



KINDER INSTITUTE
on CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY



NEWSLETTER | SPRING 2017



The COLUMNS



NEW FACULTY

As we mentioned in last quarter's newsletter, for a few weeks there in the fall, nestled among a busy lecture schedule were two faculty searches, one that was drawing to a close with the end of the semester and another that was just getting underway. So once we received the exciting news that Dr. **Jen Selin** had accepted an offer to join our ranks as a Kinder Institute Assistant Professor of Constitutional Democracy and Political Science (see p. 4 for a brief profile on Jen), we allowed ourselves a moment of celebration and then redoubled our attention to the history search that was beginning to gather momentum.

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With all due respect to T.S. Eliot, we have to politely disagree with his stance on Aprils. Far from cruel, this year's fourth month, a rare slow one at the Kinder Institute, will give us a chance to look back at a busy and productive first three of 2017. Since the calendar turned over, we have: launched a new online, scholarly journal that is already attracting readers in droves; put ourselves on the verge of nearly doubling the size of our faculty; and seen our undergrads more than hold their own in philosophical discussions that were way over at least this writer's head. And as the following pages will reveal, these highlights only scratch the surface.

Given everything else going on, we rarely get a chance to feature faculty work, but with Spring Break just around the corner (and beach season just around the corner from that), we would be remiss not to mention that early 2017 also brought a wave of faculty publications. New books or edited volumes by Professors **Steve Watts**, **Justin Dyer**, **Alasdair Roberts**, and **Adam Seagrave** are on shelves now, soon to be followed by Professor **Jay Dow's** *Electing the House* and University of Colorado-Colorado Springs Professor **Joseph Postell's** *Bureaucracy in America*, the third title in our *Studies in Constitutional Democracy* book series with MU Press (due out in June).

For more information on all new books, check out the "Book Series" and "Faculty Publications" pages on our newly revamped website, still located at democracy.missouri.edu, and we hope you read on to find out more about spring semester happenings at the Kinder Institute.

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Starting Points Journal

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After a call for applications that drew interest from California to Germany, followed by a series of preliminary interviews held at January's annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Denver, we brought three candidates for our endowed professorship in history to campus early in the Spring 2017 semester to present their research to Kinder Institute and History Department faculty, graduate students, and undergrads: the two Yale Ph.D. candidates whose talks are summarized below, **Alyssa Zuercher Reichardt** and **Michael Hattem**, as well as Monticello historian and University of Virginia faculty member **Christa Dierksheide** (a brief recap of her research presentation can be found on pp. 8-9.)

War for the Interior: Constructing Imperial Communications Infrastructure for the Heart of North America, 1755-1774

Yale University Ph.D. Candidate in History, Alyssa Zuercher Reichardt



In opening her February 3 job talk, **Alyssa Reichardt** noted that while there are many reasons the North American Interior was an important arena in the Seven Years War, perhaps chief among them was that it served as the key conduit for news and goods traveling from the frontier fringes to the east coast nerve centers of the French and British empires and, from there, across the Atlantic to Paris and London. As she unpacked over the course of the rest of her presentation, given the interior's identity as a space shaped and re-shaped by human and material movement across it—and its strategic centrality

to the War itself—it makes sense that British victory can largely be attributed to the construction and refinement of a superior communications infrastructure in the region.

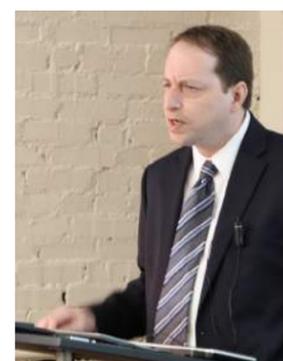
A primary component of this new infrastructure was, of course, physically grafted onto the landscape in the form of new wagon roads and proto-canals, which, combined with advances in transportation technology, allowed for a swifter, more efficient circulation of wartime news and supplies. Drilling down further though, Reichardt argued, we see how a wide array of communications system changes and improvements—data regularization, information hub consolidation, military professionalization, newspaper subscription services, and state-funded postal networks (to name only a few)—also contributed significantly to the British empire's institutional advantage and eventual victory. To provide context for the magnitude of Great Britain's innovation—as well as France's failure to match it—Reichardt examined the transmission of news regarding the 1758 fall of Fort Duquesne (a turn of events, it should be added, made possible by Brigadier-General John Forbes' insistence that new roadways be cut across Pennsylvania). Relay of word that the fort had been destroyed and that British forces now controlled the convergence of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers began on November 25, with the news reaching New York by December 12, and London by January 19, 1759. By comparison, France's information hub in Montreal did not hear of the fall of Ft. Duquesne until January 20, and word did not reach Paris, via New Orleans, until April of 1759.

In a fascinating twist of fate, Reichardt ended her talk by pointing out how the same communications advantage that led to inter-imperial victory over France was also at the root of intra-empire turmoil. As movement into the heart of the continent both stoked resistance to imperial control within individual colonies and strengthened connections between them, roads once used for war purposes quickly transformed

into the primary routes for anti-British newspapers, themselves booming in volume. Infrastructural shifts like this, she concluded, might not have singularly accounted for the rise of revolutionary sentiment in the 1770s, but they certainly helped pave its course, and because of this, cannot be overlooked when studying the undoing of the British empire in the soon-to-be United States.

Creating the Colonial Past in the Revolutionary Historical Imagination, 1764-1813

Yale University Ph.D. Candidate in History Michael Hattem

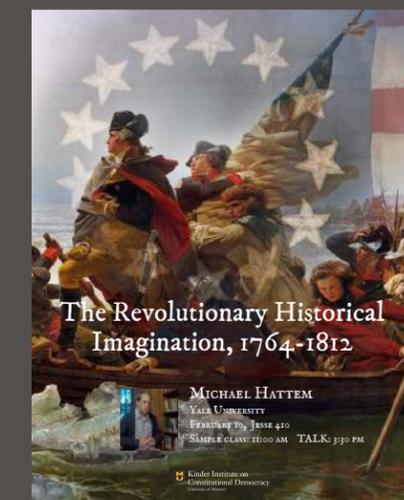
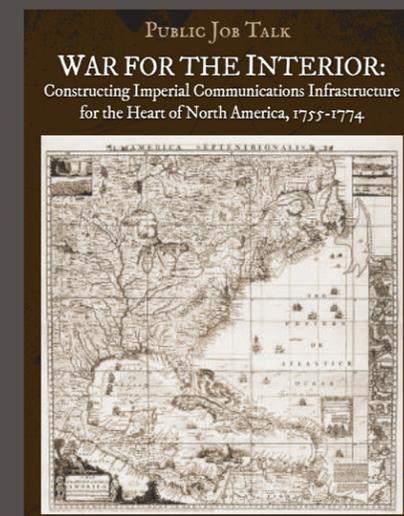


Drawing on research for a chapter from his dissertation, *Past and Prologue*, **Michael Hattem** used his February 10 job talk to frame the American Revolution as both a pivot point in and an impetus for the process of colonists (and, later, citizens) shedding their identity as British subjects and forging a shared history. As he noted in his introduction, though, charting this process requires careful methodological scaffolding, and so he began by describing the centrality of 'history culture,' a line of inquiry that utilizes representations of the past throughout a society's cultural production to better understand how a national historical narrative takes

shape, to his larger project.

In the case of colonial and post-revolutionary America, this particular approach reveals how the outlines of a unique narrative began to emerge in 1764, at the beginning of the imperial crisis. The growing fracture between the colonies and the mother country, Hattem argued, demanded the creation of a past that did not then exist: one that deconstructed connections with Great Britain and, in this act of deconstruction, provided stability amidst a landscape of heightened political hostility. The re-imagined past that ultimately began to take form, he went on to describe, focused largely on providing new context for and, in a sense, staking a new ownership claim to the history of settlement. Whereas the British stressed their own role in birthing the North American colonies, figures like Isaac Barre argued in Parliament that it was oppression that planted the colonists in the Americas, a re-envisioning in which claims of equality and distinction could be grounded and which would subsequently serve as a new first principle from which a singular American history could proceed.

In the early national period, this act of creatively revising the narrative on record continued. As Hattem explained, we saw, for example, a new and somewhat fine-spun emphasis placed on intercolonial unity; we saw affection for the mother country actively excised from American identity and a general minimization of the rupture of revolution trumpeted as a way to codify independence and stability and to project it back onto pre-war culture; and finally, he concluded, in works like Joel Barlow's *Visions of Columbus*, we saw a search for alternative national origin points and stories—anything that would help transform a history of subjecthood into one of citizenship.

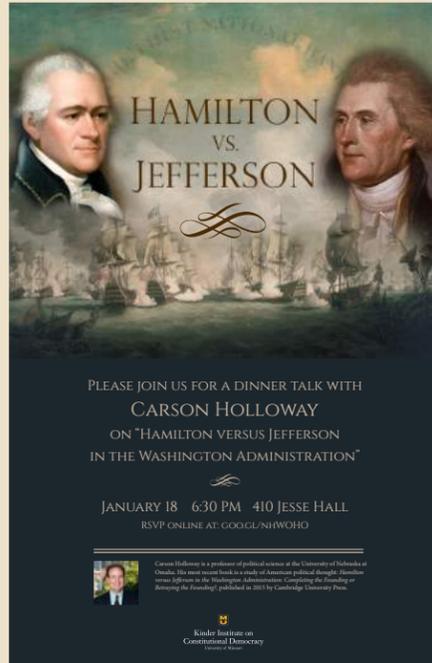


COMMUNITY SEMINARS

Hamilton vs. Jefferson in the Washington Administration

University of Nebraska-Omaha Associate Professor of Political Science
Professor Carson Holloway

The barbs exchanged between Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson show no love lost between the two historical giants. For Hamilton, Jefferson was a man continually machinating against public happiness; for Jefferson, his political foil was a threat to no less than the liberty of the country. As Professor **Carson Holloway** argued in his January 18 talk, the concluding lecture for Kinder Institute Director **Justin Dyer's** *Hamilton vs. Jefferson* community seminar, at the root of the pair's mutual distaste for one another were two competing visions of what was necessary to complete the nation's founding. Front and center in their disagreement was Hamilton's treasury program. Derived from his broad belief in the importance of an energetic, powerful central government, the treasury program was built around two primary pillars: the creation of a national bank, which Hamilton saw as necessary to establish public credit and international borrowing power, and the use of protective tariffs to galvanize (by subsidizing) American manufacturing. In regards to the former, Jefferson's counterargument was that Congress had no enumerated power to create such a bank and that allowing it to do so would bend the constitutional meaning of "necessary and proper" beyond recognition. A government so empowered, Jefferson posited, bordered on monarchical, a claim Hamilton rebutted by suggesting that cleaving to Jefferson's narrow notion of a federal government that could act upon only what was indispensably necessary for the general welfare would result in anarchy. Their animosity likewise spilled over into the realm of foreign policy, Prof. Holloway noted, reaching a crescendo during the *Pacificus-Helvidius* debates when Hamilton, writing in support of Washington's 1793 Proclamation of Neutrality, argued for the executive office having a broad role in foreign policy, while Madison, speaking for Jefferson, deemed such a constitutional interpretation heretical and instead situated the ability to declare war (or neutrality) and reach treaty agreements firmly within the purview of the legislature.



Playing the Past

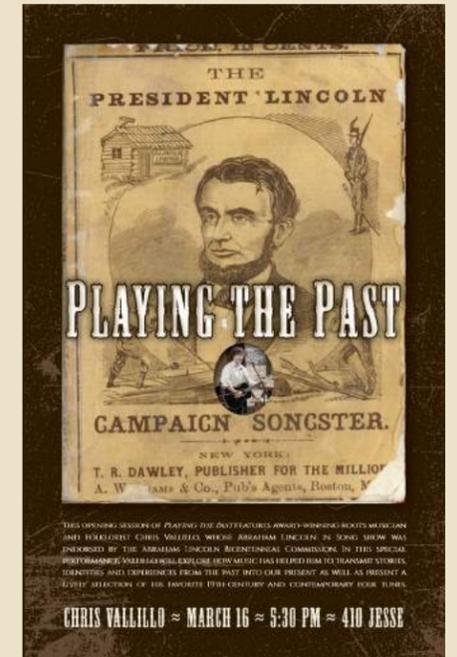
A New Community Seminar by Kinder Postdoctoral Fellow in History Billy Coleman

While "Land of Lincoln" singer-songwriter **Chris Vallillo** would eventually return to his starting point—a serene and somewhat infamous April 1865 carriage ride through the countryside surrounding D.C.—the narrative of his March 15 one-man show at the Kinder Institute began in earnest shortly after Abraham Lincoln's birth, at a junction of the Louisville-Nashville Turnpike in Knob Creek, KY. It was here, he noted, that politicians, traveling preachers, scientists, and pioneer rambles spun the tales of a new Eden across the Ohio River in "El-a-Noy" that would ultimately set Lincoln on a westward (then eastward, then tragically back westward) trek into history. Weaving primary source research together with performances from the *Republican Songster* over the course of the evening, Vallillo brought this history to life by creating a biography that not only charted Lincoln's rise from day laborer to savior of the Union but also underscored music's central place in his life, specifically, and nineteenth-century democratic culture in general.

There were the work songs, like "Shawneetown," that propelled flatboats down the Mississippi towards New Orleans, where Lincoln was first exposed in full to the scourge of slavery. There were the hammer dulcimer waltzes that a young bachelor twirled Mary Todd to in New Salem, Illinois, where, while failing at business after business, he discovered Blackstone's *Commentaries* at the bottom of a barrel of mixed goods, soon after which he found himself a self-taught, itinerant lawyer on Illinois' Eighth Judicial Circuit. There were the brass bands that preceded Stephen Douglas to the podium in Galesburg and Alton; the chants of the Wide-Awakes up and down the East Coast touting the rise of the Republican party; the abolitionist Hutchinson Family Singers' "Lincoln and Liberty," a campaign song to which Lincoln credited his victory in 1860; and "We Are Coming Father Abra'am," a musical response to Lincoln's 1862 call for 300,000 more Union troops which promised a citizenry that would meet (and double) the President's request.

There were, of course, also the songs of mourning that scored Lincoln's funeral train as it wended its way to Illinois, tracing in reverse the same path that Lincoln had followed a few years prior as he made the presidential pilgrimage to D.C., as well as the folk tunes that were written in the decades and centuries after Lincoln's death to commemorate his legacy. As Vallillo noted in closing his performance, it is these works—perhaps more than any—that demonstrate how Lincoln conceived of music as a vehicle for dignifying the individual, for communicating forms of personal and political affection that transcended race, class, and region.

For more information on the *Playing the Past* community seminar, which will pick back up in April, please contact **Billy Coleman**, colemanw@missouri.edu, or **Thomas Kane**, KaneTC@missouri.edu. And for anyone interested in learning more about the music of the early Republic and Civil War-eras, copies of Vallillo's "Abraham Lincoln in Song," can be purchased at ginridge.com.



COLLOQUIA

Jefferson and His Legacies: Opium and Empire, 1776-1844

Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies Historian
Dr. Christa Dierksheide

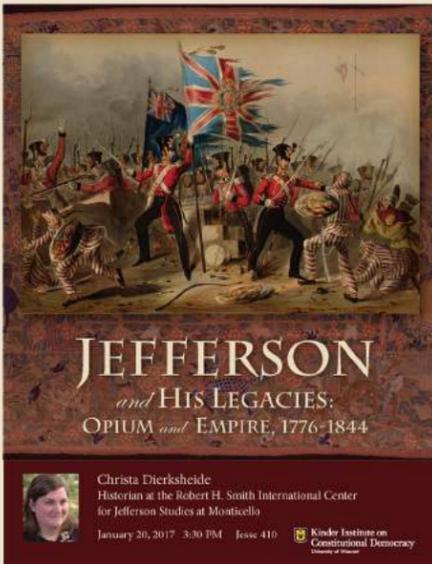


How, exactly, to tell the story of Thomas Jefferson is a question with which the nation has grappled for some time, while achieving little in the way of consensus. As Dr. **Christa Dierksheide** pointed out in the opening remarks for her January 20 talk at the Kinder Institute, this is due in large part to the fact that there is a certain zero sum divisiveness to contemporary discourse about Jefferson's legacy, with one camp toeing the old line and championing him as an "apostle of American democracy" and the other characterizing him with equal forcefulness as a slaveholding hypocrite far more committed to oppression than liberty. Complicating matters even further, she noted, is Jefferson's having told us on his tombstone how and for what he would like to be remembered: as the author of the Declaration of Independence and the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, and as the father of the University of Virginia.

Engaging with Jefferson's own belief that "every generation is an independent nation," Dr. Dierksheide's current book project veers from these conventional approaches to interpreting Jefferson's legacy by examining how his visionary and often highly problematic ideas were embraced, revised, and at times even abandoned altogether by his actual heirs, the many grandchildren who scattered to all reaches of the nation and globe in the decades after Jefferson's death. Playing integral roles in the continuation and expansion of slavery, for example, were grandsons Nicholas Trist, appointed U.S. consul in Havana by Andrew Jackson, and Meriwether Lewis Randolph, Jackson's Secretary of the Arkansas Territory. There were also Jeffersonian heirs on both sides of the Civil War, including John Wayles Hemings Jefferson, who rose to the rank of Colonel in the Union Army, and Benjamin Franklin Randolph, an ardent secessionist and Confederate footsoldier. Finally, promoting the ideals articulated in the Declaration were granddaughters Ellen Wayles Hemings Roberts, who moved West and was an early voice in the movement to extend equal rights to African American citizens, and Mary and Cornelia Jefferson Randolph, founders of an independent boarding school in Virginia who were, at least for a very brief moment, responsible for paying off the significant posthumous debt with which Jefferson saddled his relatives.

Which brings us to the central figures of Dr. Dierksheide's talk, Ellen Randolph Coolidge, Jefferson's granddaughter and closest intellectual heir, and her husband Joseph Coolidge, Jr., whose experiences in China during the First Opium War can be used as a case study for examining the United States' changing status in the global marketplace during the first half of the nineteenth century. For the Coolidges, as for many of the subjects of Dr. Dierksheide's new book, the shifts in political and economic landscape that they observed and even helped initiate while overseas trace back at least in part to Monticello.

In response to British mercantile monopolies' practice of obstructing American commercial entry into West Indies markets—in response, that is, to the fact that the Declaration of Independence did not the United States an equal nation make—Jefferson had advocated for U.S. free trade with China as early as 1784. These pursuits bore little fruit initially—for years, the U.S. bought far more in Canton than it sold—but this all began to change as a result of American neutrality, first in the Napoleonic Wars and, later, during the First Opium War. Now called upon to serve

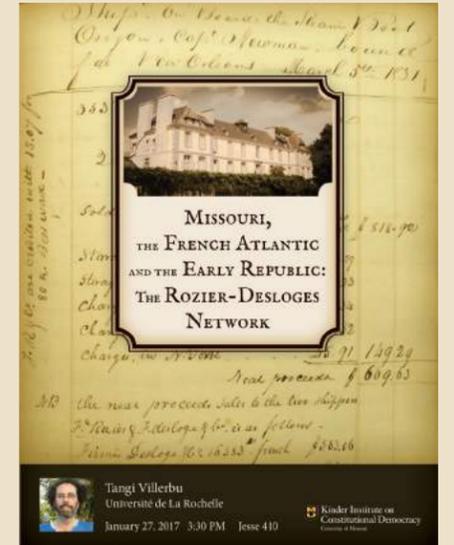


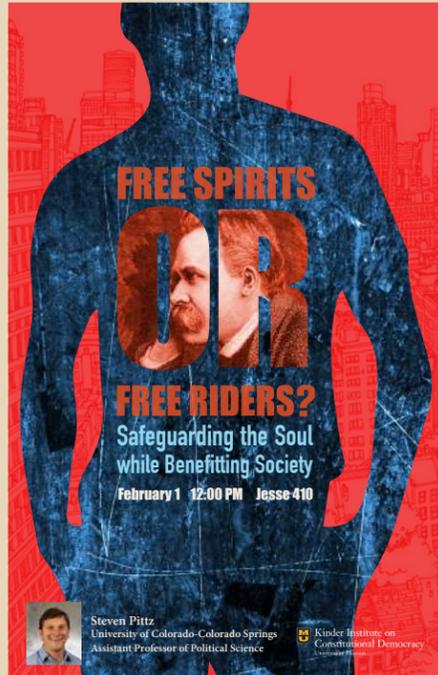
as carriers of cotton, tea, and opium into, out of, and between markets from which the British were barred, the U.S. utilized its neutral status to build new alliances and accrue greater market knowledge, which, combined with the introduction of bills of exchange, decreased American economic dependence and began ushering the United States toward a seat at the table within the global free trade system. On one hand, the experience shipping for Britain during the Opium War raised fundamental questions regarding the basis for diplomatic relations for figures like the Coolidges—in this case, whether to support the hegemon with whom the United States shared certain customs and history or the underdog who, like the U.S. in the eighteenth century, was subject to British aggression. Ultimately, though, the appetite for scale and profit that came with increased market participation governed the United States' approach to negotiating relationships in Canton. While Coolidge himself eventually came to endorse British aggression, the U.S., now fully converted to the gospel of free trade, sought to secure diplomatic stability with China in order to preserve and extend its burgeoning interests in the region. As Dr. Dierksheide noted in closing her talk, the 1844 Treaty of Wanghia—which, among other things, allowed the U.S. to buy land and erect churches in Chinese port cities, exempted U.S. citizens from Chinese law, and granted America "most favoured nation" status—embodied the United States' rise from a second-rate economic player to a commercial equal of Great Britain, capable of applying its laws, extending its values, and wielding its power in the marketplace far beyond its own borders.

The Rozier-Desloges Network: Missouri, the French Atlantic, and the Early Republic

Université de La Rochelle Associate Professor of History Tangi Villerbu

Understandably, Potosi, Missouri, might not be the first city one associates with tracing the evolution of the French Atlantic world. As Professor **Tangi Villerbu** showed in his January 28 talk at the Kinder Institute, however, much can be learned about the early republic by examining the connections forged between the western coast of France and what is now the eastern border of Missouri during the early nineteenth century. His particular subject was Ferdinand Rozier, son of a Nantes merchant who, along with Jean Jacques (soon to be John James) Audubon, landed in Philadelphia in 1806 in search of new economic opportunity. Drawn to investments in the Mississippi and Ohio River Valleys, Rozier's partnership with Audubon, as well as his time on the east coast, was short-lived, and he soon found himself in Ste. Genevieve, MO, surrounded by countrymen: merchant-refugees who had come north from Ste. Domingue, French priests who had fled the Revolution, and, soon after arriving, his nephew, Fernin Desloges. Together, Desloges, Rozier, and their offspring were at the center of a market revolution of sorts in eastern Missouri, purchasing and managing lead mines that integrated Potosi into major transnational trade routes: one running around the continent, from New Orleans to Philadelphia to New York, and another across it, from Louisville to Cincinnati to Pittsburgh. And it wasn't long before the influence of the Rozier-Desloges network spread into civic life, with Rozier's grandson running for U.S. Senate as a free-soil, Bentonian democrat opposed to the extension of slavery into the Western territories.





Free Spirits or Free-Riders? Safeguarding the Soul while Benefitting Society

University of Colorado-Colorado Springs Assistant Professor of Political Science
Steven Pittz

The first in what we hope will be a long run of Political Science colloquia, Professor **Steven Pittz** came to campus on February 1 to workshop an article-in-progress that examines the role and potential value of Nietzsche’s free spirit in political society. As he acknowledged in introducing his topic, there is a certain paradox that must be overcome—or, at the very least, that we must submit to grappling with—if we are to engage in the line of inquiry that animates his current research. At face value, the free spirit’s native attributes—namely political detachment and seclusion—would seem to suggest someone inherently apolitical: not a valuable contributor to political society, but instead a non-actor philosophically disengaged and even physically displaced from it. In providing a brief overview of his article’s argument, though, Prof. Pittz laid out a case for why we should not be in a hurry to de-value such detachment. Specifically, he noted how the independence of mind that free spirits demonstrate in prioritizing inward freedom can serve as a model for resisting the dominance of popular opinion by promoting skepticism and scrutiny. In their unique rebelliousness, he argued, free spirits can, in fact, combat those prevailing forces—political parties, media, marketing—that, when acting in concert on the public consciousness and spirit, present a threat of majority tyranny.

The Politics of Remembering: A Russian Poet on Facebook

University of Missouri Associate Professor of Russian Martha Kelly

For scholars who work at the intersection of literature and political life, the answer to the question guiding Professor **Martha Kelly’s** February 24 talk at the Kinder Institute—does poetry matter in the public sphere?—is (and has to be) self-evidently ‘yes.’ As Prof. Kelly would go on to demonstrate in presenting her research on Russian poet Olga Sedakova, though, the complexity and joyful nuance of this query lies in the sub-questions that it gives way to, namely: how and where can poetry be politically impactful?

For Sedakova in particular, the question of how poetry can matter must be placed in conversation with claims that her work’s radiant imagination and spiritual depth speak to its inherently apolitical, non-contributive nature (especially when set against the backdrop of the realism that characterizes large swaths of Russia’s present poetic landscape). Far from the case, Prof. Kelly argued that what critics deem escapist and impossibly disconnected about Sedakova’s poetry is actually indicative of a new language of politics and a new apparatus of memorialization that her work forges. The gentle desperation of a poem like Sedakova’s “A Mountain Lullaby,” for example, does not evade reckoning with historical trauma but instead constitutes a lyric mode of and voice for defying the patriotic, conservative suppression of unpleasant truths in which contemporary Russian political culture trades.

It is when we shift the frame to consider both how and where poetry can matter, Prof. Kelly continued, that we see more completely how Sedakova fashions remembrance as an act of resistance. For Sedakova, the answer to this question of where poetry matters—on Facebook of all places—might at first glance seem somewhat odd to American social media users accustomed to the platform’s critical thinness. As Prof. Kelly explained, however, Russian Facebook is actually a digital forum for public

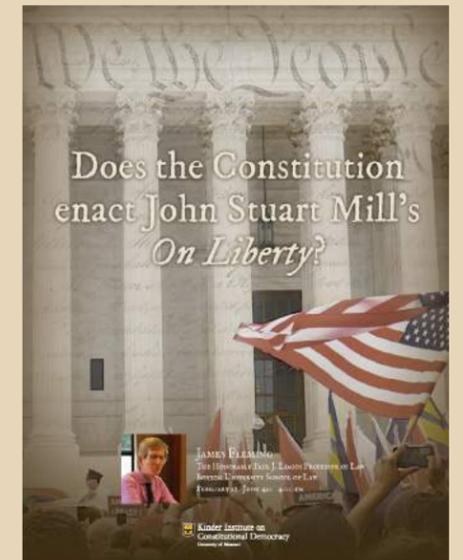


intellectuals: a space, that is, where dissident poetry is taken seriously. Within this new context, Sedakova’s Facebook timeline cannot be approached as an expression of whimsy but rather as an ongoing ritual of commemoration. Much like Sedakova’s description of the act of reading religious icons, as our gaze shifts from center-to-periphery on her timeline, we bear witness to a performance of weaving together and un-weaving the solemn and the ephemeral. As meaning disappears only to be re-constituted, we understand memory as a moral, religious, and political imperative—as, Prof. Kelly concluded, a means of un- and recovering repressed stories and thus resisting those forces which condemn citizens’ recollection of what is difficult about their shared history.

Does the Constitution Enact John Stuart Mill’s On Liberty?

Boston University Honorable Paul J. Liacos Professor of Law
James E. Fleming

Making the annual trek to his undergraduate stomping grounds, Professor **James E. Fleming** came to Columbia on February 28 to workshop a chapter from his book-in-progress, co-authored with Prof. **Linda C. McClain**, which sets out to “analyze classical controversies over law and morality as they have arisen in contemporary struggles for the rights of gay men and lesbians.” At the center of the chapter in question is a challenge to Chief Justice John Roberts’ claim in his dissenting opinion in *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015) that “[t]he Fourteenth Amendment does not enact John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty* any more than it enacts Herbert Spencer’s *Social Statics*.” As Prof. Fleming would argue in presenting his research, rather than mount a meaningful critique of the majority opinion in *Obergefell*, Chief Justice Roberts’ assertion regarding Mill and Spencer, a knowing echo of Justice Holmes’ dissent in *Lochner v. New York* (1905), constitutes a “rhetorical trope or meme” of convenience for opponents of substantive due process and moral readings of the Constitution. In instances like this one, he explained, Mill in particular is often invoked as a way to create the façade of a Court willing to subvert the Constitution by drawing on outside authorities to promote specific moral theories or views. This line of logic, Prof. Fleming countered, is “substantively fallacious” for a number of reasons, two of which he highlighted in his talk. (1) It entirely misstates how harm principle arguments have historically been made in substantive due process cases from *Meyer v. Nebraska* (1925) forward. If Mill contends that government restriction of individual liberty is valid only to prevent harm to others—if he wields the harm argument affirmatively, as a sword that strikes down moral legislation—the opposite is true in *Obergefell*, where Justice Kennedy’s claim in the majority opinion that same-sex marriage “poses no risk of harm to [the couples themselves] or third parties” functions defensively, “as a shield against extending liberties to activities that do threaten to impose harm on others or on institutions like marriage.” (2) It opens the door to falsely presenting substantive due process cases’ protection of autonomy as efforts to promote a romantically or comprehensively liberal and Millian “right to be different.” Or, conversely, claims of the Court enacting *On Liberty* ignore how substantive due process case law is constitutionally tethered to the common law interpretive practice of utilizing precedent and analogical reasoning to define and extend only those basic liberties “already protected for some to others in order to enable them to pursue the same noble purposes and moral goods.”



Countryside Capitalism: Why Economic Interests Determine Modern Rural Politics

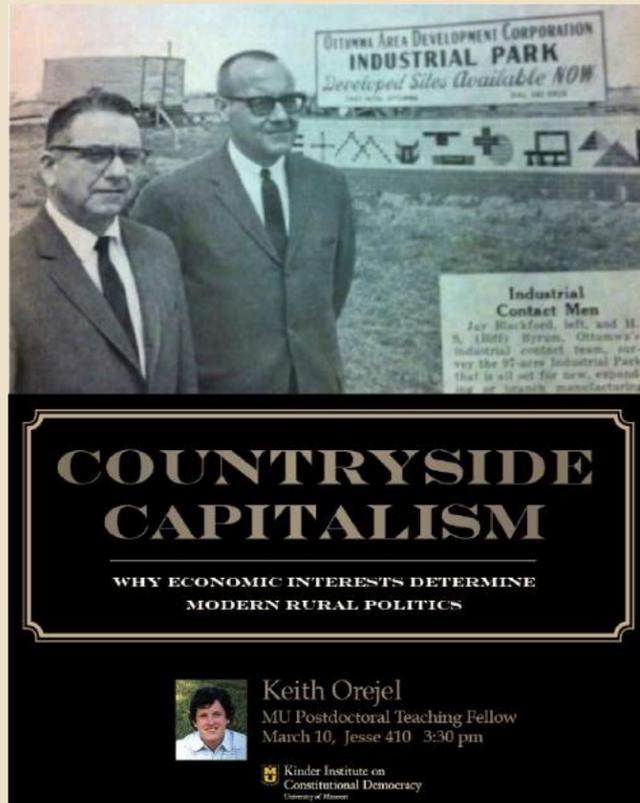
University of Missouri Postdoctoral Teaching Fellow in History Keith Orejel

In 1968, Richard Nixon gave a speech in Des Moines that, among other things, underscored the importance the Republican Party placed on carrying Iowa (along with the rest of the blue-turned Midwest) in a post-Barry Goldwater political landscape. As Professor **Keith Orejel** noted in introducing his March 10 presentation, not only did Nixon's speech acknowledge the economic decimation that the region's agricultural industry had experienced in the years since World War II. When analyzed with a backward glance, its content also reveals a fundamental contemporary misconception about small-town, heartland politics. More specifically, little (if any) mention was

made in Nixon's speech of the "guns and Bible" cultural politics that many have come to associate with the region in the wake of Thomas Frank's *What's the Matter with Kansas?* Instead, with promises of better schools and roads and more extensive public utilities—promises, that is, of government investment in infrastructure that would continue to catalyze industrial growth in the region—Nixon made an appeal to Midwestern economic rebirth that still very much resonates today.

As Prof. Orejel would go on to explain, the origins of Nixon's appeal can be traced back to a grassroots political movement started by small-town business leaders in the 1950s who aimed to reconstruct the rural economy—to solve the problems of outmigration and agricultural unemployment—by courting urban factories to relocate to the heartland. In unpacking this thesis, Prof. Orejel focused on Centerville, Iowa's Robert K. Beck, a newspaperman-turned pro-industrial development drum banger-turned gubernatorial hopeful. Beck and Centerville's shared narrative, he explained, was an all too familiar one in the 1940s-1950s Midwestern farm belt: when increased production failed to provide a solution to the structural revolution of the agricultural industry, small farmers sold out to their larger, technologically-endowed competition, and as a result, Centerville, like so many other cities at the time, saw its population decrease by nearly 50%.

From the ashes, though, was born Beck & Co.'s Iowa Development Commission (IDC) and its aggressive campaign to attract capital investment in the region through a self-described "middle of the road" platform of amenities that blended the pro-business "best" of New Deal liberalism and post-WWII conservatism: from the right, anti-union attitudes, low corporate taxes, and expensive subsidies; and from the left, an FDR-like commitment to liberal ideas about government spending on internal improvement. To some degree, the IDC's efforts paid off, with rural far outpacing urban industrial growth during the 1960s and 1970s and population in the area beginning to rebound as a result of new economic opportunities. And while Beck's own run at the governor's seat came up short, Prof. Orejel concluded by noting how his "better times ahead: and how" rhetoric not only laid out the path that Nixon would follow to victory in 1968 but also found its way into the most recent presidential election in the form of Trump's promises to restore America's manufacturing economy, in urban and rural areas alike, after its precipitous decline during the first decade of the new millennium.



ACADEMIC WORKSHOPS

In addition to a busy colloquium calendar (see pp. 8-12), we also hosted (or will soon host) our regular slate of regional conferences this spring. For the first 2017 meeting of the Missouri Regional Seminar on Early American History, Temple University Associate Professor of History **Jessica Roney** met participants in St. Louis on February 17 for what she described as a "dynamic and committed" conversation about her "Rogue State-Making: Settler Sovereignty, Union, and Disunion, 1769-1796," a chapter from her current book project which uses the late-eighteenth century Tennessee Valley as the setting for a case study that examines the questions and conflicts concerning autonomy and state-formation that arose between the federal government and settler communities as the United States began to push westward beyond the borders of the original thirteen colonies. The MRSEAH will re-convene in late-April for a discussion of Washington University Professor of History **David Konig's** current research on Jefferson's transformation from conservative protector of the status quo to radical reformer, which will be followed by Oklahoma University Assistant Professor of Classics & Letters **Andrew Porwancher's** dinner talk drawn from his current book project, *The Jewish Founding Father: Alexander Hamilton's Secret Life*.

The Kinder Institute's academic workshops will also go on the road this spring, with the third annual Shawnee Trail Regional Conference set to be held on April 13 in Austin, TX, as a mini-conference within the Southwest Social Science Association's yearly gathering. Recaps of both the April MRSEAH and the 2017 Shawnee Trail Conference will be provided in our summer newsletter, but for a teaser of the latter, see below for just a few of the many papers that will be discussed in Austin on panels examining topics ranging from "Interdisciplinary Perspectives on American National Identity" to "American Constitutionalism and Public Law" to "The American Founding."

"Legislative Elections in the Early Republic: 1789-1820," MU Political Science Professor and Kinder Institute Faculty Advisory Council member **Jay Dow**

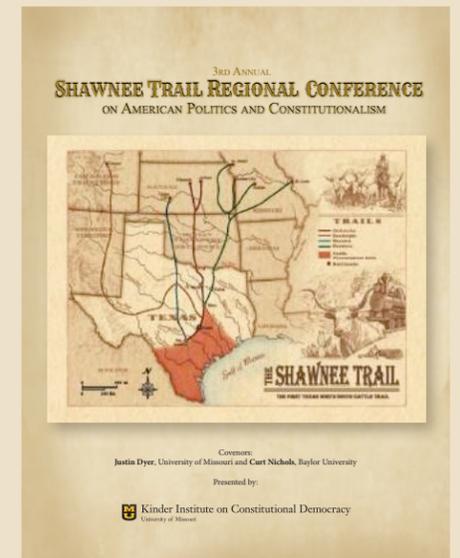
"Complication #2: The Double Troubled Presidency of Grover Cleveland, 1893-97," Baylor University Professor and former Kinder Research Fellow **Curt Nichols**

"American Anthem: An Examination of the Significance of the National Anthem for African American Identity and Nationhood," MU Professor of Black Studies **Stephanie Shonekan**

"Blackstone, Jefferson, and the Improvement and Perfection of the Common Law," Kinder Institute Associate Professor of Constitutional Democracy and MU Associate Professor of Law **Carli Conklin**

"Horizontal Rights: A Republican Vein in Liberal Constitutionalism," University of Texas at Austin PhD candidate **Christina Bambrick**

"Madison and the Disunity of Americans during the War of 1812," Kinder Postdoctoral and Research Fellows **Nick Drummond** and **Armin Mattes**



UNDERGRADUATE

Establishing any temporal frame of reference for spring undergraduate programming at the Kinder Institute is mostly a losing battle, as it requires not only frenetically navigating between tenses but, at times, also inventing new ones. In what we might call present tense programming, our 2016-17 fellows were taken on a journey into the “Land of Lincoln” by singer-songwriter **Chris Vallillo** during a March 15 preview of **Billy Coleman’s** *Playing the Past* community seminar (see p. 7 for more details), and also treated to a deep dive into Islamic philosophy by Salve Regina University Associate Professor **Khalil Habib**, whose February 13 lunch lecture on the Golden Age debate between Avicenna and Al-Ghazali over whether the world was created or eternal focused on the complexity of Plato and Aristotle’s influence on Islamic thought and culture in the formative era as well as questions, still being grappled with today, about the reconcilability of faith and reason.

At the midpoint between these two spring semester events, we got a rare (and exciting) glimpse into the future, with the coming and going of the February 28 application deadline for the 2017-18 Society of Fellows. We saw record (and then some) interest in the program this application cycle and look forward to introducing the new class of fellows to you in the Summer 2017 newsletter (and earlier than that on the Kinder Institute website).

As for the past, we recently partnered with former fellow and newly-minted Mizzou Alumni Center Representative **Gunnar Johnanson** on creating an affinity group that will put all past undergrad program participants in touch with one another and with us—some sooner rather than later at an April 4 dinner and Q&A in Jefferson City with new University of Missouri System President **Mun Choi**, sponsored by longtime friends of the Institute **Clyde and Sue Lear**.

In a tense trapped between present and future, this year’s class of Kinder Scholars have been meeting monthly with Undergraduate Programs Coordinator and Kinder Institute Associate Professor of Constitutional Democracy **Carli Conklin** to finalize



internship plans for the summer and to start building a cohort in advance of heading to the east coast in May.

And finally, in the “tense: undefinable” category, a sitting-room-only audience of undergraduates from all corners of the Mizzou campus packed the Kinder Institute seminar room on March 13 for a Q&A with the Honorable **John L. Murray**, formerly of the European Court of Justice and the Supreme Court of Ireland, where he served as Chief Justice. On the practical side, Justice Murray, who also served as Ireland’s Attorney General, fielded comparative questions about the enforcement of opinions, term limits, caseload, and the appointment process in Ireland, where there are no confirmation hearings. He also addressed a number of more philosophically- and geopolitically-oriented topics, touching, for example, on: the connection, in Ireland, between living constitution jurisprudence and a more easily amended national constitution; the effect Brexit might have on the Irish judiciary—“little,” he noted, though he added, “what it will be a catalyst for no one knows”; the precedence EU legislation and treaties hold over local laws and courts and the impact of this arrangement on national sovereignty; and the non-obstructive relationship between judicial philosophy and Ireland’s religious history.





HONORS COLLEGE COURSE SERIES

Amidst all the Fall 2016 goings on, there was one new initiative—an initiative at the very core of our mission—that didn’t get the coverage it deserved: our *Constitutionalism & Democracy* course series, undertaken in partnership with the MU Honors College. Constructed as an outlet for undergraduates interested in examining the ideas and events that shaped American politics and culture from before the Revolution through the aftermath of the War of 1812, the series kicked off last August with Kinder Institute Associate Professor of Constitutional Democracy **Carli Conklin’s** “POL SC 2450H: Intellectual World of the American Founders,” a course that focuses, in essence, on what the Founders were reading when they were founding. Perhaps more specifically, by exploring the work of heavy hitters from Aristotle through John Adams, students immerse themselves in the study of intellectual origins: in, that is, the process of tracing through to their conclusion (or conclusions) the same lines of inquiry in which the nation’s early leaders rooted their consideration of how to give new and innovative, but still practical, life to the most vitally important of concepts—law, justice, rights, government, and revolution, to name but a few.

In talking with students after the semester, we found that what resonated most was the course’s collective aspect: the aspect, in a sense, that most closely mirrors the image of a group of revolutionary thinkers cloistered in a Philadelphia state house charting the future of a nation. They spoke, for example, about how the class’ discussion format enhanced their approach to reckoning with difficult primary source texts. One student noted how, even in the absence of group projects as such, it was “one of the few classes in which I bonded with and knew everyone by name,” adding that “at first I was intimidated during discussion, but not anymore.” And in an echo of the empowering anxiety that we imagine attendees of the First Continental Congress might have felt, another student cited the creative autonomy allotted for giving form to formlessness as a strength of the class, acknowledging both a certain nervousness that came with a deliberately vague early assignment as well as the ultimate reward of instructions that “allowed me to figure things out myself.”

Based on whisperings around the office, it would seem that the series’ second installment, “HIST 2100H: The Revolutionary Transformation of Early America,” currently being taught by longtime MU Professor and Revolutionary War historian **John Bullion**, is off to an equally successful start, and we are already excited about 2017-18, when all four courses will be taught in the same academic year, “Intellectual World” and “POL SC 2455H: Constitutional Debates” in the fall, and “Revolutionary Transformation” and “HIST 2120H: The Young Republic” in the spring.

But why take things second hand? For anyone interested in reading along at home with the “Intellectual World” course next fall, see the sidebar to the right for five recommendations from undergraduate fellow and Kinder Scholar **Tricia Swartz**.

Tricia Swartz's Top 5 Readings from "Intellectual World of the American Founders"

1. Cicero, *On the Laws*—“After reading Cicero, I realized that I enjoy studying natural law philosophy.”
2. Locke, *Second Treatise of Government* and Price, *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty*—which ended up being the central texts of Tricia’s article for Vol. 3 of the *Journal on Constitutional Democracy*
3. Aristotle, *Politics*—“I believe Aristotle can inform our understanding of contemporary politics.”
4. *The Holy Bible*—“Some of my favorite readings were different texts, such as Biblical passages, that were part of the Founders’ education.”
5. Hooker, *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*—“This author helped me to understand the relationship between reason, natural law, and just governance.”



Q AND A

Kinder Institute Alum: Where are they now?

with Samantha Franks

Now that there's not a single soul from our first class of fellows still enrolled as an MU undergrad, we figured that it was high time that we tracked some of them down (read: that we were long overdue in tracking some of them down) for updates on what they have been doing since graduation. In what we hope will be a recurring newsletter feature, former undergraduate fellow and Kinder Scholar, and current Fulbright Scholar at Durham University, **Samantha Franks** emailed back-and-forth with Kinder Institute Communications Associate **Thomas Kane** about topics including her graduate studies, learning the nuances of a new political culture, the sad state of English breakfast food, and her jet-setting solution to this glaring problem. [Note: Some questions and answers have been edited for length.]

Thomas Kane: I realized as I was putting these questions together that I don't think I could produce a full description of what all the program you're doing entails. Can we start with the nuts-and-bolts? A description of the Fulbright and a brief glimpse into the kind of work you've been doing while you've been in the UK?

Sam Franks: Two things. The first is Fulbright. Studying as a Fulbright Scholar in the UK entails a couple of different responsibilities. You're supposed to serve as an ambassador between the United Kingdom and the United States, which means attending functions across the UK, if possible, to learn more about the culture of England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. You're allowed out of the country for fourteen non-weekend, non-holiday dates.

My Masters [at Durham] is in Peace Building and Conflict Prevention. That's essentially a fancier way of saying international relations, with a few twists. This program is focused on practicality over theory—i.e., whereas most IR programs in the UK are pretty theoretical, this looks at the tangible ways that we can make a more peaceful world. It consists of five “core” classes and three intensive seminars that we choose from a wider selection. (My extra seminars focused on international negotiation, conflict mediation, and reconciliation after conflict.)

The rest of the Masters is research based and will come in the form of a dissertation. My research is a direct result of the Kinder Institute: My dissertation looks at global constitutionalism and how constitutional law is used to rebuild societies after conflict, particularly focusing on whether the influence of American lawyers has a substantial impact on the development of human rights and, if so, if that influence is a good thing or whether it's perceived as a form of neo-colonial control. Right now, I'm looking at Northern Ireland, South Africa, and El Salvador as examples, but I'm sure it'll include more than those by the end.

Particularly when it came to forecasting vs. outcome, the Trump/Brexit narrative parallels were much discussed here, as I'm guessing they were there. I'd love to hear your thoughts on that, but on a more general level, I'm also really interested in hearing about what it's like for someone as engaged and aware as yourself to get a chance to learn/experience a new system of politics from the ground level. I can imagine it must be thrilling. How did you go about acquainting yourself with British politics? What nuances of discourse and concern have you noticed there that you don't see here?

It is really interesting attempting to learn the British system, though it's been harder to acquaint myself with than I expected. The British don't talk as openly about politics as we do, at least not to people that they don't know well. It helps that my boyfriend is British, because we talk about politics, but I'm in a little bit of a bubble in Durham. As for Brexit and Trump they do have a lot of similarities, but there are also some important differences.

For one, the discourse surrounding the outcome of the referendum isn't as violent—and I don't mean that in a literal sense, though I suppose there's something to be said about that too. What I mean is that Americans are loud and that shows. We protest, a lot. We talk, a lot. We post about politics on social media. The British don't do that quite as much. They feel as strongly, but they don't express it as openly.

There's also a distinct difference in patriotism, which I think is a nuance of the former point. This can be good or bad, but Americans—and particularly the kind that I hang out with, by which I mean students of politics—are patriotic. We love our country even when we hate it. I take politics really personally, and I don't think I'm alone in that. The British are a little bit more detached. Even when they're angry, they're angry at people, not at the country itself, and they don't have the level of fear or depression that I've seen in a lot of my friends. The flipside of that is that I know more Americans that are actively engaging in things like voter drives and such.

The discussions around race are also different. It's easy to say that Brexit is a result of racism, but that's a very American view—because we view racism very differently than British people do. We also view immigration very differently, and while we have a stronger fear of Russia, they have a more pragmatic wariness about it. There's also less of a fear of terrorism, which is interesting to me.

This is an unabashedly Kinder Institute-esque follow-up question, to be sure, but has/how has your knowledge of the foundations of American democracy and their evolution over time shaped this process of being an ex-pat engaged with and informed about local/national politics in the UK? And of equal (and probably greater) importance, how has enriched global perspective cast light back onto your previous studies, raising new questions and exposing new lines of global inquiry and international connection that I fear we too often gloss over (if we cover them at all) when considering/studying “American political history”?

Well, for one thing, I'm literally always stressed out about their lack of a written Constitution.

I think that the biggest thing I've learned is that America matters more and less than I thought it did. I learned in high school and college that America is ethnocentric. We really like ourselves. We're proud of our country in a way that not a lot of places are and we identify as American before we identify as anything else. Even when I was studying American politics, I tried to be very aware of that—and indeed, part of why I wanted to come abroad was to learn more about how we were viewed from across the ocean.

And then I came to Europe and I talk about America every single day, not just because I'm American, but because people here are interested and invested in America. People love us or people hate us or they fall somewhere in between, but they definitely have an opinion on us.

And they should—because America matters in a way that I didn't understand ten months ago.

We impact global policy hugely. We have a permanent seat on the Security Council in the UN, something that other nations have been fighting for since the UN's creation. We fund NATO. Our military budget allows for exponential scientific growth. Our lawyers fight in the International Criminal Court and the Hague, but when America is up for war crimes, we don't have to show up—and so we don't. We have built countries and we have destroyed them, and yet the average American doesn't think much about that. We're an insulated society. We're afraid of global terrorism and the rise of China but we don't know much about either.

It hasn't changed how I feel about America. I'm still proud of it. I still think our history is fascinating and I still think our politics are important. I still chafe at all the same injustices—but being in England has deepened my understanding of how we fit into the world.

It's a strange thing to think about, particularly in the context of my studies of the American founding. Our Founding Fathers were so intimately tied to the international community. We were an international society by the nature of being a colony, and we've called ourselves a melting pot for centuries, even though that's overly simplistic. And so, being here, I wonder about what happened. We live in a society that is more globalized than ever before, but as a society, we fight back against that. Because of Hollywood, and because of our schools, people still want to come to America, but I worry that it's a waning desire, and that concerns and hurts me as someone who genuinely loves the country. I spend a lot of my time in England telling people that America is already great and they should visit and I believe both of those things, but I think we need to expand how we think about American politics if we're going to survive as a world leader in the 21st century.



Lightning Round

The three books in arm's reach as you answer these questions?

Gonna cheat because there's a stack sitting next to me: *Grunt* by Mary Roach; *Milk and Honey* by Rupi Kaur; *Wintersong* by S. Jae-Jones; *The End of Power* by Moises Naim

The BBC TV show that we're not watching but that we should be watching?

Oh! This is also cheating because it's not out yet, but there's a show called "Shibden Hall" coming out soon and everyone should watch it. It's about a Victorian heiress who spent her twenties gallivanting around the world having adventures, then comes home to restore her family estate—and since she needs to marry, she decides to marry a woman of similar fortune. She's considered England's first modern lesbian and apparently it's a true story and I'm super interested in seeing how the BBC handles that.

Outside of family members/pets/friends, the one Missouri thing you're struggling to live without?

Breakfast. This isn't a Missouri thing necessarily, but I just really don't think English breakfasts hold a candle to ours.

Your European trip that we should be most jealous about?

Mwahaha. This is such good timing, especially because I haven't gone anywhere in the last few months. In the next month I am:

Going to Belfast for nine days to study terrorism; Meeting my college roommates in Paris, then going to London with them for a week; Coming back to Durham to meet up with some friends here, with whom I'll take a train up to Edinburgh; Then flying to Amsterdam to visit [fellow Kinder undergrad alum] **Kate Hargis** and the Hague and eat waffles; After which we're taking a plane to Salzburg to see where Mozart was born; Then going to Vienna to look at the national library; And ending in Germany, where we're going to see the castle that the Disneyland castle was based on and do some research on the Holocaust.

I'm very excited about all of that.

Favorite British political figure and why?

Nicola Sturgeon. She's the Prime Minister of Scotland and I love her. She's smart and witty and entirely dedicated to her people, especially in light of Brexit. If I ever run for office, I'd like to do half as well.

British slang that you're absolutely, 100% bringing back to the U.S. with you?

Oh man. I love British slang. My favorite thing they say is "shattered" instead of "tired," because it's just so incredibly dramatic.

JOURNAL ON CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY

Impacting the Inaugural: The Evolution of Presidential Farewell Addresses

by Jordan Pellerito

The Unity of Government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main Pillar in the Edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home; your presence abroad; of your prosperity; of that very Liberty which you so highly prize.¹

—George Washington, “Farewell Address”

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture has been the technological revolution during recent decades. In this revolution, research has become central; it has also become more formalized, complex, and costly.²

—Dwight Eisenhower, “Farewell Address”

In 1792, James Madison received a letter from President George Washington, who sought his advice on and assistance in constructing a valedictory address of modesty, thanks, and conclusion.³ Though he would serve as executive for eight years, Washington had held the presidency for only three of those before he confided in Madison and a select few that he wished to retire from public life.⁴ He was weary of formalizing a goodbye, as he feared it could be construed as painting his legacy in boastful strokes. Still, he deemed a proper parting necessary for a seamless transition of power due to the relatively new and fragile state of the country. Washington thus wished to issue a formal farewell that reiterated the broad ideals on which the country’s foundation was built and also addressed factors that could fracture this foundation—namely, partisan fighting, sectionalism, and foreign entanglement. Madison, following Washington’s guidelines, went on to draft a series of remarks that underscored republican objectives, issued warnings of potential

political dangers, and gave broad advice to the American people regarding choosing Washington’s successor(s). The President’s address was ultimately dedicated to the citizens as an explanation for his retirement, a conclusion of his legacy, and a reminder of national aspirations. Yet, by refraining from specific policy recommendations, it also seems to have been carefully designed to provide his successor, John Adams, the opportunity to mold the presidency in his own fashion without the pressure of precedent.

In 1960, the team of speechwriters preparing President Dwight Eisenhower’s farewell address received a letter from the President’s special assistant, Frederic Fox, which suggested that they consider George Washington’s farewell during the drafting process, as it seemed applicable to the time and might serve as a guide for Eisenhower’s own remarks.⁵ Just as Washington’s presidency was preceded by international conflict, so was Eisenhower’s, a circumstance that led both administrations to shape the farewell address into a speech that would ideally contribute to the maintenance of peace in a post-war world. The only general to be elected to America’s highest office in the twentieth century, and the first president to be legally term-limited, Eisenhower

seemed to conclude the World War era of American culture and politics, and usher in the Cold War era, placing him at an inflection point not wholly unlike the one Washington faced in 1796.

On one hand, a similarity of circumstance certainly led to a similarity of tone and content in the two presidents’ farewell addresses, with Eisenhower, like Washington, seizing the opportunity of a formal departure to refocus the United States on its most basic principles—unity and liberty. The two speeches, though, were anything but identical. In contrast to the relatively blank slate that Washington left for Adams to inscribe his own executive narrative on, Eisenhower went into far more extensive and specific policy recommendations for John F. Kennedy. What began in 1796 as a proper parting with citizens that reemphasized broad American ideals and aimed to provide ease and tranquility in the transition of power had, by 1961, evolved into a last-gasp opportunity to build upon a legacy by publicly burdening the successor with particular ideas for the future path of the country.

I.

Understanding the nature of Washington’s farewell address requires acknowledging that, while the American presidency was created with him in mind and thus became his to shape, he was often uncomfortable with that responsibility. James Madison recalled in a memorandum that Washington believed himself to be highly unqualified for the position and incapable of great political accomplishment without the help of those with more acumen than he, describing how “[Washington] had from the beginning found himself deficient in many of the essential qualifications.”⁶ I would argue that this humble confession of deficiency speaks directly to the content of his address. Washington’s belief that his opinion was no longer necessary to validate policy—and perhaps never was necessary in the first place—might explain, that is, why he chose to provide such broad ideals, rather than a specific path for the country, as guidance for his successor...

¹Washington, George. “Farewell Address - Transcription.” Papers of George Washington. N.p., n.d. Web. Fall 2016.

²Eisenhower, Dwight. “Transcript of President Dwight D. Eisenhower’s Farewell Address (1961).” Wwww.OurDocuments.gov. N.p., n.d. Web. Fall 2016.

³Washington, George. “Founders Online: To James Madison from George Washington, 20 May 1792.” National Archives and Records Administration. National Archives and Records Administration, n.d. Web. Fall 2016.

⁴Ibid

⁵Fox, Frederic. “Memorandum To: Mac Moos.” N.p., n.d. Web. Fall 2016.

⁶Madison, James. “Founders Online: Memorandum on a Discussion of the President’s Retirement, 5 Ma ...” National Archives and Records Administration. National Archives and Records Administration, n.d. Web. Fall 2016.



NEWS IN BRIEF

James Endersby and **Bill Horner** receive 2017 Missouri Conference on History Book Award for *Lloyd Gaines and the Fight to End Segregation* . . . MU Press title *John Henry Wigmore and the Rules of Evidence* named Scribes Book Award Honorable Mention by the American Society of Legal Writers . . . Former Kinder Scholar and Fellow **Nora Faris** named Truman Scholarship Finalist . . . Congrats to Prof. **Adam Seagrave** on the publication of *The Accessible Federalist* . . . 2017 Kinder Scholar **Jane Kielhofner** interviewed by MU Health Professions on her upcoming summer in DC . . . *Columbia Business Times* profiles the Kinder Institute . . . Prof. **Jonathan Sperber** on “The Failed Promises of 1989 and Politics in 2016” . . . Institute Director **Justin Dyer’s** *Guide to the Missouri Constitution* is out on W.W. Norton & Co and Prof. **Steve Watts’** *JFK and the Masculine Mystique* is out on Macmillan . . . Former undergrad fellow, and current Fulbright Scholar, **Sam Franks** publishes an open letter of thanks to Joe Biden in the *Huffington Post*. *All this and more at democracy.missouri.edu.*

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For more information about contributing to the Kinder Institute, please feel free to contact Director Justin Dyer, DyerJB@missouri.edu



STARTINGPOINTS

A Journal of American Principles & American Practices
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With articles that range in topic from “The Unexceptional Nation: Donald Trump and Making America Great Again,” to “Confronting Globalization: Brexit and the American Revolution,” to “Abraham Lincoln and Charles Darwin,” *Starting Points*, the recently launched editorial venture of Kinder Institute Associate Professor **Adam Seagrave**, has already begun to realize its goal of “taking the long view of American political life by connecting recent events and issues in the U.S.” both to scholarship on the American founding and to the global context and importance of American constitutionalism. We invite everyone to check out the new project at startingpointsjournal.com.



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