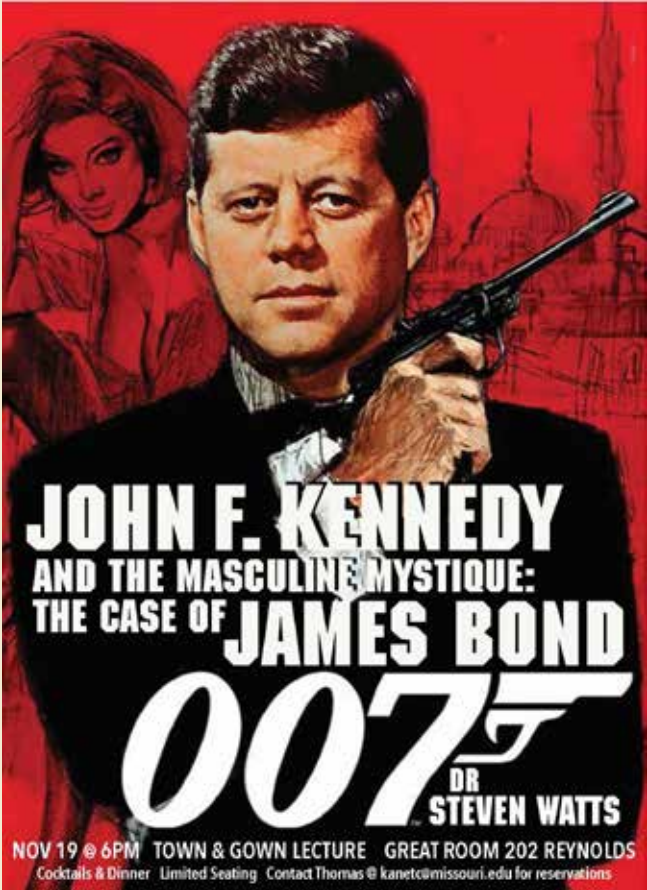
Parking available in the University Parking Structure. Students will escort participants to the classroom.

Must RSVP to attend. Contact Dana Angello: danaangello@mizzou.edu
democracy.missouri.edu/events

Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy
University of Missouri

TOWN AND GOWN

For the Kinder Institute’s first Town & Gown Dinner Symposium of the 2015-16 academic year, University of Missouri Professor of History **Steve Watts** provided a preview of the final chapter of his new book, *Kennedy Adonais: JFK, the Masculine Mystique, and American Political Culture*, which is forthcoming in 2016 from St. Martin’s Press.



which historians, media members, and citizens have struggled when considering the 35th President’s legacy—his status as both a peace advocate and an anti-Communist Cold Warrior, for example, or his public life as a devoted family man and his (barely) private life as a playboy.

As a way of introducing the primary subject matter of his talk, Prof. Watts noted how studying Kennedy as a cultural figure provides an opportunity to understand his rise to political power and public fame within the larger context of what Arthur Schlesinger, in a 1958 essay in *Esquire*, called “the crisis of American masculinity.” More specifically, the youthful, handsome, intellectual, individualistic Kennedy served, Prof. Watts explained, as a virile and welcome foil in Schlesinger’s narrative of how factors such as suburban isolation, bureaucratic inactivity, and “aggressive” women compromised the notions of maleness that prevailed in the 1940s and early 1950s. Kennedy himself marked his own place in this counter-narrative to lost maleness when, in accepting his nomination for the presidency at the 1960 Democratic Convention, he spoke of how the challenges of navigating “the New Frontier of the 1960s—a frontier of unfulfilled hopes and threats” would be made easier by the fact that “all over the world young men” like himself were “coming to power, men who [were] not bound by the traditions of the past” or “blinded by the old fears.”

Prof. Watts began by outlining the methodology behind *Kennedy Adonais*, describing how his goal was to supplement scholarship focused on Kennedy’s politics with a book that approached JFK as a cultural figure. In establishing the immense value of those works that examine Kennedy as a centrist Cold War politician, Prof. Watts added that they are by nature somewhat limited in their capacity both to explain the cultural phenomenon of Kennedy’s celebrity and to resolve certain contradictions with

As Prof. Watts pointed out, whether out of affection for the President or disdain for his Republican opponents, this vision of Kennedy-as-exemplar of a new mold of leader quickly caught on, especially as the press perpetuated the image of JFK as the kind of new frontiersman capable of guiding the nation through the perilous waters of Cold War politics. Prof. Watts added that this image of Kennedy was further supported by the company he kept. While figures like Norman Mailer, Frank Sinatra, and John Glenn all embodied the President’s masculine aura/agenda, it was his friendship with British novelist Ian Fleming that Prof. Watts focused on in exploring the significance of the celebrity circles in which Kennedy operated.

Like Kennedy, Fleming’s subversive and unpredictable protagonist, James Bond, provided a potent alternative to the image of the compliant male, weakened by the bureaucratic state and the suburban tract home. The parallels between Bond and Kennedy, Prof. Watts explained, went beyond style and sexuality, seeping in to the President’s foreign policy agenda. While emphasizing that Kennedy certainly did not draw political strategy from *From Russia with Love*, Prof. Watts noted that there is ample evidence to suggest that Bond’s exploits at least to some degree shaped JFK’s perception of issues as well as tactics. For Kennedy, the CIA resembled a master crew of 007s—athletically, intellectually, and socially elite individuals whose innovation and daring would be necessary to successfully combat Communism. Prof. Watts concluded by citing Kennedy’s “Operation Mongoose” as establishing perhaps the clearest line of connection from Bond to the CIA under JFK. From its focus on psychological warfare to its assassination-by-exploding-cigar plot, in many ways the covert, counter-insurgency operation seemed to be derived, if not directly ripped, from the pages of Fleming’s fiction.



FACULTY SEARCH



The Kinder Institute also initiated three separate searches during the Fall 2015 semester, all of which are essential to ensuring the sustained excellence and growth of the program.

In November, the Institute issued a call-for-applications for two Endowed Professors of Constitutional Democracy, one each in the History and Political Science Departments, as well as a call-for-nominations for two Kinder Institute Endowed Chairs of Constitutional Democracy. The deadline for applications for the endowed professorships is January 15, 2016, at which point the search committees in the History and Political Science Departments will begin to identify candidates whose credentials meet the Institute’s needs. Nominations for the endowed chairs will be considered on a rolling basis, until we identify a candidate whose career achievements meet the unique parameters of the distinguished position.

The search committees for the endowed professorships comprise: **Justin Dyer** (Chair), **Peeverill Squire**, and **Moises Arce**, in Political Science, and **Jeff Pasley** (Chair), **Mark Carroll**, **Steve Watts**, and **Michelle Morris**, in History.

With the tenures of **Armin Mattes** and **Ben Park** (both pictured, left) nearing an end, the Kinder Institute also issued a call-for-applications for a 2016-2018 Postdoctoral Fellow and a 2016-18 Scholar-in-Residence in History. The former position is designed to provide early-career scholars of pre-1900 American history with an opportunity to advance their research and publication agendas, refine their teaching skills, and contribute to intellectual life at the Institute, while the latter is designed to provide a notable scholar of early American history with an opportunity to complete work on an ongoing book manuscript.

MINOR AND CERTIFICATE PROGRAMS

The Kinder Institute will offer the following courses during the Spring 2016 semester as part of its Minor and Certificate in American Constitutional Democracy:

- Classical Humanities 4800: Political Thought in Classical and Christian Antiquity
- Economics 4004: American Political Economics
- History 2445: American Constitutional Democracy (Online)
- History 4004: 18th Century Atlantic Revolutions
- History 4060: Period of the American Revolution, 1760-1789
- Political Science 4004: Topics in Modern Political Theory
- Political Science 4130: African American Politics
- Political Science 4140: Congress and Legislative Policy
- Political Science 4150: The American Presidency
- Political Science 4170: Politics of the American South
- Political Science 4200: The American Constitution
- Political Science 4210: Constitutional Rights

In addition, the Kinder Institute is thrilled to announce that it will launch its *Constitutionalism and Democracy* Honors College sequence in Fall 2016. The sequence, which will be open to 20 incoming freshmen in the Honors College each year, consists of four courses: “The Intellectual World of the American Founders” and “The Constitutional Debates” (in Political Science) and “The Revolutionary Transformation of America” and “The Young Republic” (in History). All students who complete the sequence will immediately become eligible to receive the Institute’s Certificate in American Constitutional Democracy.



FUTURE PROGRAMS



In October 2014, just months after the Kinder Forum’s official launch, Director **Justin Dyer** and Communications Associate **Thomas Kane** met with **Nick Kremer**, Social Studies Coordinator for Columbia Public Schools, to discuss the possibility of starting a community seminar on the western liberal tradition for local high school teachers. While the seminar never materialized, the conversation helped us refine our ideas about educational outreach programming going forward: specifically, we realized that reinvigorating civic education in Missouri meant designing programs that would reach students both on the MU campus and before they arrive.

Fast forward a year, and we’re deep into the development of what will easily be our largest educational outreach endeavor yet, the 2016 Missouri Summer Teachers Academy, which will

be held June 13-16 on the MU campus. Sponsored in partnership with and supported by a generous start-up grant from the Missouri Humanities Council, the Summer Academy will provide high school American history and government educators throughout the state with a unique opportunity to develop new content knowledge in their primary subject areas through three days of seminars led by Kinder Institute faculty. The inaugural 2016 Summer Academy will be organized around the theme of “majority rule and minority rights” and will feature lectures that address topics ranging from classical

ideas regarding the nature and meaning of rights to contemporary applications of the 14th Amendment, and that examine the historical, political, and intellectual legacies of figures such as Locke, Madison, Frederick Douglass, and Alice Paul.

Missouri state senators will each nominate two teachers from their home districts, one primary candidate and one alternate, to participate in the 2016 Summer Teachers Academy, which will kick off with a reception and keynote address on the evening of June 13th.

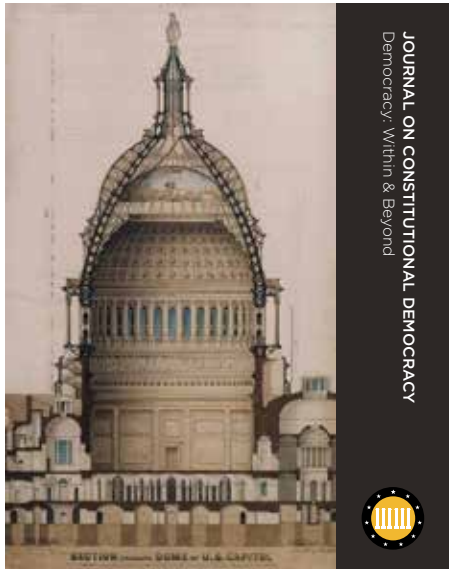
Other Future Programs and Events

February 25, 2016: “Did the American Founders Intend to Separate Church and State?”: Public Lecture with University of Notre Dame Tocqueville Associate Professor of Religion & Public Life **Vincent Phillip Muñoz**

February 25, 2016: “Racism, Reparation, and Reconciliation: The United Nations International Decade for People of African Descent” Co-sponsored Public Lecture with University of the West Indies Professor of Social History **Verene Shepherd**

March 20, 2016: Co-sponsored Distinguished Lecture with *Just Mercy* author **Bryan Stevenson**

April 4-5, 2016: Public Workshop on Teaching Jefferson with **Annette Gordon-Reed** (Harvard University) and **Peter Onuf** (University of Virginia), co-authors of the forthcoming “*Most Blessed of the Patriarchs*”: *Thomas Jefferson and the Empire of the Imagination*



The Journal on Constitutional Democracy is a yearly scholarly publication that is composed, edited, and designed by members of the Institute’s undergraduate Society of Fellows. Organized each year around a new theme chosen by the Fellows, the journal consists of articles that address the historical, political, and philosophical significance of this theme, as it relates to American constitutional democracy. The 2014–15 Journal, from which this excerpt is drawn, tackled the theme of “Democracy: Within & Beyond”

From “A WOMAN’S VOTE,” by Samantha Franks



In the twenty-first century, school children are taught that the birth of American freedom ushered in an age of golden liberty. The Declaration of Independence proclaimed American citizens free in a number of different capacities—free of a tyrannical king, free to pursue their own individual happiness, free to claim the ground beneath their feet as their own. The shining “city on a hill” that Winthrop spoke of in his 1630 sermon, “A Model of Christian Charity,” became a beacon for self-determination, forged in Boston Harbor and delivered by George Washington to a waiting populace. Presidents Kennedy and Reagan

affirmed this story with the very same metaphor. Eventually, the United States became an empire, with its power grounded in its people.

Part of that history is real. It is not, however, the full truth.

It is common knowledge, now, that the founding documents of America established rights for an exclusively white, exclusively male demographic. The native peoples were disregarded; the slaves, while considered in preliminary discussions, remained ultimately unprotected; women, despite comprising half of the nation’s population, were entirely ignored. Liberty for all actually meant liberty for few, and it would take almost two centuries of painful, stilted progress for the American ideal of freedom to begin being universally applied to American citizens. Like the narrative of the nation’s founding, the path to suffrage for all has been turned into myth, and for women in particular, the myth is strangely narrow. In the usual telling, the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention is seen as the singular most important event in the history of women’s rights and one from which the 19th Amendment followed with relative ease.

...

It is unquestionable that Seneca Falls was important. As a moment in history when women joined together to create an American declaration of their own—a unified pronouncement of their own rights—it became a potent reminder of what could be: that the so-called “fairer sex” could gather, debate, and come to a conclusion about substantive matters of government. While it is undeniable that this moment defined part of history, it did not end the battle for women’s right to vote, regardless of what American history textbooks suggest.

The truth of history holds less charm than the history books’ simplistic story, which often blurs over the next seventy years, skipping from the triumphant unification at Seneca Falls to constitutional triumph in 1919. In 1870, despite her lack of a vote, Victoria Woodhull declared herself the head of a presidential campaign and then ran on a platform based in “sexual revolution” for women (Friskens 91). Unsurprisingly,

the radical feminism of Woodhull was not well accepted; some even said it may have hindered the cause, creating the idea that it was a foolish and obnoxious endeavor. Two years later, Susan B. Anthony would be arrested for filing a ballot, then charged a \$100 fine that she never paid (Enix-Ross). Further, working to secure women’s right to vote could not unify everyone. Groups of advocates were stratified not only by how they thought women should conduct themselves in their pursuit of political equality, but also by race and class. Determined to secure suffrage for Caucasian women first, early white feminism turned its back on the cause of African Americans’ suffrage and, in doing so, alienated abolitionist men and women alike. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton did their best to ignore this stratification. Despite her penchant for starting feuds, Anthony was careful to paint a narrative in which women universally agreed on the path to suffrage and, more specifically, agreed on her path (Farrell). Despite her efforts, though, Anthony would die without ever casting a legal ballot.

Slowly, states began to ratify women’s right to vote, but a constitutional amendment remained elusive. When Woodrow Wilson came to office, 5,000 women converged upon Washington, DC, determined to convince their new president to support their cause (Pusey). Wilson, despite this, seemed more annoyed than sympathetic. Over the next few years, he continued to tell the suffragists to wait for state approval. Led by the determined but divided Anna Shaw and Alice Paul, women persisted in actively pursuing their cause, by petitioning Congress, speaking across the country, and protesting outside the White House. When World War I began, women continued to protest despite the general disapproval associated with picketing a wartime president. After the demonstrations turned violent, many of the young suffragists were jailed, at which point they turned to a hunger-strike and, after subsequent force feedings, gained public support for the movement. Wilson finally declared his own support in 1918, but it would be another year before the constitutional amendment passed.

Even then, the amendment barely squeaked into history. The right to suffrage came down to Tennessee, where state legislators wore red or white roses to show their support or disdain for the amendment. The white roses, representing suffragists, were dwindling after days of bribes, arguments, and general disarray. In the end, it was a mother that decided history. Her 24-year-old son, Harry Burn, wore a red rose pinned to his chest—until he received a note from his mother, persuading him to help put the “‘rat’ in ratification.” Still wearing the red rose, he declared aye so quickly that it took his co-conspirators-turned-opponents several long moments to realize what had happened. By then, it was too late. Tennessee approved women’s suffrage by one vote.

Almost 150 years before, the founding fathers tried to build a better, freer world. In some ways, they succeeded. A country, though, is never done—and while 1919 certainly did not see the end of women’s fight for equality, or even the fight for universal suffrage, it did represent a fundamental step forward in claiming independence for all citizens. The fight for the vote encapsulated much of what it meant to be an American. It meant disagreeing, debating, fighting, and ultimately striving for a fairer world. While it may not have been what the original Declaration imagined, it reinforced one fundamental truth: when the people speak, if they speak loud and long enough, they will be heard.

Works Cited

Enix-Ross, Deborah. “Susan B. Anthony Is Convicted for Casting a Ballot.” *ABA Journal* 99.11 (2013): 1. *Business Source Premier*. Web. 16 Feb. 2015.

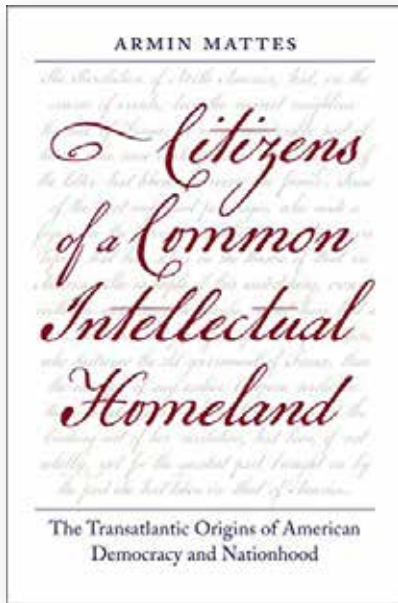
Farrell, Grace. “Beneath The Suffrage Narrative.” *Canadian Review of American Studies* 36.1 (2006): 45. *MasterFILE Premier*. Web. 17 Feb. 2015.

Friskens, Amanda. “Sex in Politics: Victoria Woodhull as an American Public Woman, 1870-1876.” *Journal Of Women’s History* 12.1 (2000): 89. *America: History & Life*. Web. 17 Feb. 2015.

Mullaney, Marie M. “The Myth of Seneca Falls: Memory and the Women’s Suffrage Movement, 1848–1898.” *Library Journal* 139.12 (2014): 99. *Professional Development Collection*. Web. 13 Feb. 2015.

Pusey, Allen. “Wilson, Women and War.” *ABA Journal* 101.1 (2015): 40-41. *Academic Search Complete*. Web. 16 Feb. 2015.

RECENT FACULTY PUBLICATIONS



Carli Conklin: “The Origins of the Pursuit of Happiness,” in *Washington University Jurisprudence Review* (2015)

Justin Dyer: “Lewis, Barth, and the Natural Law,” in *Journal of Church & State* (March 2015)

Armin Mattes: *Citizens of a Common Intellectual Homeland: The Transatlantic Origins of American Democracy and Nationhood* (University of Virginia Press, 2015)

Jeff Milyo: “The Quantities and Qualities of Poll Workers,” in *Election Law Journal* (March 2015)

Jeff Pasley: “The Devolution of 1800: Jefferson’s Election and the Birth of American Government,” in *America at the Ballot Box* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015)

“Whiskey Chaser: Democracy and Violence in the Debate over the Democratic-Republican Societies and the Whiskey Rebellion,” in *The Politics of Violence in the American Revolutionary Era* (University of Virginia Press, 2015)

Dennis Trout: *Damasus of Rome: The Epigraphic Poetry* (Oxford University Press, 2015)

