



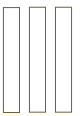
KINDER INSTITUTE
on CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY



NEWSLETTER | SUMMER 2018



The COLUMNS



Kinder Scholars D.C. Summer Program

As usual, Kinder Institute Director of Undergraduate Studies **Carli Conklin** and Director **Justin Dyer** made the trip out to D.C. for the June 5 kickoff of the 2018 Kinder Scholars program, and (also as usual) they were followed throughout the remainder of the summer by a steady wave of MU faculty members who descended on the capital to teach a week of the “Beltway History & Politics” seminar that all program participants are required to take. A full syllabus for the seminar can be found on the Kinder Institute website, but it tackled everything from broad concepts (“Economic Equality” with Prof. **Devin Fergus**) to major events (“The Civil War

In Fall 2016, when we brought in our first two Kinder Institute faculty members, we only had the future in mind. But this is academia, and forward-looking vision can quickly transform into fond recollection. And so it’s with obvious sadness—but also, and far more importantly, the utmost gratitude—that we announce that **Adam Seagrave** will depart Columbia in August to take on the new role of Associate Director of Arizona State University’s School of Civic and Economic Thought and Leadership.

A brief note in a newsletter does no justice at all to everything Adam has done while at the Kinder Institute over the past two years, but it would likewise be unjust not to make mention of some of his accomplishments. As thousands of readers a day would attest to, *Starting Points*, the online journal he created from scratch, has quickly become a go-to source for insight into connections between contemporary political life and the guiding ideas and ideals of the American republic. “Race and the American Story,” a one-credit hour topics class that Adam co-developed with then Chair of Black Studies Stephanie Shonekan, profoundly impacted discourse on the MU campus. And somewhere in between starting a journal, developing curriculum, and teaching oversubscribed undergraduate courses in the Political Science Department, he has also managed to make progress on a major book project that breaks new ground in how we understand the lasting and evolving legacy of the nation’s intellectual and political traditions..

It goes without saying that Adam will be sorely missed on the fourth floor of Jesse Hall and in classrooms across campus. But this is also an incredible and well-deserved opportunity for a tremendous colleague, and we wish Adam nothing but the best in

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Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy
University of Missouri

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this new endeavor and fully expect to get a steady stream of news about his achievements down in Tempe.

And while we’re at it, there are a few more goodbyes that need to be bid. As is the case every two years, our postdoctoral fellow roster is experiencing a full overhaul. **David Golemboski** and **Billy Coleman**, first-rate scholars and even better officemates who have been with us since 2016, will be heading out to Augustana University and University of British Columbia, respectively (and keep an eye out in the next year or so for Billy’s first book, *Harnessing Harmony: Music, Politics, and Power in the United States, 1788-1865*, on University of North Carolina Press). And while a trio of graduate fellows—**Henry Tonks**, **Ed Green**, and **Aaron Kushner**—will be coming back for another turn around the sun, our two 2017-18 Dissertation Fellows, **Craig Forrest** and **Ted Masthay**, will be leaving the grad student bullpen in Jesse Hall 401 for new climes next year. See pp. 3-4 for the new postdoc and grad fellows who will fill these desks in August.



FACULTY & GRADUATE STUDENTS

2018-19 Postdoctoral Fellows

Luke M. Perez completed his Ph.D. at the University of Texas at Austin and is also a 2018 Lincoln Fellow with the Claremont Institute. Luke’s research focuses on religion, political theory, and U.S. foreign policy, and his dissertation examines the rise of religious freedom as a core component to American grand strategy. While at Texas, he was a graduate fellow of the University’s Center for Politics and Governance and Clements Center for National Security, and he served during the 2016-2017 academic year as a graduate fellow with the Donald Rumsfeld Foundation. A native of California, Luke completed his B.A. in Greek and Latin at The Ohio State University and his M.A. in Political Philosophy at Villanova University. Prior to his doctoral studies, he worked for the Jack Miller Center in Philadelphia, PA, and he is a 12-year veteran of the Air National Guard. Luke joins the Kinder Institute as a 2018-2019 Postdoctoral Fellow in Political Thought & Constitutionalism.

Rodolfo (Rudy) Hernandez earned his B.A. in Liberal Arts from St. John’s College in Annapolis, MD, and his Ph.D. in Political Science from Louisiana State University. His work focuses on political theory and American political development, and his dissertation considers the political economy of Abraham Lincoln’s thought, especially as it relates to the principle of equality expressed by the Declaration of Independence. As a graduate student, he was awarded the Huel D. Perkins Fellowship by LSU and the Richard M. Weaver Fellowship by the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. Rudy previously taught as a Visiting Instructor at Louisiana Tech University and as a Senior Lecturer at Texas State University, and he also has prior government experience, including serving in Americorps, working as a tax examiner in the U.S. Treasury Department, and eight years in the U.S. Army Reserve. He joins the Kinder Institute as a 2018-2019 Postdoctoral Fellow in Political Thought & Constitutionalism.

John Suval earned his Ph.D. in History from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. His research interests include Jacksonian political culture, the American West, public lands, and the nature of democracy, and his dissertation—“Dangerous Ground: Squatters, Statesmen, and the Rupture of American Democracy, 1830-1860”—explores how white squatters on western lands came to occupy a central and destabilizing position in U.S. political culture in the decades leading up to the Civil War. John’s work has appeared in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, and numerous other publications. He has received support for his research from the Bancroft Library, University of Chicago Library Special Collections Research Center, Kansas State Historical Society, Library Company of Philadelphia, Oregon Historical Society, and other institutions. He joins the Kinder Institute as a 2018-19 Postdoctoral Fellow in Political History.



2018-19 Graduate Fellows



Nicholas Brothers is a fourth-year Ph.D. student in the MU Department of Political Science, focusing on American politics and international relations, with particular research interest in the formation and internal workings of interest groups and social movements in the U.S. and throughout the world, especially those involved with environmental activism and land use. A long-time Missouri resident, he attended Missouri Western State University, graduating with a degree in Political Science. He was also the first graduate of MWSU to attain a minor in Peace and Conflict Studies, an interdisciplinary field with areas of focus in Political Science, Religious Studies, and Legal Studies. Nicholas presented his own research at the Southwestern Social Science Association's annual conference in 2017, and research he co-authored was presented at the Midwest Political Science Association conference in 2015. He joins the Kinder Institute as a Fall 2018 Dissertation Fellow in American Politics.



Jordan Butcher received her B.A. in American Political Studies from Drury University and is currently a Ph.D. candidate in MU's Department of Political Science. Her research focuses on legislative institutions, and specifically on how various factors constrain the function of a legislature, and her dissertation explores the topic of term limits and how they influence state legislatures by examining components of legislative institutionalization and professionalization. She joins the Kinder Institute as a Spring 2019 Dissertation Fellow in American Politics.



Joseph Ross completed his B.A. in History at The Ohio State University and his M.A. in History at Ohio University, and he joins the Kinder Institute as a 2018-2019 Ph.D. Fellow in Political History. His research focuses on the early American West from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, with particular attention paid to how political and economic ideologies informed the policies of Great Britain and the United States; how those policies remained the same or changed over time; and the effects they had on Native American relations and western land development. He is also interested in the emergence of the early American state on the frontier and how federal institutions like the land office became sites for political development in the western territories. In his spare time, he enjoys hiking, kayaking, film, and retro video gaming.

PUBLIC LECTURES & CONFERENCES

The summer newsletter is always (and understandably) a little light on event reporting, but the three recaps that we have this time around speak directly to the growth that the Kinder Institute has experienced over the last three years: a recap of our first ever inaugural Distinguished Research Fellow lecture, a recap of our first ever international book conference, and a recap of our biggest ever Summer Teachers Academy.



Democracy in the Age of Jefferson
CUNY Graduate Center Professor and
2017-18 Kinder Institute Distinguished
Research Fellow Andrew W. Robertson

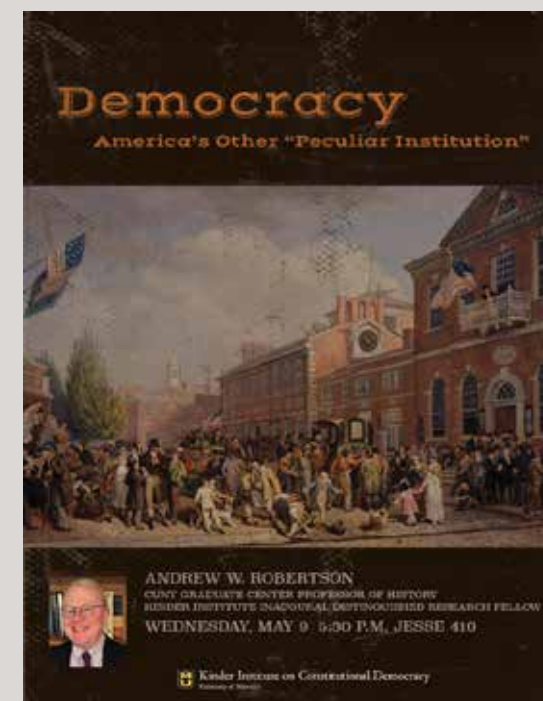
It was fitting that CUNY-Graduate Center and Lehman College Professor **Andrew W. Robertson** began his inaugural Distinguished Research Fellow lecture with an homage to someone over 1,200 miles away: Dr. Philip Lampi of the American Antiquarian Society,

whose tireless efforts to collect local, state, and national election returns from the ages of Adams and Jefferson—returns once thought lost to history—are responsible for the source material for the book that Prof. Robertson was at work on while at the Kinder Institute.

As he described over the course of his May 9 talk, the 500,000-plus individual voting records that Dr. Lampi has un-earthed and digitized on the *New Nation Votes* website since embarking on his search allow us to push back against the once commonly-held belief that the parties, elections, and voting behaviors of the founding era and early republic were simply embryonic versions of Jacksonian politics. Dr. Lampi's discovery of "The Lost Atlantis of American Politics" thus enables us, Prof. Robertson continued, to minimize the role that teleology plays in discussions about democracy in the age of Jefferson and more dutifully attend to the idiosyncrasies that characterize pre-1824 elections.

In working toward the larger conclusions that we can begin to draw from studying the particularity or peculiarity of Jeffersonian-era politics, Prof. Robertson first identified four defining traits of elections during the period: that they were heavily issue-driven and marked by consistently high voter turnout; and that they exhibited both strong party competition and a sustained sense of party identification among citizens. As a result of these traits, he explained, early 19th-century electoral maps are patchworked along a variety of lines—pre-existing colonial rivalries, economic divisions, and party solidarity rooted not only in domestic issues but also in transatlantic modes of political affiliation.

And especially when it comes to cracking the puzzle of high voter turnout, the Lampi data adds new and de-mystifying layers of nuance to the process of thinking through the relationship between the extension of suffrage to all white males and what Prof. Robertson termed the "high tide" of Jeffersonian democracy. Specifically, and contrary to popular assumption, looking at peak turnout data vs. suffrage extension dates reveals no timely correlation



between the two but instead underscores the idiosyncratic narrative of political participation in the early United States and the importance of considering the variety of factors that drove it. For example, Prof. Robertson cited how upward trends in northeastern turnout might be traced back at least in part to the rise of a new deliberative regime—regional newspapers that gave a more aggressive voice and typography to electoral culture (a voice, he added, that we neither "hear" nor see reflected in voting data south of the Potomac).

In addition, and as he explored in closing his talk, the *New Nation Votes* data sheds light on an electoral story rarely told in American history textbooks. Using the example of New Jersey to contextualize the potential consequences of a shift from a Lockean, property-based notion of voting rights toward an Athenian, ascriptive notion, Prof. Robertson showed how the Republican-encouraged extension of suffrage to all white males actually narrowed the franchise. Why? Because it excluded propertied women and free blacks who, up until that point, had access to the polls in New Jersey (and who made up a reliable Federalist voting bloc). And so, he concluded, as democracy expanded on one axis, it contracted on another, a peculiarity that speaks to how the redemptive promise of the new political system was continually compromised by the nation's original sin.



*Cambridge History of America & the World
Book Conference*

“This is the time for this project.” So began the May 17-19 conference for the second, 19th-century volume of Cambridge University Press’ ambitious, four-volume series, *Cambridge History of America and the World*. As Kinder Institute Chair **Jay Sexton** described in his introductory remarks for the conference, the second volume, which he’s co-editing with longtime collaborator **Kristin Hoganson** of University of Illinois, provides an opportunity to disprove once and for all the misguided perception of the 19th century as the “great desert” of American foreign relations. To do this, he explained, requires destroying celebratory, Whiggish interpretations of U.S. history that anachronistically project the nation’s 20th-century power back onto its ante- and postbellum narratives. And displacing these accounts will require the dogged commitment to scholarly pluralism that both editors noted was already beginning to shine through in the volume’s first chapter drafts, which exchange the one-dimensionality of previous approaches to understanding America and the world in the 19th century for histories that focus on volatility, unpredictability, and contingency, and that draw out the countless ways in which American politics were conditioned by external forces during this period.

Session Notes

Session 1: “Situating the U.S. in the World,” Christa Dierksheide (Chair)

Fittingly, Indiana University Associate Professor of History **Konstantin Dierks** opened the session on “Situating the U.S. in the World” with a discussion of the commercial innovations in material culture that made it possible for the very notion of a world in which the U.S. was situated to be envisioned. As he explained, an early-century sentiment of global indifference in America was due at least in part to the fact that, in 1820, very few U.S. citizens had access to images of a world beyond their own small radii of movement. By 1850, however, mass production and competitive industry formation ensured that maps and globes were no longer luxuries of the elite classes and instead semi-fixtures in American homes and classrooms. With this, how people noticed the world and what they knew of it slowly gathered

nuance. And as expectations began to form concerning what people would do with this new knowledge, a number of other outward-facing outlets emerged. The lyceum movement of the mid-19th century, for example, was imagined as an international lecture circuit; print culture increasingly placed the world in front of American eyes and vice versa, as networks of publication exchange developed; and the federal government assumed more agency in the production, collection, and diffusion of global knowledge through the creation of institutions like the Smithsonian. And as Prof. Dierks noted in concluding the summary of his chapter on “Geographic Understandings,” these advances point to a second question that his chapter must grapple with: one of distance vs. interaction and how much Americans’ greater knowledge of the world actually involved encounters with other people living in it.

In introducing his work on “Borderlands and Border Crossings,” University of New Mexico Associate Professor of History **Sam Truett** touched first on his overarching goal of recovering what we don’t typically associate with the idea of a borderland: how they were often amphibious, shifting shape between terrestrial and aqueous, or how they could be more ‘node’ than ‘land’ (the idea, for example, of a port as a borderland). He then went on to outline some of the eras and liminal spaces that his chapter examines and preliminary takeaways that arose in the course of his early research. For example, he noted how the primacy of national identity was called into question as he explored the post-Revolution contest for and movement across the borders between Georgia and West Florida and between Spanish Louisiana and Anglo Kentucky; progressing toward the Louisiana Purchase, he stressed the possibility of the first American frontier being maritime, as well as the critical role that indigenous peoples played in negotiating and legislating the “water world” of borders in the interior, particularly the Lakota, who dictated who moved up and down the Missouri River; and he explained how, in looking southward toward post-independence Mexico, he began to consider the extent to which people were crossing borders to stay on the other side vs. the extent to which border crossing was an incorporative mechanism. And while his chapter was already close to the allotted word count, there were still many other borders that could be woven into it and subsequent issues that could be broached: questions of race and the gold rush, Asian and Mormon exclusion, and how a transnational America was knit together by the railroads, to name only a few.

To wrap up the first panel, **Ian Tyrrell**, Scientia Professor in University of New South Wales’ School of Humanities & Languages, laid out some of the considerations, definitions, and reservations that drove his approach to the topic of “Inter-imperial Entanglements in the age of Imperial Globalization”: that we must be careful in how we wield the term globalization in order to ensure that due attention is paid to the process’ unevenness, periods of regression, and animating forces beyond the economic; that empire is not purely legal but must be defined in terms of the use of coercive force to change the sovereignty of a people; that, while it might not be a singularly self-determining factor, technological innovation—the completion of the Suez Canal, the increasing global ubiquity of telegraph cables, the emergence of the steamship—accounts for much of why U.S. relations with the wider world sped up in the second half of the 19th century; and finally, in a point much discussed in Q&A, that conceiving of the U.S. as an empire





requires acknowledgement of the vital significance of both its rivalry with, and the tutelage it received from, its British counterpart.

Session 2: “North American History as Foreign Relations History,” Catherine Rymph (Chair)

- **Nicholas Guyatt** (University of Cambridge), “The United States Between Nation and Empire, 1776-1820”
- **Brian DeLay** (University of California-Berkeley), “Foreign Relations Between Indians, 1820-1900”
- **Jeffery Ostler** (University of Oregon), “Settler Colonialism”

Session 3: “Empire of Liberty,” Daive Dunkley (Chair)

As Dartmouth College Professor and Chair of History, and Kathe Tappe Vernon Professor in Biography, **Bob Bonner** noted in introducing his chapter on “Slavery and Empire,” the binary of slavery vs. free soil must, of course, be at the center of any parsing of 19th-century political contestation both within the U.S. and between America and the world. At the same time, though, there is room for the frame to be enlarged. As he outlined both in his presentation and during Q&A, to fully understand the spatial dynamics of imperial projects during this period, we must also think beyond those that were explicitly pro-extension or pro-abolition and consider empire-building objectives not directly connected to slavery (the relationship in the United States, for example, between territorial expansion and national security).

Discussion of opposition to the evils of slavery and the slave trade would continue throughout the remainder of the panel. Following Prof. Bonner’s opening volley, Vanderbilt University Andrew Jackson Professor of History **Richard Blackett’s** presentation on “The Antislavery International” focused on the development of institutions capable of pressuring change through global cooperation. On one hand, this methodology of understanding “what people think by way of what they do” reveals an expansive 19th-century effort to construct a moral cordon around the U.S., with the goal of isolating America from the liberal world until it finally deemed slavery ethically indefensible (or, in the oft-used metaphor of the time, an effort to construct a ring of fire around the States until the scorpion of slavery stung itself to death). This approach, Prof. Blackett pointed out, also widens the spectrum of voices associated with the antislavery movement to include ex-U.S. slaves, Caribbean abolitionists, and working-class citizens of Great Britain who, as he notes at the beginning of his chapter, had been on the front lines of attacking the institution since the late 18th century.

Rounding out the “Empire of Liberty” panel, recent Yale History Ph.D. **Alice Baumgartner**, who will assume an assistant professorship at University of Southern California in Fall 2019 after a postdoctoral year at Harvard, offered a corrective to what have become default historiographical approaches to her topic, “The



Mexican-American War.” For too long, she noted, scholars have shoehorned the War into two parallel, national-historical frameworks—as a crushing defeat for Mexico, and as a harbinger of sectional conflict in the U.S. And while these approaches aren’t wholly unfit for their task, they do obscure important lines of intersection between the two sides. Specifically, more dutifully attending to the dialogue between these two frameworks for understanding unlocks the geopolitical importance of the Mexican government’s responding to the secession of Texas by abolishing slavery throughout the country. The reverberations of this 1837 (not 1829) decision were felt throughout the next three decades in the United States, most notably as a pre-Civil War philosophical and political obstacle to expansion. As Prof. Baumgartner argued, because of the abolition of slavery in Mexico, not to mention the widespread international support it garnered, the U.S. was faced with a pair of risks: the Wilmot Proviso-inspired risk of fanning the flames of sectional conflict by banning slavery in any future Mexican territorial acquisitions or the risk of enraging the global community by establishing slavery where it had already been abolished and, in doing so, violating the moral order of the world. More comprehensively acknowledging the rhetorical and tactical significance of abolition in Mexico, she concluded, thus eschews the reductive Mexican-American War-as-strength vs. weakness narrative for one in which Mexico is by no means powerless but rather serves as a key cog in understanding the structural causes of the Civil War.

Session 4: “The Reconfiguration of the Atlantic,” Skye Montgomery (Chair)

- **Brian Schoen** (Ohio University), “Containing Young Hercules: The U.S. and the World in the Civil War Era”
- **Leslie Butler** (Dartmouth College), “The Liberal North Atlantic”
- **Donna Gabaccia** (University of Toronto), “Transatlantic Migrations, 1820-1940”

Session 5: “The Nation State in Global Context,” Billy Coleman (Chair)

- **David Sim** (University College London), “Integration & Opportunities, Failure & Discontent, 1865-1895”
- **Max Edling** (King’s College London, in absentia), “The American Fiscal-Military State and the Conquest of a Continent, 1783-1900”
- **Dirk Bönker** (Duke University), “The Military and U.S. Engagements with the World, 1865-1900”
- **Eileen Scully** (Bennington College), “Legal Frameworks”

Session 6: “Beyond the Continent,” Craig Smith (William



Woods University, Chair)

- **John Lawrence Tone** (Georgia Tech), “America’s First Overseas Empire”
- **JoAnna Poblete** (Claremont Graduate University), “The American Island Empire”
- **Luis Martinez Fernández** (University of Central Florida), “America in the Greater Caribbean, 1763-1900”

Session 7: “Cross-border Connections,” Jeff Pasley (Chair)

Leading off the panel, Michigan State University Assistant Professor of History **Emily Conroy-Krutz** laid out the primary thematic spokes of her chapter on “Missionary Ventures and Religious Associations,” which examines what America in the 19th-century world looked like (and what the 19th-century world looked like to Americans) through the lens of religious actors in global spaces. Though not at all a full list of what the chapter will tackle, included among the broad subject headings that Prof. Conroy-Krutz drew out were: differing visions of missionary objective, and specifically the “Christ vs. culture” or evangelization vs. civilization question; issues related to the selection of locations for missionary work—why, for example, India before Africa; missionaries as producers of knowledge about the world for Americans at home; the role of women in missionary movements of the era, both as potential converts and active participants; and missionary ventures as a means of international institution building.

Texas A&M University Associate Professor of History **Brian Rouleau** then discussed his work on “Mobilities: Travel, Tourism, and Expatriation,” a title that functions in some respects as a condensed, almost mathematical version of the progression through time that his chapter examines. Using three travel narratives as organizing pillars—Richard Dana’s *Two Years Before the Mast*, Mark Twain’s *Innocents Abroad*, and



William Wells Brown's *The American Fugitive in Europe*—Prof. Rouleau's chapter tracks a critical pivot in how Americans interacted with the world, from labor-oriented travel toward tourism and expatriation. While sailors were arguably the first generation of American foreign relations conductors, this form of working-class diplomacy collapsed after the Civil War with the demise of the merchant marine and the steep decline in U.S. whaling ventures. As Prof. Rouleau explained, if tourists and ex-patriots would ultimately replace sailors as bridges between America and the world, how they did so was drastically different, with many of the latter, including ex-slaves like William Wells Brown, pushing back against the exceptionalist, sometimes jingoistic narratives that tourists from the elite classes trafficked in.

The second volume's "Cross-border Connections" section will

also include a pair of "in absentia" papers from the conference: University of Toronto Professor of History **Daniel Bender's** "Flowers for Washington: Cultural Production, Consumption, and the U.S. in the World," and Trinity College Assistant Professor of American Studies **Christina Heatherton's** "Radical and Resistance Politics."

Session 8: "Forms and Means of Engagement,"
Victor McFarland (Chair)

- **Dael Norwood** (Binghamton University), "Commerce, Trade, Investments, and Finance"
- **Peter Shulman** (Case Western Reserve University), "Technologies and American Foreign Relations in the Nineteenth Century"
- **Andrew Isenberg** (University of Kansas), "The Environment, the United States, and the World in the Nineteenth Century"
- **Tessa Winklemann** (UNLV, in absentia), "Intimate Fictions and Realities in the United States Colonial Histories"

Session 9: "In an Imperial World," Dominic Yang (Chair)

- **Jeannette Jones** (University of Nebraska), "To enter America from Africa and Africa from America': The United States and Africa, 1807-1900"
- **Karine V. Walther** (Georgetown University), "Islamic World Encounters"
- **Bruce Cummings** (University of Chicago, in absentia), "East Asian Engagements"
- **Madeline Hsu** (University of Texas, in absentia), "Diplomacy and the Origins of Asian Immigration Restrictions"



Missouri Summer Teachers Academy



Officially in the books, our third annual Summer Teachers Academy brought high school educators from all over the state—from Trenton to Ste. Genevieve to Willard, and from Kansas City to St. Louis—to Columbia to spend June 12-14 studying Missouri history alongside Mizzou faculty and invited guests of the Kinder Institute and Missouri Humanities Council, our co-sponsors for the event. In addition to the regular seminars, teachers also were treated to an historic campus tour with MU Emeritus Director of Admissions **Gary Smith**, a pair of lunch discussions with incoming Kinder Postdoc **Luke Perez** and KBIA Senior Reporter **Kristofor Husted**, and a keynote dinner lecture on "The State the Union Couldn't Swallow" with Kinder Institute Associate Director **Jeff Pasley**. Though not full recaps, included in the list of seminars that follows are some of the highlights from those sessions that we were able to sneak out of the office to attend.

Session 1: "Border State Conservatism and Political Abolition during the Civil War," with Kinder Institute Grad Fellow in American Political History **Zach Dowdle**

...In a letter to ally James Broadhead written in the wake of his failed 1857 run at the Missouri Governor's office, a race he lost to Democrat and New York transplant Robert Stewart, James Sidney Rollins chalked his defeat up to being soft on slavery and suggested to Broadhead that he would become electable only by out-slaving the slave democracy. The idea appalled the letter's reader, but it was a strategy that Rollins would nonetheless deploy, appealing to pro-slavery sentiment in the heart of the state on his way to winning the 1860 and 1862 House elections. And at least initially, this would continue while Rollins was in D.C., where, as a Constitutional Unionist, he may have been dismayed by southern secession but still voted and spoke out against efforts to end slavery.

And then, on January 31, 1865, everything changed, and Rollins cast a critical swing vote that led to the passage of the 13th Amendment. But why? What happened in the six or so months between June 1864, when he voted against the Amendment, and January 1865? As Dowdle argued, there are various approaches we can take to answering this question. On one hand, from a perspective of political maneuvering, appealing to pro-slavery Missourians had become strategically moot. Not only had Rollins committed to retire from politics, but Missouri had also abolished slavery in the state just weeks before the January vote in the House. At the same time, though, the rhetoric that Rollins used in speaking to Congress and the press about the need to abolish slavery suggests at least some moral motivation underlying his shift. He thanked God, for example, that the nation would no longer defend such a heinous violation of natural rights, and he would later publicly champion fellow Missouri Representative John Brooks Henderson, the author of the Thirteenth Amendment, for crafting a text Rollins deemed as heroically important as the Declaration of Independence...

Session 2: “The Political Crisis of the 1850s along the Missouri-Kansas Border,” MU Professor of History and Kinder Institute Chair in Constitutional Democracy **Jay Sexton**

...Often overlooked in conversations about the violent, pre-Civil War chaos that broke out along the border of Kansas and Missouri are the international changes that helped trigger it. By the late 1840s, Prof. Sexton explained, the U.S. had become a secure power for the first time in its history, a fact that is significant here for how it underscores the degree to which American statecraft during the late-18th and early-19th centuries was driven by fear of international threats to the young nation. Particularly in the territories east and then west of the Mississippi, concerns that foreign intervention could fragment the union—that settlers’ political allegiance might be for sale to the highest bidder—led the United States to prioritize stability over meaningfully addressing the issue of slavery. And as seen in the Northwest vs. Southwest Ordinances, this resulted in the U.S. “leading from behind” when it came to territorial policy, deferring to existing labor practices or structures in legislating slavery in new states.

The Mexican-American War, Prof. Sexton went on to note, marks a critical, though also somewhat overlooked, inflection point in this narrative. That Great Britain not only supported but also financed the nation’s post-war acquisition of California and other western territories points to a broader shift in European interest away from testing the United States’



authority and toward fostering—and profiting from—North American economic development. With this, the need to promote geopolitical security at all costs could no longer reasonably serve as a binding force of nation for the U.S. and, in turn, the slave question could no longer be sidestepped. Instead, it would become immediately central to national administration, and as the federal government feebly attempted to address this question—with the Compromise of 1850 and the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act—a cycle of violence was quickly developing in and around Lawrence...

Session 3: “Mormonizing Political and Religious Dissent in 19th-century Missouri,” Arent Fox LLP Attorney **Stephen S. Davis**

Session 4: “Missouri’s Native Population in the Early 19th Century,” Missouri State Archives Curator of Exhibits and Special Projects **Greg Olson**

Session 5: “The Disestablishment of the Catholic Church in Louisiana Territory and Religious Liberty,” Missouri State University Associate Professor of Political Science **Kevin Pybas**

Session 6: “Constitutional Revision in Missouri: The Convention of 1943-44,” MU Professor of Political Science and Kinder Institute Director **Justin Dyer**



...Though many predate the U.S. Constitution—Massachusetts’, for example, is the longest standing constitution in the world—state constitutions rarely make headlines, a lack of attention that belies their importance. From education to property rights to drinking water legislation, much of what government does—much of what government is designed to do—happens at the state level and is thus determined by state constitutions.

In the case of Missouri, the act of arriving at a workable constitution has been uniquely circuitous. The original 1820 Constitution was replaced in 1865 with the ardently unionist “Drake Constitution,” which was itself supplanted ten years later. Stable by Missouri standards, the 1875 Constitution would be in place for almost 70 years, though in a plot twist at the heart of Prof. Dyer’s talk, it would be altered early in the 20th century to allow for constitutional amendment by initiative. And this is exactly what happened in 1942, when Missourians voted to convene a new constitutional convention. And so with the support of newspaper editorial boards, civic groups, and business leaders—academics even composed manuals for how to go about organizing and executing an endeavor of this scope—a bipartisan cohort of 82 delegates plus Chairperson Robert Blake gathered in Jefferson City to draft the current Missouri Constitution, ratified in 1945 (though amended countless times since) and modernized to address what were considered key issues of the World War II/post-Depression era, including home rule for big cities, judicial selection processes, balanced budgets, and municipal taxation powers...

Session 7: “Paving over Paradise: Black Columbians’ Struggle for Statehood,” MU History Ph.D. Candidate **Mary Beth Brown**

Session 8: “Missourians and their Environment,” MU Emeritus Professor of History **Susan Flader**

...As Prof. Flader noted in framing out her talk, at the core of the history of the conservation movement in Missouri is a clash of political cultures. For example, due to a disproportionately rural and traditionalist state legislature around the turn of century, Missouri could only muster modest budgetary support for conservation efforts, despite being led by the progressive Herbert Hadley. Under Governor Arthur Hyde, however, and thanks in large part to the rise of pro-conservation citizen groups like the Izaak Walton League, a 5% cut of fishing and hunting licenses for state forests became 25%, and this trend of support would continue to gain traction. In the years following, citizen petition initiatives incrementally pushed back against the mistrust of government fomented in Ozark-area political culture, and after World War II, conservation victories started to roll in: the passage of the State Forestry Act, the establishment of the Missouri State River System, and more than one successful bid to secure tax-based funding to support the Missouri Department of Conservation. But no victory has been more significant than Leo Drey’s steady acquisition of land that would become the Pioneer Forest, a nearly 160,000-acre demonstration forest that reveals the myriad values of sustainable eco-management and serves as a metaphor of sorts for the state as a whole’s growing commitment to building a premier park system and to preserving Missouri’s environmental crown jewels...

Session 9: “Separation of Church & State: Missouri’s Prohibition on State Funding for Religion and the Case of Trinity Lutheran,” Kinder Institute Postdoctoral Fellow in American Politics **David Golemboski**

Continued from page 1

UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS

in Global Context” with Prof. **Jay Sexton**), and from institutions politically understood (“Political Control of the Administrative State” with Prof. **Jennifer Selin**) to institutions more heroically construed (“George Washington and the Ideological Origins of the American Superhero” with Prof. **Jeff Pasley**). In addition to regular class meetings, the seminar included in- and out-of-town field trips to the CIA, Monticello, the Library of Congress, Annapolis, and more. Other faculty members who led weeks of the seminar were Professors **Christa Dierksheide**, **Jay Dow**, and **Marvin Overby**.

If ‘studying in D.C.’ is one of the program’s three core pillars, the other two are working and living in the capital. As for the nine-to-five component, see the following page for a list of the sites where students interned this summer.

And as for the ‘living in D.C.’ component of the program, it is one of many things that students report back about in our “Notes from the Capital” update series, excerpts from which can be found on pp. 15-16.

Not only are my fellow students amazing, but I have found the readings, classes, and field trips to be invigorating.



Notes from the Capital

KICD: How was the first week (or two, or three weeks) of work? Responsibility-wise, is there anything about the internship that’s surprised you so far and/or anything that you’re particularly excited to do more with?

Grace Hodson: I am doing research with the Psychology Department at George Washington University on how intersectionality impacts HIV/AIDS patients. I was given hundreds of pages of previous research to examine for my first week and took advantage of many public spaces to read. I’ve sat on a blanket under a tree on the mall, by the fountain in the sculpture garden, and today it’s raining, so I’m typing this response in the main reading room of the Library of Congress.

Rylie White: I am interning in the science and technology department at the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies, which is a think tank and nonprofit that focuses on national security. At the end of my internship, I’ll be required to write a 5-page research paper containing a policy recommendation and to give a presentation on an issue related to science and technology. At this time, I believe my research topic will focus on how hypersonic weapons development could affect national security and nuclear deterrence theory.

Sarah Jolley: This summer I’m interning at the Center for International Policy, a nonprofit research organization dedicated to promoting transparent, accountable foreign policy. I work on two different programs: the Arms & Security Project, and the Foreign Influence Transparency Initiative. I’m currently researching trends in U.S. military aid to Egypt over the past decade and creating a database to compare foreign lobbying efforts with U.S. arm sales. I initially applied for my internship with the Arms & Security Project in mind, but I’ve been pleasantly surprised by how much fun I’m having with the Foreign Influence Transparency Initiative. I’m excited to continue educating the public about what lobbyists are doing on behalf of foreign governments and corporations.

KICD: I know it’s only been a week or two, but any highlights from the seminar yet? Anything that you’ve already looked at that you’re hoping will come up again in some form in a later class session?

Anna Jaoudi: Being able to live in the same city we are learning about is really impactful. As far as class discussion goes, I took an Immigration and Urban Politics class last semester and learned a lot about gentrification, poverty, and changing cities, and so I’m hoping we talk more about these issues in relation to how D.C. is changing demographically.

Jennifer Sutterer: Although we have only met a couple times, my favorite part of this experience has been the Kinder program.

2018 Kinder Scholars Internship Sites

Regina Anderson (Strategic Communication & Political Science): The Office of Senator Catherine Cortez Masto

Isaac Baker (Secondary Education & History): Jumpstart, Washington, D.C.

Bailey Conard (Journalism & English): The Homeless Children’s Playtime Project

Brian Dugan (Marketing & Political Science): FleishmanHillard Public Relations & Digital Marketing Agency

Mackenzie Elliott (Convergence Journalism): Girls, Inc.

Bryce Fuemmeler (Economics & Political Science): The Office of Congressman Blaine Luetkemeyer

Alex Galvin (History & Political Science): The Office of Congresswoman Vicki Hartzler

Gabriel Gassmann (Economics & Spanish): Bellwether Education Partners

Grace Hodson (Public Health): George Washington University Public Health Research Intern

Karina Jaimes (Political Science & History): National Association for the Education of Young Children

Anna Jaoudi (Political Science): Child Welfare League of America

Sarah Jolley (English, History, & Political Science): Center for International Policy

Hailey Markt (Political Science & International Studies): The Office of Congresswoman Marcia Fudge

Mateo Mateo-Mateo (Finance & Political Science): The Office of Senator Claire McCaskill

Luke Mouton (Psychology & Political Science): The Office of Senator Claire McCaskill

Mary Grace Newman (Political Science): Boeing Learning Center Intern at the National Archives’ Office of Education and Public Programs

Anthony Newsome (Political Science): Polsinelli Law Firm-D.C. Office

Madison Plaster (International Business): The Department of State

Brianna Salas (Health Sciences): LEAP Intern with First Ask

Faramola Shonekan (History): Mehri & Skallet Law Firm

Jennifer Sutterer (Political Science & Philosophy): The Offices of Senator Roy Blunt (May 28-July 6) and Congresswoman Ann Wagner (July 9-August 3)

Rylie White (Biochemistry): The Potomac Institute for Policy Studies

Not only are my fellow students amazing, but I have found the readings, classes, and field trips to be invigorating. I very much enjoyed reading about and visiting the CIA—so much that I am considering giving up law school to apply for an intelligence agency. And I hope the intricate balance between covert action for national security and transparency for democratic values comes back up in another class. It is such an interesting debate that applies to more than just intelligence agencies, and I feel that we have only just scratched the surface of it.

Mackenzie Elliott: The field trips have been fascinating, but I would have to say that Mount Vernon has been my favorite trip so far. While there, we talked about what we discussed in the classroom a day earlier, and just getting to analyze the material in person—the grounds where Washington lived, the bed he died in, the gardens where his slaves worked—really helped me see history come alive.

KICD: Have you found a spot/seen a site/had a meal/visited a neighborhood/gone to an event that you're particularly excited about?

SJ: In typical D.C. fashion, I am absolutely enamored with the National Mall. The endless variety of monuments, museums, and events available to the public never ceases to amaze me. I especially enjoy the National Gallery of Art Sculpture Garden. For most of the week it's a quiet, shady refuge, free from packs of tourists, but on Fridays it hosts "Jazz in the Garden," a fun summer concert series.

GH: Myself and a few other Scholars have decided to forgo the vivid brunch culture of the city and instead spend each Sunday lunch at a restaurant from a different ethnicity. We've tried Lebanese, Laotian, Chinese, Irish, Ethiopian, Indian, and South African. We can't get enough of the new spices and styles of eating (though our bank accounts are pretty tired of it). I am particularly stoked about the farmers markets in D.C. as well. I'm eating more fresh fruit and veggies than I ever did back home, and I've even gotten all the other Scholars into composting, since the farmers markets collect scraps to decrease waste.

ME: Let me start by saying that D.C. is my city! I'm not sure if I have my favorite place yet, because each week I am finding a new spot to fall in love with. The coffee shops are fantastic and the buildings are beautiful. If I had to choose one spot that makes me feel most at home, it would be The Wharf district, because I just love the harbor. There are places to kayak and paddleboard and the restaurants are absolutely amazing.

During Summer 2018, Dr. Carli Conklin served as academic supervisor for Maya Hill's internship with United States District Judge Stephen Bough, Western District of Missouri. Maya, a junior Sociology major from Kansas City, first met Dr. Conklin in Fall 2017, when Maya took POL SC 2450H: Intellectual World of the American Founders, the first course in the Kinder Institute's Constitutionalism & Democracy Honors College course series.

A Summer to Remember

Maya Hill



When I was seven years old, my first-grade class did a worksheet that was to be given to us on our graduation weekend. We answered questions about favorite songs, favorite colors, and what we wanted to be when we grew up. At my high school commencement dinner, I read through my first-grade musings and was unsurprised by my answers until I got to what I wanted to be when I grew up. I wrote "lawyer." When asked why, I said, "to help people." 12 years later, my goals have not changed, and neither have my reasons.

This summer, I was given the incredible opportunity to serve as an intern in the chambers of the honorable Judge Bough in the Western District Court of Missouri and the Probation Office. I was given access to different databases to do my own case research before observing sentencings; I have observed many different judges in their courtrooms; I have watched two jury trials; and I have completed projects for the judge in the Jury Office and for the Probation Office.

I was charged with researching the jury diversity issue and brainstorming ways to potentially remedy the situation. For this project, I worked with the Jury Office and sorted 3,000 undeliverable jury summonses into different zip codes to negate a hypothesis that diversity was lacking because zip codes with diverse populations were simply not receiving the summons.

In the Probation Office, I updated spreadsheets about the success or failure of people on supervised release with or without participation in reentry court. I provided some statistics for the office about how effective the programs were and which demographics were most successful in the process. The office also allowed me to screen potential participants in the reentry court program.

All in all, I have had an incredibly interesting summer, and I will take the lessons learned in this building with me into law school and the rest of my life.

Undergraduate Q&A

It is not entirely beyond the scope of reasonable expectation that two students from Stockton, MO, would be in the same class of our undergraduate Society of Fellows. That both of those students also served *together* as Chairman and Vice Chairman of Stockton's Parks Department while in high school? That surpassed the reaches of even the wildest imagination and called for some follow-up. Thanks to rising junior **Joe Davis** (Finance) and recent MU graduate and soon-to-be Truman School M.P.A. candidate **Dylan Cain** (Political Science) for letting Kinder Institute Communications Associate **Thomas Kane** pick their brains about small-town governance, painting basketball courts, the practical aspects of their studies, and much, much more. (Note: Answers have been edited for length)

Parks & Education

Thomas Kane: I don't want to bury the lede here. That the two of you had the opportunity as high schoolers to serve in leadership positions on the Parks Board seems entirely rare and entirely awesome. Did this experience at all shape your current academic pursuits and/or lead you to the Kinder Institute, even if subconsciously?

Dylan Cain: So many of my experiences in Stockton, Missouri, shaped my interest in public affairs and public policy. Though I've always loved politics from a historical perspective, Stockton is where I grew to enjoy the struggle of government. Because of the limits of our budget, tackling many of the issues in our town's parks **was quite difficult**. These issues became even more overwhelming after a wave of sudden retirements placed Joe and I as Park Board Chairman and Vice Chairman, respectively. Joe was 17 years old, and I was 18 at the time. Some of the issues we faced were quite large for a couple of teens with no city government experience. For example, parts of our community building had asbestos in the walls, the bricks on the outside of the building were falling apart, the structural integrity of a large stone wall was concerning to city leaders, and repairs needed to be made on both the basketball and tennis courts.

Joe and I couldn't complete all of these tasks: for instance, we simply didn't have the funds from our capital improvement section of the budget to bring down the dilapidated wall. However, at each turn, we navigated the processes of local government as much as we could. Sometimes, if the spending was small enough, we could even make the repairs ourselves. Joe and I spent multiple days one summer painting the town's outdoor basketball court in order to circumvent the delays that come with government bureaucracy. In fact, what I enjoyed most was learning about the problems that faced our home and learning how best to tackle them in the political realm. In my view, Political Science and Public Policy fall right into this skill set.

Joe Davis: As chairman of the Park Board, I got to work with the city clerk on the board's budget. She showed me the historical P&L (profit and loss) of the budget over the past few years and the change in revenue from the quarter-cent sales tax that funded the Park Department. I was fascinated with the ability to know so much about an organization from one piece of paper. This was my first exposure to financial statements.



As I got involved with our municipality, I also began to realize its impact on our community. In city government, there is no congress or corporate lobbying apparatus. Your colleagues are the people who seat you at a local restaurant or sit next to you in church. I discovered from this that politics can be based upon organic relationships and not ground wars. Local decisions may not be as impactful as national policies, but the change is more visible. I loved how people in Stockton could get things done if they just did it. I wanted to be in the Kinder Institute to share my experience and show my peers the impact local governments can make and how conservative or liberal philosophies are irrelevant to most city business ordinances.

TK: What I found most interesting about your answers to Question 1 was that each of you discussed how the Park Board led you to Finance and Political Science in a way that was both nitty gritty and very big picture. Inverting that first question a little bit, have your studies at MU provided new insight into how the hurdles of local government can be cleared and the immense potential of municipalities like Stockton best capitalized on?

JD: Apart from being a great academic institution, Mizzou is a social ecosystem. There are many players and opinions. Within this ecosystem, Greek Life is a smaller and therefore more digestible setting, and it has allowed me to observe and be a leader of small groups (like in Stockton) and also to see how people are affected by decisions. In Greek houses, decisions can be executed faster than in a local government, and the high frequency of decision making and close observation of “cause and effect” have really impacted my learning about community politics.

I’ve also realized that to get anyone to do anything (worth being proud of), you cannot be pulling or dragging a group. Community leaders must be behind a group pushing and supporting its members toward a fulfilling goal.

DC: Studying political science here at the University of Missouri has really informed how I think about tackling the everyday problems faced in government. Even the classes about federal governance or governance abroad teach lessons about how to address issues in a town like Stockton. For example, if there is anything I have learned from discussing democratization, it is that making things better can be slow, arduous, and taxing. Suffrage movements often came in waves, each facing decades of push-back (e.g., suffrage in Great Britain). And even if large communities come together, united in support for change, one person can derail monumental international agreements (e.g., the U.S. withdrawing from the 2015 Paris Climate Accords). But my education here has also taught me that somewhere within this chaotic tangle of organizations, meetings, court-cases, and competing interests, there is room for advancement that can genuinely contribute to the public good. Quite often, too, this advancement seems to take place in the dullest and most ordinary contexts.

Many of the changes we study demonstrate that by making the right connections, setting up plenty of meetings, and most of all, getting plenty of support from others in politics and the communities they serve, politicians have been making progress for centuries. Looking back, I do think there could have been value in [Joe and I] meeting more with other community-

wide organizations or the public, generally. That’s certainly how I’d approach the Park Board today.

JD: Scaling a small town’s population, infrastructure, or maybe just the standard of living, like any project, takes leadership and consensus from the public. The smaller the community, the richer the history and traditions, and the higher the reluctance to an outsider’s vision. You have to go to luncheons and high school sports games and meet with assemblies like the chamber of commerce or city council. My point is, a public or private initiative would be most appealing if it’s coming from someone who is a part of the community’s fabric. That’s why I hope to return to Stockton one day to work or serve.

And one way to capitalize on a quaint community’s potential is to take advantage of the small but tailored work force. Rural areas traditionally have less graduates attending four year colleges. However, this is partially made up for by students attending technical schools. This leads to a specialized and skilled labor force. Many rural laborers are self-employed and run their own business—or at least apprentice until they are ready to run their own operation. This kind of flexibility, skillset, and grit may be hard to find in larger cities.

TK: You find yourself mayor of a small Missouri town for 24 hours, and you have carte-blanche power to implement an initiative or two that couldn’t be rolled back for five years. What would it/they be and why?

DC: 1. Establish a strong, city-wide WiFi network. In order for rural education to be at its most competitive, students and teachers need to have dependable internet access (ideally, throughout the county). This not only has implications for students and educators, but also for business owners and agriculturalists, who would be better in tune with best practices through the wealth of online resources that dependable internet can provide.

2. Create a half-cent historic downtown maintenance tax. Most towns in rural Missouri have a “square” with shops, banks, restaurants, etc. Stockton’s square is one of the town’s relative strong suits, but many others in the region have seen a decline in business activity (e.g., squares in Hermitage, Fair Play, and Weaubleau). There should be a maintenance tax in place to ensure that the revenues that the town generates go back to the core of its historic economic activity. This should also go toward road maintenance near and around town squares and “main streets.”

JD: I think public education is the best way to prepare the existing labor pool for economic activity. I would try to create work programs at the high school level, like apprenticeships. Were those in place, it would be easier to retain and support potential entrepreneurs locally, rather than having to attract new ones from outside of the community. The program could be symbiotic for both parties—the firm gets free labor, and the student a free education. I would personally rally local businesses and pitch the school board to allow structured training to supplement certain credit hours.

And that’s what is imperative for local officials, in my eyes: not just passing the right legislation but being able to put common stakeholders on the same project. It’s the most essential thing I think communities need to focus on.

Lightning Round

Most essential piece of playground equipment and why?

JD: Swings—rock at your own speed, alongside others or by yourself

DC: The swing set; I don’t care how old you are, it never stops being enjoyable

Book that everyone should read to better understand (and potentially to better) small-town Missouri?

DC: *To Kill a Mockingbird*, which captures the tumultuous road to inclusion in rural America

JD: If you live around or have interest in central Missouri, *Huck Finn*

What’s your dream government position?

JD: County Economic Developer

DC: City Councilman—it provides enough influence to work on passion projects without being too managerial

Favorite place to spend a day in Stockton?

DC: Playing catch on the baseball field behind the Stockton Lake Dam

JD: The lake!

Best media representation of a government official

DC: *Milk*, a biopic featuring the first openly gay elected politician in U.S. history, Harvey Milk

JD: *Alexander Hamilton*, by Ron Chernow, for revealing integral foundations + providing background to the musical

In city government, there is no congress or corporate lobbying apparatus. Your colleagues are the people who seat you at a local restaurant or sit next to you in church. I discovered from this that politics can be based upon organic relationships and not ground wars. Local decisions may not be as impactful as national policies, but the change is more visible.

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NEWS IN BRIEF

A couple more graduate school placements to report on . . . Inaugural Society of Fellows (and Kinder Scholars) participant **Trey Emerson Sprick** will be starting a Ph.D. program in Economics at Georgetown University in August . . . And MU Law was lucky enough to recently add 2017-18 Fellow, inaugural Oxford journeyer, and all-around Kinder Institute dynamo **Carley Johansson** to its Fall 2018 class of 1Ls . . . Prof. **Forrest Nabors’** *From Oligarchy to Republicanism: The Great Task of Reconstruction*, published in December 2017 as part of the Institute’s *Studies in Constitutional Democracy* monograph series with MU Press, recently received the APSA American Political Thought Book Award for Best Book of 2017 . . . Before Prof. **Adam Seagrave** moved on to Arizona State, he and Kinder Institute Director **Justin Dyer** collaborated on an op-ed in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* on the American republic’s democratic foundation . . . Because she’s not busy enough with work and class, 2018 Kinder Scholar **Sarah Jolley** published her co-authored research on “A Tale of Two Sanctions” on the Inkstick Media blog in June . . . And finally, if you haven’t already, go to the Kinder Institute website’s media page to see the first three installments of our “Ask the Experts” collaboration with Newsy, which feature Prof. **Jennifer Selin’s** discussion of DACA and the Supreme Court and Prof. **Jay Dow’s** two-part commentary on gerrymandering and SCOTUS.

