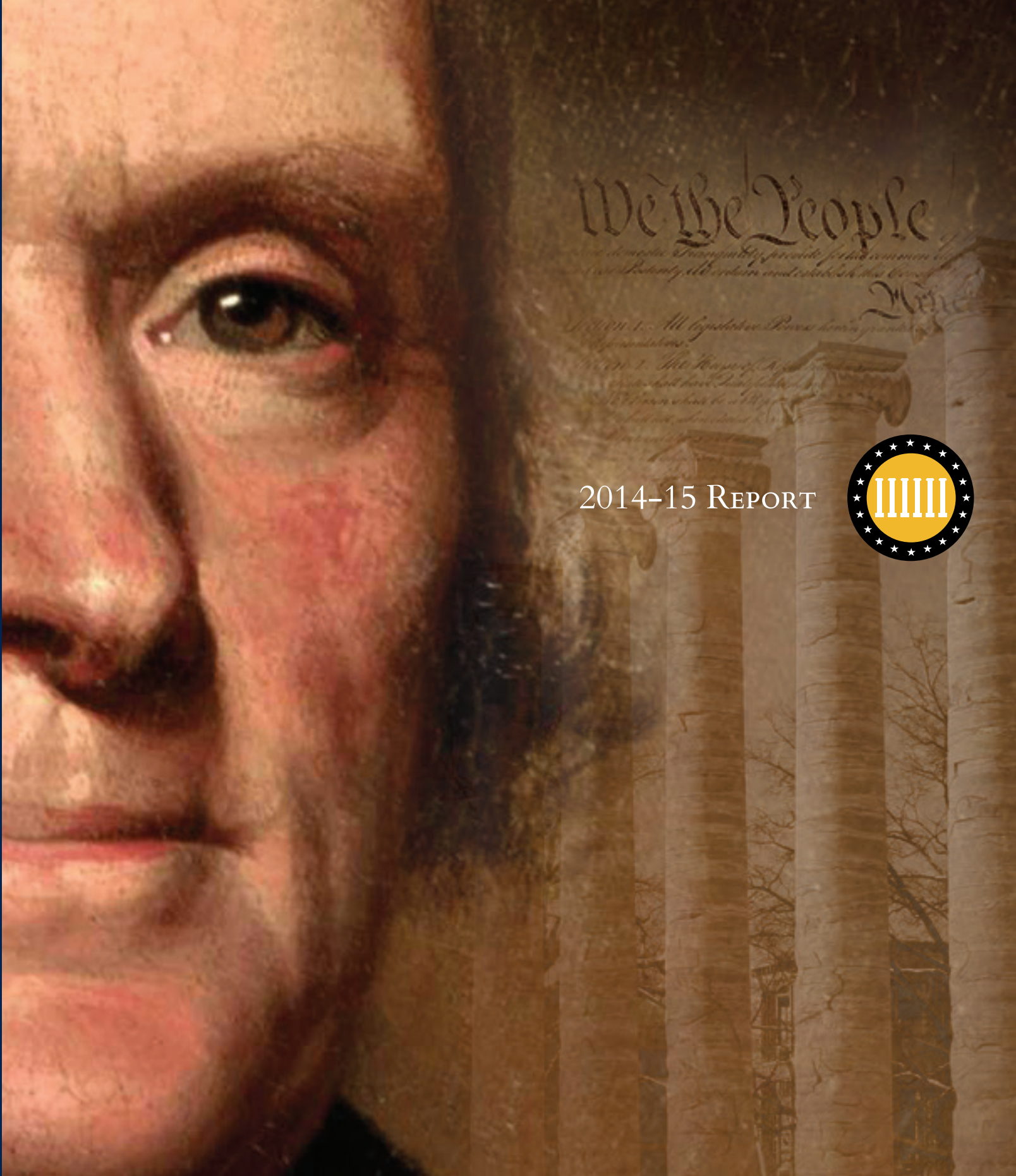


# KINDER INSTITUTE ON CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY



We the People

...do hereby, in the name of the People, provide for the common

...well-being, all secure and establish this

...of the United States

Article I. All legislative Powers herein granted

...shall have the same

...shall be a single

...shall be divided

...shall be

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2014-15 REPORT



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Kinder Institute on  
Constitutional Democracy

University of Missouri









## Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy

University of Missouri

The Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy at the University of Missouri officially commenced programming in August 2014, under the name Kinder Forum on Constitutional Democracy, with a three-day residential conference for our inaugural class of undergraduate fellows at the Tiger Hotel in downtown Columbia. In many ways, the conference represented a snapshot of what we hoped the Forum would become—an institution that fosters active, thoughtful, interdisciplinary dialogue about the philosophical foundations and historical evolution of the American experience with constitutional governance.

As the year progressed, and as our programming grew and became more refined, we began to fully realize our goal of serving three key constituent groups: University of Missouri undergraduates, MU faculty and graduate students, and the greater community. We hosted public lectures on topics ranging from the significance of the Fourteenth Amendment to the archival history of early American election returns; we sent our first class of Kinder Scholars to Washington, D.C., to work in the nation's capital and study the United States' constitutional history; we watched Dissertation Fellows present their doctoral research and members of our undergraduate Society of Fellows debate the relevance of the U.S. Constitution to contemporary politics; we held community seminars, helped sponsor local film festivals, and invited scholars to Columbia to exchange ideas and share current research with colleagues on campus and from around the region. In short, it was a year of milestones, none of which would have been possible without the generous support of the Kinder Foundation, a family philanthropic foundation established by Rich and Nancy Kinder, which provided both the grant for our initial year and support for the Institute's future advancement.

In addition to the Kinders, we would also like to thank the Jack Miller Center for Teaching America's Founding Principles and History for their support during our first year, as well as the countless faculty members, local residents, undergraduate and graduate students, postdoctoral fellows, and staff members who helped us build our program from the ground up. We look forward to sharing news of our first year with you in the following pages and to the opportunity to continue sponsoring programs that foster dialogue about American constitutional democracy on campus, in the community, and beyond.







In planning the University of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson listed the teaching of “the principles and structure of government” as the first objective of public higher education. The purpose, Jefferson made clear, was to educate thoughtful and engaged citizens of the new nation. In the core curriculum for his “Academical Village,” he called for the study of “Government, Political Economy, Law of Nature and Nations, and History” to be “interwoven with Politics and Law.” The state of Missouri later followed Jefferson’s precepts by incorporating civic education into the mission of its public schools, colleges, and universities, with state law requiring “regular courses of instruction in the Constitutions of the United States and of the state of Missouri, and in American history and institutions.”

While the University of Missouri has maintained that mission, civic education still needs to be revitalized both on our campus and around the country. Easy cynicism about our institutions is widespread. Far too many Americans, including those with university degrees, have little practical knowledge of the American political system or its underlying values, and even less feeling for it. Students know who the president is, and the latest social media outrages, but the most basic concepts about the political process, government institutions, and American political thought elude many of them.

Centers such as the Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy can play a major role in changing this situation, reinvigorating civic education for the twenty-first century. We are committed to pursuing excellence in the study of the American constitutional and democratic traditions, and we have accomplished a lot in just over a year. Through our on- and off-campus undergraduate programs, educational outreach initiatives in the community and around the state, seminars, fellowships, faculty scholarship and teaching, and public events, the Kinder Institute has refocused attention and resources on the subjects that Jefferson tried to build into the heart of university education.

In laying the groundwork for a new intellectual community on the University of Missouri campus, we have taken a holistic approach, combining many aspects of academic life that are often sealed off from one another. Within the Kinder Institute, we have brought together different disciplines and departments, forged connections between teaching and research, connected faculty with members of the community, and united scholars of different ideological perspectives, all in an atmosphere of collegial fellowship. There is much work left to do, but the 2014-15 academic year was a promising start to this important endeavor. Today, the Kinder Institute is poised to be a national leader in civic education and absolutely unique in the civility of discourse with which we function.



Justin B. Dyer  
Director



Jeffrey L. Pasley  
Associate Director





Justin Dyer



AT THE HEART OF ANY UNIVERSITY AND ANY ACADEMIC PROGRAM ARE FACULTY MEMBERS WHO REMAIN ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THEIR FIELDS OF STUDY, AND WHO ARE ALWAYS SEEKING TO EXPAND AND DEEPEN THE KNOWLEDGE THEY SHARE WITH STUDENTS, COLLEAGUES, AND THE WIDER PUBLIC. THE KINDER INSTITUTE IS LUCKY ENOUGH TO HAVE A CORE FACULTY CONSISTING OF TALENTED SCHOLARS AND INSTRUCTORS WHO FIT THIS DESCRIPTION PRECISELY. THE INSTITUTE'S SUCCESS DURING ITS FIRST YEAR WAS DUE IN NO SMALL PART TO THE WILLINGNESS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI FACULTY MEMBERS INTRODUCED BELOW TO TACKLE TASKS RANGING FROM DEVELOPING AND TEACHING COURSES FOR THE INSTITUTE'S MINOR IN AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY TO TAKING TIME OUT OF THEIR SCHEDULES TO TRAVEL TO D.C. OVER THE SUMMER TO LEAD A WEEK OF THE KINDER SCHOLARS BELTWAY HISTORY SEMINAR.

**Justin Dyer** is Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy. After attending the University of Oklahoma on a wrestling scholarship, he completed his M.A. and Ph.D. in Government at the University of Texas at Austin. His research and teaching interests span the fields of American political development, political philosophy, and constitutional law, with a particular interest in the perennial philosophy of natural law. Professor Dyer is the editor of *American Soul: The Contested Legacy of the Declaration of Independence* (2012), and author of *Natural Law and the Antislavery Constitutional Tradition* (2012) and *Slavery, Abortion, and the Politics of Constitutional Meaning* (2013). He regularly teaches undergraduate courses on political theory and the U.S. Constitution and graduate seminars on public law.



**Jeffrey L. Pasley** is Professor of History and Journalism and Associate Director of the Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy. A graduate of Carleton College, he was a reporter-researcher for *The New Republic* and a speechwriter for Al Gore's 1988 presidential campaign before entering academia. He completed his Ph.D. in the History of American Civilization at Harvard University and taught at Florida State University before coming to Missouri in 1999. His teaching and research focus on American political culture between the American Revolution and the Civil War. Professor Pasley is co-editor of *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic* (2004), and author of two books, "*The Tyranny of Printers*": *Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (2001) and *The First Presidential Contest: The Election of 1796 and the Beginnings of American Democracy* (2013), the latter of which was a finalist for the prestigious George Washington Book Prize.



**Cooper Drury** is Professor and Chair in the Department of Political Science. He earned a B.A. and M.A. from Michigan State University and a Ph.D. from Arizona State University. His primary research and teaching interests focus on foreign policy and international political economy, particularly the causes and consequences of economic sanctions. Professor Drury is the co-editor of *Sanctions as Economic Statecraft: Theory and Practice* (2000), and author of *Economic Sanctions and Presidential Decisions: Models of Strategic Rationality* (2005). He has been published widely in political science journals, and he serves as editor-in-chief of *Foreign Policy Analysis*. A committed teacher, Professor Drury has trained more than a dozen doctoral students, and has been awarded the University's Gold Chalk Award for excellence in graduate education and mentoring.

**John Wigger** is Professor and Chair in the Department of History. He earned a B.S. in Petroleum Engineering from West Virginia University and an M.A. and Ph.D. in History from the University of Notre Dame, where he studied cultural religious history in the United States. He has broad interests in the interconnections between Christianity and democracy in U.S. history, and serves as President of the Conference on Faith and History. Professor Wigger's books include *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America, 1770-1820* (1998), *Methodism and the Shaping of American Culture*, co-edited with Nathan Hatch (2001), and *American Saint: Francis Asbury and the Methodists* (2009). He regularly teaches courses on the social and cultural history of the United States.

**Carli Conklin** is Associate Professor at the University of Missouri School of Law. After completing a B.S. in English and an M.A. in Education at Truman State University, she studied law and history at the University of Virginia through a joint J.D./Ph.D. program in American Legal History. Her dissertation at UVa was an intellectual history of the meaning of the pursuit of happiness in the Declaration of Independence. Professor Conklin's research interests are in American legal history, with a focus on dispute resolution and rights dialogues in early America. Her research has been published in top legal history and dispute resolution journals. In 2012, she was selected to receive the Missouri Women's Justice Award - Legal Scholar Category. Professor Conklin also serves as Director of the Institute's Society of Fellows program

**Jay Dow** is Professor of Political Science. He earned an undergraduate degree at the University of Oregon and a Ph.D. at the University of Texas at Austin. Professor Dow's research focuses on voting and elections, which he approaches from the public choice tradition in political science. He is currently completing a book project on the adoption and institutionalization of the U.S. single-member district electoral system. Professor Dow regularly teaches courses on American government, parties and elections, and American political thought, and he coordinates the Jefferson Book Club, an extracurricular undergraduate reading group that meets monthly to discuss great books and thinkers in the classical liberal tradition.

**Bill Horner** is Director of Undergraduate Studies and Teaching Professor in the Department of Political Science. He studied Radio, Television, and Film as an undergraduate at Northwestern University before completing graduate degrees in Political Science at Arizona State University (M.A.) and the University of Texas at Austin (Ph.D.). He is the author of *Showdown in the Show Me State* (2005) and *Ohio's Kingmaker: Mark Hanna, Man and Myth* (2010). Since arriving at the University of Missouri, Professor Horner has twice been awarded the Purple Chalk Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Education, and has also received the prestigious William T. Kemper Fellowship for Teaching Excellence and the Chancellor's Excellence Award for Lifetime Achievement in Advising for his work with Pi Sigma Alpha, the Political Science Department's honors organization. Professor Horner serves as Director of the Kinder Scholars Program in Washington, D.C.

**Jeffrey Milyo** is Professor of Economics at the University of Missouri and Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute in Washington, D.C. He earned a Ph.D. in Economics from Stanford University, and served on the faculty of Tufts University and the University of Chicago before coming to MU. Professor Milyo teaches courses in political economics, law and economics, and health economics, and he developed a course on the history of economic thought for the Institute's Minor in American Constitutional Democracy. Professor Milyo's research interests include American politics and public policy evaluation, and his recent work has focused on campaign finance reform, health insurance, voter ID laws, media bias, and political corruption.

**Marvin Overby** joined the Department of Political Science at the University of Missouri in 2002, after stints at the University of Mississippi and Loyola University Chicago. He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Oklahoma, where he was a fellow at the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center. Professor Overby's research and teaching interests include the U.S. Congress, parliamentary and legislative procedures, minority representation, Southern politics, and Alexis de Tocqueville. Every summer, he takes a group of undergraduates to Leiden (Netherlands) and Strasbourg (France) for a unique, month-long study abroad course in which students unpack the term democracy and explore its history, development, and practice in comparative context.

**Catherine Rymph** joined the Department of History at MU in 2000, after teaching at the University of Iowa and as a Fulbright Lecturer at the University of Greifswald in Germany. She specializes in recent U.S. history, especially U.S. women's political history, and is the author of *Republican Women: Feminism and Conservatism from Suffrage to the Rise of the New Right* (2006), a political history of feminism and conservatism within the Republican Party. Professor Rymph regularly teaches courses on U.S. women's political history, historical perspectives on child welfare and the family, and twentieth-century U.S. history. She is currently finishing a book on the U.S. foster care system.



**Steven Watts** is Professor of History at the University of Missouri, where he has won several prizes, most notably the Kemper Teaching Award and the system-wide Thomas Jefferson Award. He received his B.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Missouri, and his M.A. from University of Virginia, where he held a Thomas Jefferson Fellowship. Professor Watts has broad interests in the cultural and intellectual history of the United States, and has published numerous articles and six books, including *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790-1820* (1987), *The People's Tycoon: Henry Ford and the American Century* (2005), and *Mr. Playboy: Hugh Hefner and the American Dream* (2008). At present, he is writing a book entitled *Kennedy Adonais: JFK, the Masculine Mystique, and American Political Culture*. Prof. Watts teaches the survey of American history at MU, upper-division courses on American cultural and intellectual history, and graduate seminars in historiography and cultural history.



Archives

## *Course Development*

Of the many contributions that the Kinder Institute's core and affiliated faculty members make to undergraduate intellectual life at the University of Missouri, course development for the Institute's Minor and Certificate in American Constitutional Democracy ranks among the most important. Here are just a handful of the courses designed for the Minor and Certificate by Kinder Institute faculty over the past eighteen months. A full course list is available at [democracy.missouri.edu](http://democracy.missouri.edu).

### *Political Thought in Classical and Christian Antiquity*

Developed by Professor of Classical Studies Dennis Trout

In providing an introduction to the governmental systems and political philosophy of Classical Greece, Republican and Imperial Rome, and Christian Late Antiquity, this course will engage students with a legacy of thought that was passed on to and incorporated by the architects of modern democracies. Through a dual focus on theory and practice—on, specifically, both the major writings and constitutional arrangements of the time periods being examined—students will develop a foundation for approaching the tension between universalizing and historicizing understandings of such key socio-political binaries as democracy and autocracy, freedom and slavery, and citizen and alien.

### *The Unalienable Right to the Pursuit of Happiness*

Developed by Associate Professor of Law Carli Conklin

In this Honors College tutorial, we will explore the meaning of the pursuit of happiness within its historical and legal context. Readings will be drawn from Classical Antiquity, the English Enlightenment, the American Founding, legal debates surrounding the existence of slavery in early America, and the culmination of those debates in nineteenth- and twentieth-century legal documents, speeches, and court cases.

### *Constitutionalism in the Americas*

Developed by Professor of History Robert Smale

This course looks at the history of constitutions and constitutional democracy in the Americas as a whole—the United States and Latin America. Specifically, by treating the U.S. Constitution as a pioneering document in the Americas, we will be able to compare and contrast various nations' practical experiences with constitutional democracy, examining not only the international influence of the U.S. Constitution but also how and why, even in drawing on the same philosophical antecedents as the founders of the United States, the architects of many of these governments opted for different democratic forms and practices.



***The Administrative State, Public Policy, and Constitutional Democracy***

Developed by Professor of Political Science Lael Keiser

This course will allow students to explore the nuanced and often overlooked relationship between democratic theory and the administrative state. This will first require a practical overview of the significant role that bureaucratic actors play in the implementation of public policy. From here, we will study U.S. bureaucracy in a larger democratic context, focusing on how the Constitution accounts for the creation and necessity of an administrative state and, in turn, on how the bureaucratic component of U.S. politics has historically influenced the nature of interactions between the branches of national government.

***The Scots and the Making of America***

Developed by Professor of Political Science Jay Dow as a study abroad course sponsored by the Kinder Institute

Students in this course will examine the founding texts of the eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment, with special attention given to those that concerned humanity, politics, and democratic thought. Class time will thus be devoted not only to studying the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment on their own, but also to discussing how these ideas influenced the founding principles and the development of American democracy.







LIBRARY



### *Book Series*

In order to promote recent scholarship on American political thought and history, the Kinder Institute, in partnership with University of Missouri Press, launched its interdisciplinary Studies in Constitutional Democracy book series in 2014. The vision for the imprint is that it will include manuscripts on the origins of America's constitutional and democratic traditions, as well as the application and reinterpretation of these traditions in later periods and around the world, with possible topic areas ranging from the reception and refraction of constitutional ideals in American culture to international criticisms of American constitutional democracy.

The following titles are under contract negotiations with University of Missouri Press, to be published as part of the new Studies in Constitutional Democracy series:

*The Pursuit of Happiness in Historical Context*

Carli Conklin (University of Missouri)

*Bureaucracy in America: The Administrative State and American Constitutionalism*

Joseph Postell (University of Colorado)

*Court Curbing by Constitutional Amendment*

Curt Nichols and David Bridge (Baylor University)

*The Hidden Origins of Modern Law: John Henry Wigmore and the American Jury Trial*

Andrew Porwancher (University of Oklahoma)

*Lloyd Gaines and the Fight to End Segregation*

James Endersby and William T. Horner (University of Missouri),

Kinder Institute Director and Associate Director **Justin Dyer** and **Jeffrey L. Pasley** serve as series editors, and **Gary Kass** of University of Missouri Press serves as Acquisitions Editor for the imprint.



Missouri

Source: Computer1  
(Auto)

Signal

help, press





# GRADUATE STUDENTS AND POSTDOC FELLOWS

FOR THE KINDER INSTITUTE'S MISSION TO BE SUSTAINABLE, WE BELIEVE IT NECESSARY FOR US TO SUPPORT THE NEXT GENERATION OF SCHOLARS AND TEACHERS OF AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT AND HISTORY, A GOAL WE ACCOMPLISH IN LARGE PART THROUGH OUR DISSERTATION AND POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMS. FOR THE 2014-15 ACADEMIC YEAR, WE HAD THREE GRADUATE STUDENT DISSERTATION FELLOWS EACH IN BOTH THE HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS, AND WE BROUGHT IN FOUR TALENTED SCHOLARS FROM OUTSIDE MU TO COLUMBIA TO CONTINUE THEIR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND ACADEMIC RESEARCH.

## *Dissertation Fellows*

**John Davis** completed his B.A. and M.A. in Political Science at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville. His dissertation at the University of Missouri explores the nature and effects of political culture within the two major U.S. political parties. More broadly, his research at MU focuses on legislative behavior within the context of party and state politics, and he has forthcoming publications on this subject in the *Journal of Public Policy* and the *Midsouth Political Science Review*. John is the past recipient of a research and travel grant from the Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy, and has also received the Missouri Excellence in Political Science Teaching Award and the Jeffrey D. Byrne Scholarship from the University of Missouri Political Science Department, where he has taught undergraduate courses in American Government

**Matthew Newton** completed his B.S. in Political Science at Stephen F. Austin State University in Nacogdoches, Texas. At the University of Missouri, his doctoral research focuses on voting and election behavior in advanced industrial democracies, and his dissertation examines the impact that federal structures and decentralization have on voting behavior, with specific attention devoted to analyzing the difference between United States and Canadian politics in order to determine how federalism and constitutional divisions of power impact these nations' party systems. Matthew is the past recipient of the J.G. Heinberg Scholarship from the University of Missouri and the Outstanding World Politics Student Award from Stephen F. Austin. He has taught American Government and Canadian Politics for the MU Department of Political Science.

**Joshua Norberg** completed his B.A. in Political Science at the University of Missouri, where he is currently a Ph.D. candidate whose research focuses on the politics of advanced industrial democracies, with an emphasis on Western Europe. His dissertation at MU examines the political representation cycle, with a particular interest in studying coalition governments, political parties, and the

# GRADUATE STUDENTS AND POSTDOC FELLOWS

relationship between democratic institutions and the citizens ruled by them. Joshua is the past recipient of the J.G. Heinberg Scholarship, the David M. Wood Excellence in Political Science Research Award, the Jeffrey D. Byrne Award for Research in Comparative Politics, and the Brian Forbis Award for Research in American Politics. He has taught American Government at MU.

**Jonathan Root** completed his B.A. in History and Bible and Religion at Bethel College in North Newton, Kansas, and his M.A. in History at Kansas State University. His doctoral dissertation at the University of Missouri examines the relationship between the “prosperity gospel”—or what he calls the gospel of abundant life—and American cultural and political populism, with extensive focus on the rise and fall of Oral Roberts’ City of Faith complex. Relatedly, he is interested in the degree to which the constitutional protection for religious liberty in the First Amendment has created the political and cultural context for the development of popular religious movements in the United States. Jonathan is the past recipient of travel and research grants from the Department of History and the Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy, and he has taught American History from 1865 and History of American Religion at MU.

**Jennifer Wiard** completed her B.A. in History at Washburn University in Topeka, Kansas, and her M.A. in History at the University of Missouri, where her doctoral research centers on American religious and cultural history, with an emphasis on examining how popular religious movements have grown in the religious free market made possible by the First Amendment. In her dissertation, she traces this narrative of the rise of popular religion through a close study of Billy Sunday, investigating how evangelicals like himself adapted to the steep religious and cultural competition of the Progressive era as well as what those adaptations reveal about the patterns and strategies that have allowed American evangelicalism to survive (and even thrive) despite an increasingly secular civil society. Jennifer is the past recipient of the Donald K. Anderson Teaching Assistant Award, a research grant from the William A. Wilcher Endowment Fund, and the Frank and Louis Stephens History Scholarship. She has taught American History from 1865 in the MU Department of History.

# GRADUATE STUDENTS AND POSTDOC FELLOWS

**Cassandra Yacovazzi** completed her B.A. in Liberal Arts at Malone University in Canton, Ohio, and her M.A. in History at Baylor University. While on fellowship with the Kinder Institute, she received her Ph.D. in History from the University of Missouri, where her dissertation explored opposition to nuns and convent life in the antebellum United States, as expressed through vigilante violence, literature, and politics. She has presented a number of conference papers based on her dissertation research, published an article in the *U.S. Catholic Historian*, and, last summer, traveled to Rome to take part in an international seminar with a distinguished group of historians of American Catholicism. Cassandra is the past recipient of travel and research grants from the Society for Historians of the Early Republic, the William Wilcher Endowment Fund, and the University of Missouri Graduate Student Association. She currently serves as a postdoctoral fellow in the History Department at MU.

Please visit the Kinder Institute website, [democracy.missouri.edu](http://democracy.missouri.edu), for profiles of our 2015-16 Dissertation Fellows.





## *Graduate Student Research and Travel Grants*

In order to further advance the scholarly work of talented graduate students of History and Political Science at MU, the Kinder Institute also introduced a program of research and travel grants during its inaugural year. In all, the Institute awarded a total of \$35,755 to 13 graduate students to support conference travel, archival research, scholarly publication projects, and data collection, among other things.

The following were among the many exciting projects that the Kinder Institute funded during the Fall 2014 and Spring 2015 grant cycles:

Political Science Ph.D. candidates **Kathryn VanderMolen** and **Clint Swift** received a \$1,200 research assistance grant to complete work on their co-authored article “Sponsorship Networks in the States,” which was recently revised and resubmitted to *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*.

Current Kinder Dissertation Fellow and Political Science Ph.D. candidate **Rebecca Miller** received a \$5,000 research and travel grant that allowed her to reside in Johannesburg, South Africa, from February 2015 through September 2015. While there, she was able to collect data for her dissertation, which examines the relationship between resource extraction and political participation in democratic states, using the South African municipalities of Rustenberg and Madibeng, and the city of Matlosana, as test cases.

**Cassandra Yacovazzi** received a \$2,814 travel grant to attend “American Catholicism in a World Made Small,” a two-week academic seminar in Rome sponsored by the University of Notre Dame and the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism that focused on transnational approaches to U.S. Catholic history.

In partnership with Political Science Professor Marvin Overby, Ph.D. candidate **T. Murat Yildirim** received a \$1,040 research assistance grant to continue work on “Policy Agendas—Turkey,” a partner initiative of the Comparative Agendas Project, which involves collecting and analyzing a wide range of data from the Turkish parliament and media that can be used by scholars to compare issue attention longitudinally, across decision-making venues, and between nations.

## *Postdoctoral Fellows*

**Armin Mattes** earned his Ph.D. in History at the University of Virginia, working with Peter Onuf on the origins of American democracy and nationhood. Dr. Mattes then spent the 2012-2013 academic year as the Gilder Lehrman Research Fellow at the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies, where he completed work on his first book, *Citizens of a Common Intellectual Homeland: the Transatlantic Context of the Origins of American Democracy and Nationhood, 1775-1840*, which was published by University of Virginia Press in 2015. As Dr. Mattes outlined in his October 17, 2014, History Colloquium Series presentation, his new book project studies changes in the meaning and practice of patronage in early American political life. More specifically, the manuscript will examine three different stages in the evolution of patronage: its origins as a system of personal dependencies that maintained social and political hierarchy in the Colonial era; its repudiation by Jefferson and Madison in the early Republic; and “King” Andrew Jackson’s re-imagination and, as Dr. Mattes argues, democratization of patronage as a means by which to create a network of impersonal and egalitarian, if also personally beneficial, political relationships.

Dr. Mattes has taught at the University of Virginia and Eberhard Karls University of Tübingen (Germany), and he joins the Institute on Constitutional Democracy as a 2014-2016 Kinder Research Fellow in History.

**Benjamin Park** completed his Ph.D. in History at the University of Cambridge, where he wrote a dissertation on the local cultivation of nationalism in America during the fifty years following independence. He also holds Master’s Degrees in Political Thought and Intellectual History from Cambridge, and in Historical Theology from the University of Edinburgh. Dr. Park is most interested in the intersections between religion, culture, and democratic thought in the “long nineteenth century” (including the Founding era), and he has published articles that explore topics ranging from Thomas Paine to Benjamin Franklin, and from Transcendentalism to Mormonism. In his October 3, 2014, History Colloquium Series presentation, Dr. Park provided an overview of his current book project, which studies early ideas of nation in the United States. In his talk, Dr. Park focused on outlining the anxiety over conceptions of political belonging and national culture that existed in the late-eighteenth century, drawing on a wide variety of sources to show how the vision of a government that mirrored the character of the governed quickly gave way to widespread fear that the cultural disparateness of the member states might preclude the possibility of their forming a union.

Dr. Park has taught The Age of Jefferson, 18th Atlantic Century Revolutions, and Religion and Politics in American History at the University of Missouri, and he joins the Kinder Institute as a 2014-2016 Postdoctoral Fellow in History.

# GRADUATE STUDENTS AND POSTDOC FELLOWS

**Kody W. Cooper** graduated summa cum laude from Kansas State University in 2006, with B.A. degrees in Political Science and Spanish, and received his Ph.D. in Government from University of Texas at Austin in May 2014. He has published on Thomas Hobbes's political, religious, and legal thought, and is currently completing a book project that explores the relationship of Hobbes's thought to classical natural law theory. In broader terms, he has an abiding scholarly interest in the natural law tradition of political thought and the role of natural law in American constitutionalism. In 2009-2010, he was a Visiting Scholar at Wolfson College, Cambridge University, and he joins the Kinder Institute as a 2015-16 Research Fellow in Political Science from Princeton University, where he was a 2014-15 Postdoctoral Research Associate with the James Madison Program.

**Nicholas Drummond** received his B.A. in International Affairs from Florida State University and his M.S. in Defense and Strategic Studies from Missouri State University. He recently completed his doctoral degree in Political Science at the University of North Texas, where his dissertation, *Montesquieu, Diversity, and the American Constitutional Debate*, investigated heterogeneous republics from the perspective of Montesquieu and the American political founders. His research interests center on American political theory, modern republicanism, and the requirements of liberty, and his publications have examined the topics of multiculturalism and the impact of religion and human rights on American foreign policy. He taught American Government and Political Theory in the Political Science Department at North Texas, and also served as an Editorial Assistant at the *American Political Science Review*. He joins the Institute on Constitutional Democracy as a 2015-16 Postdoctoral Fellow in Political Science.

## Excerpt from Q&A with Dr. Ben Park

Following his October 3, 2014, History Colloquium Series presentation, Postdoctoral Fellow Ben Park emailed with Kinder Institute Communications Associate Thomas Kane to further elaborate on some of the questions and issues surrounding national culture in the early Republic that he raised in his talk. What follows is an excerpt from their exchange:

**TK:** You mentioned, at one point in your talk, the novel as playing a role in cultivating a sense of political belonging. Can you discuss in a little more detail how literature was utilized—perhaps by politicians themselves—during this moment of national uncertainty and innovation?

**BP:** Political speeches and pamphlets can only go so far in tracing how deep a cultural strain existed. Novels were an experimental form of literature that gained prominence during the Age of Democratic Revolutions, and they



represent an acute lens through which to view these anxieties over national cohesion. Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* and William Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy* are just two examples from the Founding period that exhibited a fear that certain segments of the population were prone to fracture through the manipulating and corrosive influence of foreign culture. This is a trend that does not dissipate. Decades later, when politicians debated South Carolina's bold claim in the early 1830s that they could nullify federal law, a South Carolinian and pro-nullification newspaper writer authored a novel titled *Memoirs of a Nullifier* that, couched between fun literary themes of conspiracy, true love, and intergalactic travel, explored the cultural ramifications of political belief by seeking to demonstrate that certain ideas (federal regeneration) were tethered to particular types of characters (bad guys); in his preface, he noted that by framing his political treatise around "a couple of constant lovers," his goal "was to recommend his work to the more favourable regard of the gentler sex." That is, he recognized that certain literary devices had a much broader audience.

This is seen in other forms of fine arts during the period as well, especially the stage. For instance, Royall Tyler's famous play, *The Contrast*, which was performed in major cities around the same time that the Constitution was debated and ratified, is rife with characters concerned with the cultural distinctiveness found throughout the different regions. The protagonist, Colonel Manly, is a virtuous American citizen who must overcome the conniving and conspiratorial Billy Dimple, who represents "foreign" influences still present in the new republic, as well as guide the dim-witted New England Yankee servant Jonathan, who was to embody the country-bumpkin persona that those in the middle states believed was the norm in the north. Through this play, actors, actresses, and audience were able to perform this cultural dance around societal difference that was introduced through societal pluralism.

**TK:** While we're on the topic, I had another question that, at least to some degree, related to the arts. Toward the end of your talk, you discussed the importance that Nicholas Collin placed on cultivating a "national taste" as well as his belief in the potentially ennobling effect of a federal education that focused on "the *belles lettres* or elegant literature." My mind immediately went to Schiller's *On the Aesthetic Education of Man* here. Given the volume of ideas exchange that was happening at the time, did aesthetic philosophy at all influence or factor into the conversation about nation in America?

**BP:** Absolutely. In part due to the innovative environment in which early American politics took place, writers drew from all kinds of different sources in their attempt to imagine and theorize the potential and limits of political power. Ideas about fancy, pleasure, taste, genius, sublimity, and beauty permeated cultural discourse. Aesthetic philosophy provided tools for citizens to describe

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*Novels were an experimental form of literature that gained prominence during the Age of Democratic Revolutions, and they represent an acute lens through which to view these anxieties over national cohesion.*

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## GRADUATE STUDENTS AND POSTDOC FELLOWS

social formations, political institutions, and human potential. This was seen in sources as disparate as James Madison's *Federalist* arguments, especially "Federalist 37," which theorizes the "requisite stability and energy" needed to maintain a virtuous republic, to Nicholas Collin's essays on the need for a national university, national taste, and even a national ballroom dance company. All of these expressions, it was believed, pointed to a human psychology that could bind a disparate nation of individuals into a cogent body of Americans.













# UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAMS

AT THE VERY CORE OF THE KINDER INSTITUTE'S MISSION IS DEVELOPING PROGRAMS THAT PROMOTE EXCELLENCE IN UNDERGRADUATE SCHOLARSHIP ON AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT AND HISTORY. WE FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT TODAY'S UNDERGRADUATES REPRESENT THE NATION'S FUTURE LEADERS, SCHOLARS, AND TEACHERS, AND WE TAKE IMMENSE PRIDE IN BEING ABLE TO PROVIDE THEM WITH THE ACADEMIC BACKGROUND AND PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE NECESSARY TO GAIN A THOROUGH UNDERSTANDING OF THE THEORY, HISTORY, AND PRACTICE OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES.

## *Society of Fellows*

Arguably the Kinder Institute's flagship program, our undergraduate Society of Fellows, which is directed by University of Missouri Associate Professor of Law Carli Conklin, brings together students of exceptional talent and sincere academic interest in the nation's political traditions for a yearlong exploration of the philosophical foundations, historical development, and contemporary practice of American constitutional democracy.

Originally, we imagined the centerpiece of the Fellows program being a quarterly dinner lecture that introduced participants to key themes and figures in the history of American democracy. In practice, however, the inaugural class of Fellows took it upon themselves to make the program even more rigorous, meeting weekly throughout the year to complete work on an undergraduate-run, scholarly publication, *The Journal on Constitutional Democracy*, and transforming the dinner lectures into dinner debates during the Spring 2015 semester, for which they divided their house in order to tackle questions of central importance to contemporary democratic society. See below for a list of all Society of Fellows events that the Institute sponsored during the 2014-15 academic year.

## *Event Summaries*

August 15-17, 2014: Residential conference at the Tiger Hotel

September 15, 2014: Private Luncheon and Q&A with Pulitzer Prize winner Jon Meacham

October 7, 2014: *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby* panel discussion with MU Law School Professors Joshua Hawley and Frank Bowman

# UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAMS



## **At Work in the Capital: Kinder Scholar 2015 Internships**

### **Fares Akremi**

Office of Missouri Senator Claire McCaskill

### **Anurag Chandran**

American Enterprise Institute's  
Critical Threats Project

### **Samantha Franks**

American Federation of Teachers

### **Lauren Herbig**

Association of Public and Land-grant  
Universities

### **Maddie McMillian**

Office of Missouri Congressman  
Blaine Luetkemeyer

### **Sandy Patel**

Enough Project at the Center for  
American Progress

### **Trey Sprick**

U.S. Senate Permanent Subcommittee  
on Investigation

### **Vera Tan**

National Public Radio in the Diversity  
in News Operations Department

### **Demi Yeager**

Office of Iowa Senator Joni Ernst

November 13, 2014: Dinner lecture on felon disenfranchisement with MU Law School Professor S. David Mitchell

February 20, 2015: Private reception and Q&A with CBS News Chief White House Correspondent Major Garrett

March 12, 2015: Dinner debate on the contemporary relevance of the U.S. Constitution

April 9, 2015: Dinner debate on the question of whether or not states' rights should have a greater role in national governance

May 4, 2015: Dinner reception with former U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Paul O'Neill

After a summer hiatus, Society of Fellows programming re-commenced on August 13, 2015, with the opening reception for the second annual summer residential conference at the Tiger Hotel in downtown Columbia. University of Missouri Associate Professor of Law Erin Hawley delivered the keynote address at the kick-off dinner, which was followed by a weekend of seminars on topics ranging from the Roman Constitution, led by MU Professor of Classical Studies Dennis Trout, to Federalist and Anti-Federalist Republican Visions, led by Political Science Professor and Jefferson Book Club Director Jay Dow.

## *Kinder Scholars*

A competitive academic summer program, the Kinder Scholars D.C. Program provides students with an opportunity to wed theory and practice through a combination of coursework and experiential learning in the nation's capital. Participants fulfill the program's primary, scholarly requirement by taking HIS/POL SC 4900: Beltway History, a ten-week, seminar-style course team-taught by Kinder Institute faculty members that explores the philosophical foundations and historical development of constitutional democracy in the United States, from the Colonial era through the present day. In addition to regular class sessions, participants in the Kinder Scholars D.C. Program attend weekly field trips—to sites such as Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, the National Park at Harper's Ferry, and Frederick Douglass' Cedar Hill—to learn about constitutional history in places where it actually happened.

In order to provide students with an opportunity to supplement their scholarly work with practical experience, the curriculum for the Kinder Scholars Program also requires participants to intern at least 25 hours per week at an organization in the capital whose mission promises to enhance their study of the United States' constitutional and democratic history. See the sidebar for a list of some of the places where members of the Institute's first class of Kinder Scholars interned during Summer 2015.



## *Jefferson Book Club*

Throughout the 2014-15 school year, Political Science Professor Jay Dow led the Jefferson Book Club, an extracurricular reading group for MU undergraduates that focuses primarily on the study of thinkers who influenced the development of American democracy during the Colonial, Founding, and early Republic eras. The Jefferson Book Club began by reading and discussing Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and, over the course of the year, examined texts including David Hume's "On the Origins of Government," John Witherspoon's "The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men," and Thomas Jefferson's "Summary View of the Rights of British America." On the docket for the JBC's Fall 2015 meetings are James Fenimore Cooper's *The American Democrat* and selections from Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*.

## *Journal on Constitutional Democracy*

The brainchild of Society of Fellows and Kinder Scholars member Anurag Chandran, the first issue of the undergraduate-run *Journal on Constitutional Democracy* will go to press in November 2015. Consisting of ten primary source-driven articles on ideas and issues central to both the historical development and present state of American democracy, the 2014-15 *Journal* was organized around the theme of "democracy: within and beyond," and featured essays on topics ranging from the legislative antecedents of the Truman Doctrine to the history of the women's suffrage movement (see pp. 32-33 for an excerpt from John Tsikalas's study of eighteenth-century debates concerning the structure of a national judicial system).

Society of Fellows Director Carli Conklin and Kinder Institute Communications Associate Thomas Kane serve as advisory editors for the *Journal*, which will begin accepting articles on the theme of American rhetoric for the second issue in November 2015. Starting with the 2015-16 academic year, past and current members of the Society of Fellows will be able to receive course credit for their work on the editorial board of the *Journal*, though a yearlong internship course sponsored by the MU Departments of Political Science and History.



## *Journal Excerpt: “The Supreme Court and Its Role in the American Democratic Experience”*

John Tsikalas

Early in the Constitutional Convention, the Framers agreed that the United States would have a permanent national judicial system, a drastic break from the limited court included in the Articles of Confederation. Among the many shortcomings of the prior model, the Articles of Confederation gave no real solution to the inevitability of interstate disputes, a failing which, for the Founders, showcased the need for a judicial system that addressed this pressing problem. However, despite relative unanimity about the necessity of a new system, its details were heavily debated and discussed throughout the three-month Convention.

In working to create a national judiciary, most Framers envisioned a judicial branch in which state courts still solved the majority of legal problems, but brought competing ideas regarding what this new court system would actually look like. Delegates set forth varying proposals as to who should appoint federal judges; they disagreed about what qualified as “good behavior” necessary for life tenure, and held differing opinions on salary provisions for federal judges; a Virginia delegation even proposed the possibility of multiple supreme courts. Though the Framers eventually compromised, assembling their ideas into what is now Article III of the Constitution, they left many unanswered questions regarding the structure, scope, and logistics of the national judiciary.

As a point of reference for addressing these questions, my hope is to frame them within the broader context of the Federalist and Anti-Federalist debates over the form of national government that was proposed by the new Constitution. On the one hand, the Anti-Federalists argued that the power invested in the general government by the Constitution would unduly burden and reduce the authority of the member states. On the other hand, the Federalists sought to convince the nation that ratification was a necessary public good, and that the proposed government was ideally structured to protect the rights of the states and citizens and, more generally, to preserve the Union. The Federalists and Anti-Federalists debated every facet of the Constitution, but one debate we often forget is the one that raged over the national judiciary. Though there were certainly many sides to this particular debate, my focus here will be on Alexander Hamilton and Robert Yates’ differing views on the role and power of the Court.

In “Federalist 78,” Hamilton ardently defended the structure and necessity of the judicial branch as proposed in the Constitution, on the grounds that it ensured the judiciary would always be the least powerful or “dangerous” of the three branches of government, because it would be the one with the

“least capacity to annoy or injure” the constitutional rights of the people. He considered judges to be “bulwarks of a limited constitution against legislative encroachment,” and thus advocated not only for life-termed judges but also for judicial review (officially promulgated in the Court’s 1803 decision in *Marbury v. Madison*). However, in laying out his argument, Hamilton stressed that judges must regard the Constitution as “fundamental law,” adding that this would prevent them from “substitut[ing] their own pleasure” for indifference. In other words, he saw the Constitution itself as providing the limitation to the power of judges. Though Hamilton won the debate and Article III was ratified, some who were hesitant to embrace the proposed national government expressed strong sentiments against giving so much power and security to judges.

In “Anti-Federalist XI,” Robert Yates directly opposed Hamilton’s ideas by warning his fellow citizens against the dangers of having the judicial branch that Article III described and for which Hamilton lobbied in “Federalist 78.” Whereas Hamilton supported life tenure for Supreme Court justices, Yates noted how unprecedented and possibly devastating it would be to give judges complete independence both in salary and job title. “No errors they may commit,” he lamented, “can be corrected by any power above them.” In a way that foreshadowed future debates regarding judicial power, Yates expanded on his concerns by expressing a fear that the “degree of latitude” in interpreting the Constitution granted to judges invited the possibility for biased, judicial activism. More specifically, he argued that the kind of independent power judges possess under the Constitution would inevitably lead to them applying their own wills to legal questions, and would thus allow them to “mould the government into any shape they please.”

Hamilton and Yates’ words are both powerful and enduring. Despite changes to the nature of judicial arguments over time, legal scholars, students, professors, lawyers, and judges continue to disagree about some of the very fundamental questions examined in the Federalist/Anti-Federalist debates. As I will examine in the next section, one such topic is the proper method of legal interpretation, an issue so undecided that even the Justices on today’s Supreme Court see their interpretive functions very differently...

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*Whereas Hamilton supported life tenure for Supreme Court justices, Yates noted how unprecedented and possibly devastating it would be to give judges complete independence both in salary and job title. “No errors they may commit,” he lamented, “can be corrected by any power above them.”*

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## *Minor and Certificate in American Constitutional Democracy*



Finally, though perhaps most importantly, the Kinder Institute offers two courses of study for University of Missouri undergraduates of any major who wish to engage in an in-depth, interdisciplinary examination of the nation's constitutional and democratic traditions. The curriculum for the Minor and Certificate in American Constitutional Democracy includes three-credit hour courses in the MU Departments of Political Science, History, Philosophy, Classical Studies, and Economics, as well as one-credit hour Honors College tutorials that allow students to examine specific themes and figures from the tradition of American political thought and history in a small seminar setting. A description of some of the courses developed by MU faculty for the Minor and Certificate during the 2014-15 school year can be found in the faculty programs and profiles section.

As a way of further deepening their understanding of the currents of thought and historical conditions that have shaped and re-shaped democratic life in the United States, students minoring in American Constitutional Democracy must complete at least three credit hours of experiential learning coursework, which can be fulfilled via internship courses that wed theory and practice or faculty-led study abroad classes that provide students with the opportunity to explore constitutional governance in a global perspective. Students pursuing the Certificate in American Constitutional Democracy, which is rewarded for having completed twelve hours of coursework within the approved curriculum, are invited, but not required, to take an experiential learning course.







BY BRINGING RENOWNED SCHOLARS OF AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT AND HISTORY TO COLUMBIA, AND BY HOSTING WORKSHOPS AND SEMINARS BOTH ON CAMPUS AND IN THE CITY, THE KINDER INSTITUTE TAKES ONE STEP CLOSER TO ACHIEVING ITS CORE GOAL OF BUILDING AN INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY DEVOTED NOT ONLY TO STUDYING THE ORIGINS AND COMPLEX MEANINGS OF THE NATION'S POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND VALUES, BUT ALSO TO EXPLORING WAYS IN WHICH TO BEST REFINE THESE INSTITUTIONS AND REALIZE THESE VALUES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY.

## *Fall 2014 Speakers*

### *Completing the Constitution*

Professor Michael Zuckert's Constitution Day Lecture

The vocabulary of early American democracy abounds with turns of phrase that we commonly associate with a government devoted to preserving the rights of its citizens: the Declaration's articulation of the self-evident truth that all men are created equal, for example, or the Preamble's foreshadowing a Constitution that would "secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity." However, as University of Notre Dame Professor of Political Science Michael Zuckert argued in his September 17, 2014, lecture on the meaning and importance of the 14th Amendment, in its original form, the 1787 Constitution was ill-equipped to deliver on such ideals. Moreover, he pointed out how the inadequacy of the original Constitution was not lost on Madison, the figure credited with being the document's primary architect. In outlining the pre-history of the 14th Amendment, Zuckert traced the origin of its protections back to the notion of "corrective federalism" that Madison felt was necessary to guard against the threat that state misgovernance posed to the task of securing individual rights (but missing from the original Constitution). Specifically, Prof. Zuckert noted how offsetting the possibility of majority tyranny required, for Madison, arming Congress with a "very large veto power, which could be used to correct unjust laws...passed by states."

While the failure to garner support for this veto power led Madison to declare to Jefferson that he "did not expect [the 1787 Constitution] to survive its infancy," the rediscovery and "robust" implementation of his corrective federalist model by post-Civil War Republicans is, Prof. Zuckert continued, what allows us to "make sense of the text and history of the 14th Amendment" as the piece of legislation that ultimately "completed the Constitution."



Arising in response to the rights-denying Black Codes introduced in the Reconstruction South—as well as in response to questions regarding the constitutionality of the challenge to these Codes that the Civil Rights Act of 1866 posed—the purpose of the 14th Amendment was, Prof. Zuckert explained, “to do more adequately what the 13th Amendment had attempted to do: and that is to re-order the original constitutional ordering of rights and federalism.”

Focusing on the 14th Amendment’s second clause—“nor should any state deprive any person of [the natural right to] life, liberty, and property without due process of law nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction equal protection of the law”—Prof. Zuckert went on to show how legislators fulfilled this task of re-ordering by addressing the fact that, prior to the 14th Amendment, individual “rights had no constitutional status vis a vis the states.” If, he concluded, the original Constitution originally placed “no duties on the states” with regards to securing these rights, the “due process” and “equal protection” clauses in particular defined new limitations “that the states [had to] respect on pain of being corrected by agents of the federal government.”

### ***The Fire This Time: Ferguson, St. Louis, and the Fate of the American City***

In partnership with the Chancellor’s Diversity Initiative and the Departments of History, English, Geography, and Religious Studies, the Kinder Institute co-sponsored an October 23, 2014, public lecture delivered by University of Iowa Professor of History Colin Gordon entitled, “The Fire This Time: Ferguson, St. Louis, and the Fate of the American City.” Drawing extensively on his groundbreaking work with GIS mapping technology, Prof. Gordon placed the recent civic unrest in Ferguson, MO, within the larger context of how the city of St. Louis as a whole has been plagued by—and is still mired in a state of decline because of—decades of discriminatory housing policies and practices.

### ***When the United States (and Missouri) Spoke French***

Johns Hopkins University Professor of History Francois Furstenberg visited the University of Missouri campus on November 6, 2014, to deliver a public talk on his recent book, *When the United States Spoke French* (Penguin, 2014), which tracks the experience abroad of five French aristocrats who fled to the United States in the years following the 1789 Revolution. Prof. Furstenberg focused, in his lecture, on examining the vital role that these emigres played in the westward expansion of the nation, arguing that their “investment in American land helps us understand how European capital” was instrumental in the United States’ transformation from a “young, fragile nation into a continental power.”

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*Moreover, he pointed out how the inadequacy of the original Constitution was not lost on Madison, the figure credited with being the document’s primary architect. In outlining the pre-history of the 14th Amendment, Zuckert traced the origin of its protections back to the notion of “corrective federalism” that Madison felt was necessary to guard against the threat that state misgovernance posed to the task of securing individual rights (but missing from the original Constitution).*

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## *Human Rights and Human Dignity*

Public Lecture with Prof. Kyle Harper

As Oklahoma University Professor of Classics and Letters Kyle Harper pointed out in introducing his February 19, 2015, public lecture at the University of Missouri, there are a number of sources for what he termed the “human rights anxiety” that exists in today’s academy: the instability of the current multi-polar international order; the “triumph of Kantianism as the dominant spirit of contemporary liberalism”; and the rapid progress of secularization in contemporary society. However, the paradox underlying this anxiety can, he noted, be stated in far simpler terms: While human rights form the “foundation of global moral order,” there is little consensus regarding exactly “what they are [and] where they come from.”

Working against the tendency in academia to treat human rights as an innovation of Enlightenment-era thinkers like Kant, Prof. Harper addressed this pressing question of origin by locating the genesis of human rights logic in the ancient world. “The search for the origins of rights,” he noted in outlining his thesis, “is the search for the means by which and the moment when ideas of cosmopolitanism and dignity began to flow together to make claims about the kinds of respect that were due to the human person as such. That moment,” he argued, “is late antiquity, in the Roman empire, after the Constantinian Revolution.” In bearing this thesis out, Prof. Harper examined the sermons and writings of three fourth-century theologians—Gregory of Nyssa, Basil of Caesarea, and Gregory of Nazianzus—to demonstrate how ideas about the inherent worth of “the human person as such” emerged from Christian leaders’ reactions to the “concrete structures” of social experience in late antiquity. In his radical attack on the institution of slavery, for example, Gregory of Nyssa voiced his opposition to the slave sale in terms of the incomparable value and dignity of human life, arguing that “he who knew human nature said that the entire cosmos was not worthy to be exchanged for the soul of man.” We see a similar antecedent to the primary characteristics of Kantian rights, Prof. Harper noted, in Basil of Caesarea’s opposition to the accepted practices of sexual coercion and exploitation. Specifically, in detailing the proactive, anti-coercive legislation that these sermons inspired, Prof. Harper pointed out how we see, for the first time, the emergence of the belief that even “those whose bodies lacked any familial or civic claim to sexual honor received the protection of the state, simply by virtue of their human dignity.” He concluded by locating notions of cosmopolitanism and a belief in inherent human worth in the practice of charity that was central to Gregory of Nazianzus’s fourth-century translation of Christian Gospel into concrete social ideology.

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*The search for the origins of rights is the search for the means by which and the moment when ideas of cosmopolitanism and dignity began to flow together to make claims about the kinds of respect that were due to the human person as such. That moment is late antiquity, in the Roman empire, after the Constantinian Revolution.*

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## *Spring 2015 Speakers*

### ***The Secret Origins of American Democracy***

On April 15, 2015, Dr. Philip Lampi (American Antiquarian Society) and Professors Andrew W. Robertson (City University of New York) and Rosemarie Zagari (George Mason University) visited the MU campus to deliver a public lecture on their work with the *New Nation Votes* project. A landmark resource in the digital humanities—and the life’s work of Dr. Lampi—*A New Nation Votes* is a searchable database of local and national election returns from the early American republic that were not only previously un-catalogued, but were also widely thought to be lost. The data provided by the NNV website, the visiting scholars argued, has the potential to transform our understanding of pre-Jacksonian political culture by revealing new information about such topics as voter participation and the trajectories of political parties in the years 1787-1825.

### ***For Moral Readings of the Constitution and Against Originalism***

In partnership with the University of Missouri Law School, the Kinder Institute hosted Boston University Professor of Law James Fleming for an April 30, 2015, lecture on his recent book, *Fidelity to Our Imperfect Constitution*. Prof. Fleming provided an overview of the case against originalism that he develops in his book, focusing specifically on recent trends in constitutional scholarship that capaciously attempt to subsume arguments for a morally normative reading of the Constitution under the subheading of “inclusive originalism.”

### ***Public Atheism: An American History***

Washington University Distinguished Professor of Humanities Leigh Eric Schmidt made the trek from St. Louis to Columbia on April 30, 2015, to give a public talk on the incremental growth of atheism in American public life. Prof. Schmidt charted the evolution of atheism in the United States through an examination of three movements: deism in the early Republic; the liberal secularist movement of the late-nineteenth century; and the twentieth-century antics of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism. Prof. Schmidt also serves as the Acting Director of Washington University’s John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics.







## *History Colloquia*

During the Fall 2014 semester, the Kinder Institute introduced its Friday History Colloquium Series, a program that provides scholars of early American history with an opportunity to share their research with the University of Missouri community. The Colloquium Series kicked off with presentations delivered by the Institute's Postdoctoral and Research Fellows in History, Benjamin Park and Armin Mattes (see Postdoctoral Bios for descriptions of Dr. Park and Dr. Mattes' current research), before opening up its doors to out-of-town scholars.

### *The Terrors of the First Night*

University of Central Arkansas Visiting Professor Vaughn Scribner gave a December 5, 2014, talk on the role that taverns played in colonists' protests to the Stamp Act during the years 1765-66. Prof. Scribner argued in his presentation that, as places in which ideas were exchanged and oppositional attitudes were stoked by liquor, taverns functioned not only as de facto headquarters for colonists' acts of semi-organized and often violent resistance to the Stamp Act, but also as spaces in which the ideological seeds of local, national, and global political change were planted.

### *Economic Cultures of Labor and Sectional Conflict*

On January 30, 2015, St. Louis University doctoral candidate Eric Sears traveled to Columbia to discuss his research into competing explanations of the causes of the Panic of 1857 and their broader significance in antebellum politics. Focusing on the various moral conceptions of labor that made their way to the forefront of the economic conversation, Sears argued that the national debate between those who attributed the Panic to the commercial banking system and those free labor advocates who blamed it on the slaveholding states ultimately served as an accelerant of sorts for the outbreak of civil war.

### *John Jay's Retirement and the Ends of Federalism*

University of Northwestern Associate Professor of History Jonathan Den Hartog gave a February 20, 2015, talk on the contributions John Jay made to American political life in the years after he retired from public office. Specifically, Prof. Den Hartog cited Jay's engagement in debates over the War of 1812 and the extension of slavery, as well as his work with Bible distribution and temperance societies, as evidence of the way in which Federalists like Jay redirected their energies in order to retain some influence over the shape of the early Republic.

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*Sears argued that the national debate between those who attributed the Panic to the commercial banking system and those free labor advocates who blamed it on the slaveholding states ultimately served as an accelerant of sorts for the outbreak of civil war.*

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## *Clergymen and the Constitution*

For the final colloquium of the 2014-15 academic year, Dr. Spencer McBride provided an overview of his current book project, which examines clergy participation in the 1787-88 ratification debates. In his talk, Dr. McBride, who serves as Documentary Editor of the Joseph Smith Papers, focused on three key themes in the history of clerical activism: the perception of the clergy as a special interest group that wielded dangerous political influence; the clergy's place in the contest between Federalists and Anti-Federalists to control the narrative of the nation's providential mission; and a fundamental disagreement among clergymen with regard to whether public morality could exist without religion.

## *MRSEAH*

Started in the fall of 2014 by Kinder Institute Associate Director Jeffrey L. Pasley and University of Illinois-Springfield Professor of History Kenneth Owen, the Missouri Regional Seminar on Early American History (MRSEAH) provides Midwestern scholars working on topics related to pre-1900 American history with an opportunity to exchange ideas and research with colleagues in a serious but convivial setting. The MRSEAH convenes twice per academic semester, once in Columbia and once in St. Louis, MO, and follows a workshop format, with organizers pre-circulating the paper or papers to be discussed in advance of the meeting. Over the course of the four 2014-15 meetings, the MRSEAH drew participants from universities and colleges including: Southeast Missouri State University, Washington University, St. Louis University, Westminster College, University of Louisville, Truman State University, University of Illinois-Springfield, Johns Hopkins University, Northwestern University, and University of Missouri.

### **Fall 2014**

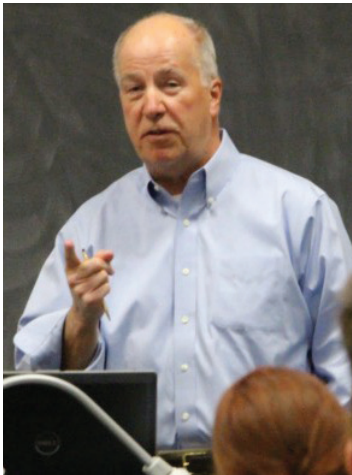
The inaugural meeting of the MRSEAH was held on September 25, 2014, at the Missouri History Museum in St. Louis, with participants coming together to discuss a chapter from St. Louis University Professor of History Lorri Glover's forthcoming Johns Hopkins Press book, *The Fate of the Revolution: Virginians Debate the Constitution*.

For the second fall meeting of the MRSEAH, participants gathered in Columbia on November 7 to discuss Johns Hopkins University Professor of History Francois Furstenberg's recent essay, "An Economic Interpretation: Trans-Atlantic Land Speculation in the Age of Revolutions."



## Spring 2015

Following winter break, the Regional Seminar re-convened at the Broadway Hotel in Columbia on February 27, 2015, for a rare “double-header.” Participants first discussed a pre-circulated chapter from Truman State University Professor of History Daniel Mandell’s new book project, *The Lost Tradition of Economic Equality in America, 1600-1880*. After a brief reception, seminar attendees re-gathered for a dinner lecture, titled “Creating a Federal Government, 1789-1829: A Digital History of Early Policy Making,” delivered by Washington University Professor of History Peter Kastor.



For the final MRSEAH event of the year, participants met on March 27 at Café Napoli in Clayton, MO, to discuss a chapter from Northwestern University Assistant Professor of History Caitlin Fitz’s recent book manuscript, *Our Sister Republics: The United States in an Age of American Revolution* (W.W. Norton, 2015).

## *Shawnee Trail Regional Seminar on American Politics and Constitutionalism*

On May 22, 2015, the Kinder Institute hosted the inaugural Shawnee Trail Regional Seminar, a one-day, workshop-style conference designed to provide scholars of American politics and constitutionalism with an opportunity to share recent articles, research, and works in progress with colleagues from around the Midwest (and beyond). The Seminar was organized as a series of four themed roundtable discussions, with participants addressing pre-circulated papers on the following topics: Matters of Theory, Public Law—Interpretation & Impact, Constitutional Matters, and American Politics & Political Development. Held just off the University of Missouri campus in Columbia, the Shawnee Trail Seminar was attended by professors and graduate students from: University of Texas at Austin, University of Missouri, Yale University, Missouri State University, Baylor University, Wichita State University, University of North Texas, and Claremont McKenna College, among other institutions.

## *Political Science Brown Bag Lecture Series*

Adding to a still-growing slate of academic workshops, the Institute introduced the Political Science Brown Bag Lecture Series during the Spring 2015 semester. Like the history colloquia, the Brown Bag lectures are designed to give scholars on campus and in the region an opportunity to share their current research with members of the University of Missouri community. The Brown Bag Series opened with presentations by the Kinder Institute's 2014-15 Research and Postdoctoral Fellows in Political Science, Curt Nichols and Sung-Wook Paik.

In providing an overview of his current book project during the inaugural, February 27, 2015, Brown Bag lecture, Kinder Research Fellow Curt Nichols focused on the American Governing Cycle (AGC), the central component of his research on the factors that affect presidential leadership. As a metric that contextualizes presidential efficacy, Prof. Nichols explained, the AGC—which consists of periods of political stability, compromised government, and political rejuvenation—provides a means of understanding the climates in which presidents are capable of doing the great things that the electorate expects of them.

For the second Brown Bag lecture, Kinder Postdoctoral Fellow Sung-Wook Paik outlined his ongoing research into the historical and intellectual conditions that led to a global expansion of judicial power in the era following World War II. In commenting on how European nations responded to the specter of totalitarianism, Dr. Paik focused specifically on tracing the intellectual roots of post-WW II judicial empowerment in Europe back to nineteenth-century liberal anxiety regarding adapting government to account for mass democratic participation. Dr. Paik concluded by examining how New Deal-era debates in the United States over the best institutional means of advancing liberal democratic principles spilled over into the judiciary in a way that, at least to some degree, cohered with post-WW II evolutions in European constitutionalism.

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## *Dissertation Fellows Panels*

Central to the Kinder Institute's mission are programs that advance the academic work and careers of the next wave of scholars in the field of American political thought and history. To achieve this end, we held panel discussions during the Fall 2014 and Spring 2015 semesters, during which the inaugural class of Kinder Dissertation Fellows provided overviews of their doctoral research. The topics of the Fellows' presentations are listed below.

### **History Dissertation Fellows' Panel Discussion**

#### *Religious Freedom in Evangelical America*

October 27, 2014

#### *Anti-Catholicism and Religious Liberty in Early Nineteenth-Century America*

Cassie Yacovazzi

#### *Billy Sunday and the Influence of Democratic Principles on Progressive-Era Evangelicalism*

Jennifer L. Wiard

#### *The Rise and Swift Collapse of Oral Roberts' City of Faith*

Jonathan Root

### **Political Science Dissertation Fellows' Roundtable**

March 13, 2015

#### *The Effects of Party Culture and Ambition on Political Careers*

John Davis

#### *Voter-Party connections in the context of citizen satisfaction with democracy*

Joshua Norberg

#### *Institutional, Historical Hindsight and Constitutional Design*

Matthew Newton













## *Town & Gown Dinner Symposia*

As a way of sparking discussion about the American constitutional traditions, the Kinder Institute hosts biannual Town & Gown Dinner Symposia, which bring together Institute faculty, University officials, and members of the local community for lectures on key topics and figures in the history of democracy in the United States.

### **David Von Drehle**

For the Fall 2014 Town & Gown dinner, held on October 17 at Umbria Rustic Italian in downtown Columbia, *Time* magazine editor-at-large and Pulitzer Prize winner David Von Drehle gave a talk on the still evolving legacy of Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts. As a way of introducing his primary subject, Von Drehle provided insight into the unique personalities that make up the Roberts Court, and also cited a number of landmark cases—from *Brown v. Board of Education* to *Bush v. Gore*—that demonstrate how, in the decades leading up to Roberts’ confirmation, the Supreme Court had come to occupy an increasingly central place in American political and public life.

In turning his attention to Chief Justice Roberts’ tenure, Von Drehle focused on Roberts’ successful efforts to dial back the Court’s profile following the 2000 *Bush v. Gore* decision, examining such cases as *United States v. Windsor*—as well as the Court’s initial decision not to rule on the constitutionality of the Affordable Care Act—to argue that, under Roberts’ guidance, the Court as a whole has become uniquely measured in applying its authority. Von Drehle concluded, though, by raising the question of just how long this relative quiet would last, pointing specifically to the then-pending *Elonis v. United States* as an example of a case that would once again thrust the high Court into the center of public life in order to clarify a legal issue—First Amendment rights within the context of internet threats—with which lower courts had struggled.

### **Diana Schaub**

For the Spring 2015 Town & Gown event, Loyola University Professor of Political Science Diana Schaub delivered a lecture on the historical background and rhetorical nuance of Lincoln’s “Gettysburg Address.” Providing a testament to the importance of close reading in all academic disciplines, Prof. Schaub went sentence-by-sentence—and, in some cases, word-by-word—through the famous 1863 oration, unpacking the layers of significance with which Lincoln endowed each of his turns of phrase.

In parsing the speech’s opening, single-sentence paragraph, for example, Prof. Schaub noted how Lincoln drew on the language of scripture, generative congress, the American Founding, and Euclidian geometry in order to announce how his purpose at Gettysburg was to create a bridge from the




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*Prof. Schaub noted how Lincoln drew on the language of scripture, generative congress, the American Founding, and Euclidian geometry in order to announce how his purpose at Gettysburg was to create a bridge from the United States’ past to its future, in the face of the country’s violent present.*

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United States' past to its future, in the face of the country's violent present. For Lincoln, she explained, adequately dedicating the battlefield's cemetery required reminding his audience not only of how the nation was "conceived in Liberty," but also of how the ongoing war marked a necessary, if tragic, use of action to translate the abstract, propositional idea of freedom into the concrete, self-evident truth concerning equality that was promised by the Declaration of Independence and that would hopefully define the Republic going forward. The event was held in the Great Room at the University's Reynolds Alumni Center.

## *Community Seminar Series*

The other cornerstone of the Institute's local educational outreach programming is our community seminar series, which is designed to engage individuals in our home city in dialogue about the nation's political history.

Throughout the 2014-2015 academic year, Kinder Institute Director Justin Dyer met with members of the Columbia business community to discuss the political writings of C.S. Lewis, including such landmark works as *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century*, *The Abolition of Man*, "We Have no 'Right to Happiness,'" "On Living in an Atomic Age," and "Is Progress Possible." The Lewis seminar concluded with a dinner lecture, delivered by Union University Professor of Political Science Micah Watson, which explored how to resolve the tension that exists between Lewis' steadfast belief that democracies should promote legal and economic equality and the seemingly undemocratic form of hierarchy inherent in his emphasis on excellence in education.

During the Spring 2015 semester, the Institute added a second seminar to its slate. Led by Communications Associate Thomas Kane, and consisting of University faculty, graduate students and local history enthusiasts, the new seminar met monthly to discuss the American slave narrative in political, historical, and pedagogical context. The group examined works including Frederick Douglass' *Narrative*, Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, and Margaret Fuller's *The Great Lawsuit*, with particular attention paid to the language of democratic contradiction in the slave narrative, the relationship between the abolitionist and women's suffrage movements, and editorial intrusion in the genre.

The Institute expanded its seminar offerings even further during the Fall 2015 semester, with Kinder Postdoctoral Fellow in History Benjamin Park leading a group in a yearlong examination of the political history of Mormonism in the United States, and Ph.D. candidate Dana Angello hosting an October workshop on local government, featuring weekly talks delivered by City of Columbia public officials.

## *Other*

In addition to our local programs, Kinder Institute faculty members and affiliates traveled to locations near and far during the Institute's first year to open up new lines of dialogue about American political thought and history.

Society of Fellows Director and University of Missouri Law School Associate Professor Carli Conklin gave a November 12, 2014, talk on the historical background and meaning of "the pursuit of happiness" for MU alumni and guests at the Kansas City Country Club.

Kinder Institute Associate Director Jeffrey L. Pasley gave a pair of out-of-town lectures during the 2014-15 academic year. On December 16, 2014, Prof. Pasley traveled to Washington, D.C., to discuss his recent book, *The First Presidential Contest: The Election of 1796 and the Beginnings of American Democracy*, as part of Mount Vernon's Ford Evening Book Talk Series. Professor Pasley gave a second lecture on his research into the first presidential election, titled "1796: The Unintentional Campaign (That Created American Politics)," on February 12, 2015, on the University of Richmond campus. The Richmond talk was sponsored by the Virginia Chapter of the Society of the Cincinnati.

In partnership with the Missouri Humanities Council, the Institute co-hosted a private dinner reception for MU alumni and guests at the Kansas City Country Club on June 16, 2015. The featured speaker for the event was MHC Executive Director Steve Belko, who gave a talk on the rise of Jacksonian Democracy within the context of the nineteenth-century protective tariff debates.





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