



KINDER INSTITUTE
on CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY



NEWSLETTER | FALL 2017



The COLUMNS



UNDERGRADUATE NEWS

We finally did the math this summer, and there are, in fact, three days each year—the Saturday-to-Monday in August between when our Kinder Scholars check out of D.C. housing and our new Society of Fellows members report to campus for the program's kickoff—when we have zero irons in the undergraduate fire. Upon realizing this, a general pall of “what do we do with ourselves” hung over the Jesse Hall dome. As the next few pages indicate, though, said pall lifted quickly, as things picked up before they could really slow down. Reports from students returning from the capital started



Though only some of these events are covered in this quarter's newsletter, our fall calendar ended up taking on a rather ark-like quality this time around: a pair of Constitution Day lectures, a pair of visits from Pulitzer Prize winners, a pair of Society of Fellows dinner discussions (in fairness, this always happens), and a pair of workshops on forthcoming books with two leading, Boston-based scholars of twentieth-century American legal and constitutional history (the odds of this happening again, let alone happening in the first place, however, are mighty, mighty long).

In addition to accidentally creating eerie programming symmetry, thanks to support from a number of on- and off-campus collaborators, we've also been lucky enough to test out a handful of different projects this semester, ranging from 30-minute “conversation starter” podcasts with Institute guests, to a cross-institutional undergraduate colloquium (see pp. 11-12 for more details), to C-SPAN-broadcast lectures. Add in our regular slate of community seminars, bimonthly Friday talks, and graduate and undergraduate classes, and fall has been a busy couple of months so far (with a busy couple of months to follow). We hope you'll keep reading for more on everything from Ben Franklin to post-Wall Berlin, and we also invite those of you who haven't already to follow or find us on Twitter, @MUDemocracy, for links to the less analog-friendly ventures mentioned above.

We'll recap the end of this semester in our February newsletter, and check your inboxes around the new year for our Spring 2018 events calendar.

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Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy
University of Missouri

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pouring in before their planes home taxied (see pp. 2-5 for those), and we spent the free Monday putting the finishing touches on our fourth annual Society of Fellows Summer Seminar (recapped on pp. 6-10). Details about Fall 2017 undergrad and alumni events, along with the unveiling of our 2018 class of Kinder Scholars, will arrive with the winter newsletter, but we would like to take a second now to plant an



KINDER SCHOLARS WRAP UP

Question: Who collectively owns more than two replica Civil War-era bonnets and still meets for group dinners months after leaving D.C.? Answer: This year’s Kinder Scholars. As you have probably already gleaned from the pictures—and if not, as you’ll certainly glean from the students’ own notes from the summer—the 2017 Kinder Scholars were a vibrant, adventurous bunch. As every professor who came back from D.C. went out of their way to note, though, the members of this year’s class weren’t just lively, and they weren’t just smart (though they definitely were both of these things). To a person, our faculty returned to Columbia with high praise regarding how participants were deeply committed to the specific intellectual project that is at the heart of the Kinder Scholars program: exploring the many ways in which the philosophical foundations and early history of the United States continue to inform the practice of American constitutional democracy today.

Which is to say that students brought new takes on elections in the early republic with them to their work with Let America Vote; that an exploration of natural law philosophy made its way to Federalist Society debates; and that greater understanding of the founding of D.C. was used to better grapple with and report on issues that the city faces today. We have listed all internship sites, as well as all topics for the “Beltway History & Politics” seminar, in past newsletters and on our website, so rather than reiterate that information here, we will instead turn to a handful of this year’s Kinder Scholars for closing remarks on their summer in the capital.

important seed in readers’ (especially Kansas City readers’) minds: keep early March 2018 clear on your calendars, as there are rumblings coming from the Kinder Institute Chair’s office that the MU-KU Border War will at long last be revived with an old-fashioned (and open to the public) battle of undergrad wits. What side Prof. **Jay(hawk) Sexton** will root for, however, has yet to be determined.



A Day in the Life

Thanks to junior **Tom Coulter** (Journalism/History) and senior **Lauren Russ** (International Studies) for reporting back with extended profiles on all things Kinder Scholars. Without further ado...

from Tom... “Through the Kinder Scholars class, I’ve gotten the opportunity to explore the complexity of ideas that shaped the city we’re living in this summer. Whether discussing the varying opinions among women during their battle for political and economic equality or the grizzly history of the city’s ever-changing neighborhoods, I have enjoyed digging into the nuances of Washington, D.C. Likewise, working as an editorial intern at *Street Sense* has allowed me to confront the city’s complicated issues firsthand. Before coming to D.C., I knew America was far from perfect, but seeing the everyday lives of people experiencing homelessness has forced me to reckon with this fact on a more intimate level. The topics we are reading about and discussing in class have helped me reconcile with this experience, as they underscore how my feelings mirror those of people from other moments in history. Several historic figures we’ve studied fought to improve the world in which they lived, and their examples have helped me understand my role in a society that still has a lot of work to do.

While it’s been tough to see the conditions of many District residents, I’ve thoroughly enjoyed interning at *Street Sense*. The paper operates on a much tighter budget than most publications, and producing journalism under these constraints makes for a fun challenge every week. Since my first day, I’ve gained a much clearer idea of how a large city like D.C. operates, allowing me to pursue stories that would’ve been difficult for me to write beforehand. I was particularly proud of one I wrote about D.C.’s new diversion program. When the D.C. Attorney General tweeted a link to the article, I knew I had accurately captured the city’s efforts to improve conditions for youth experiencing homelessness.

The field trips every Friday have added crucial depth to topics we’ve explored in class. Like my experiences reporting around the city, each trip has reminded me that researching and studying topics from a room only goes so far. Without actually seeing

Without actually seeing the distance Frederick Douglass walked from his home in Anacostia to the heart of the city every day, even in his old age, I wouldn’t have been able to fully appreciate his dedication to the abolitionist cause.





the distance Frederick Douglass walked from his home in Anacostia to the heart of the city every day, even in his old age, I wouldn’t have been able to fully appreciate his dedication to the abolitionist cause. The field trip highlight for me so far has been visiting Monticello. Exploring how Jefferson’s home mirrors his complexity and contradictions was a real treat, and Dr.

Dierksheide provided useful perspective from the Smith Center, underscoring how historians play a critical role in shaping people’s thoughts on figures like Jefferson.”

from Lauren...“This summer, I interned with Congressman Emanuel Cleaver (MO-5th). When I accepted a position with Congressman Cleaver, I was a bit intimidated, it being the first internship I’d ever held on Capitol Hill. From what I’d seen on TV, the workplace in Congress was fast paced and waited for no inexperienced interns. Luckily, when I began the Tuesday after Memorial Day, the House was in recess, and I was able to learn my way around before all the Representatives returned.

Once Congress was back in session and the great whirlwind of tasks came my way, I was more than prepared. Whether it was helping log mail and calls or writing a statement for the Congressman to use in an online video, I was beginning to feel like I could hold my own. Most importantly, if any of the staff members needed assistance, I was the first one in line to help.

The most exciting moment of my internship came out of left field so to speak! I was sitting at my desk writing up a memo, when the Congressman walked up and told me we were going to a Minority Senior Whip Meeting. I could not believe my luck (or the fact that the Congressman knew my name!). Walking with the Congressman through the Capitol, he explained to me the purpose of these meetings and how important they are to the party. It was such a great experience, being able to sit in on a meeting with some pretty famous members of Congress, all discussing policy and ideas for the future. Now that I’ve interned in D.C., I can really see myself living and working here one day! It had always been a dream these past few years at Mizzou to be able to work for the Federal Government out on the East Coast. From the University of Missouri campus, though, Washington, D.C., felt like a fictional place that I

would never get to experience. After college and possibly law school, I am confident that I will come back to D.C. Not only is this city the hub of all national politics, it’s also a city of great opportunity!”

Lightning Round

In what we hope is an annual tradition in the making, for the second year running, we asked a few students to complete a lightning round as part of the Kinder Scholars Program’s exit survey. What follows is a sampling of some of their fondest memories and proudest moments from the summer.

What was the highlight of your internship?

Jane Kielhofner: Having unlimited access to nearly the entire Capitol building, meeting Joseph Kennedy III, and going to medical briefings which inspired me to change my career path.

George Roberson: Having the research I spent part of my internship working on featured in a Frank Bruni column in the *New York Times*!

Spencer Tauchen: Helping out at a naturalization ceremony!

Did the time in D.C. clarify future plans?

Tricia Swartz: I learned that I enjoy working in congressional politics, and I realized which policy areas I hope to work with in the future. After having the opportunity to attend meetings and complete tasks for the Congresswoman’s [Vicky Hartzler’s] Values Action Team, it became evident to me that there is a need for protecting constitutional rights such as religious liberty. At the moment, I still do not have a specific post-college plan. However, my experience has helped me to discover where I hope to be someday, which is fulfilling a role where I can inform congressional members about issues pertaining to the intersections between constitutional law and natural law philosophy.

Noelle Mack: Definitely. Prior to the summer, my plan had been to attend law school following my upcoming graduation. However, I learned that with the career goals I had in mind, I do not need to attend law school but can instead obtain a Master’s degree in Public Administration/Affairs. This took a huge worry and doubt off my shoulders. Without D.C., I never would have had the chance to speak with the amazing people I did who helped me come to this conclusion.

Favorite reading from the “Beltway History & Politics” seminar?

GR: *The Mississippi Plan* by Nicholas Lemann, from Overby’s week. It illustrated a dark and readily forgotten part of the South’s history.

ST: Frederick Douglass’ “What to the Slave Is the 4th of July.”



It should be mandatory reading for all Americans; no clue how I hadn’t seen it up until this point.

Field trip you will always remember?

NM: My favorite field trip was Annapolis. We all had such a great time touring the town and the Naval Academy, followed by a boat trip. I loved how the trip was structured in some ways, with the tours, but then we also had a few hours to ourselves to explore.

GR: I loved Gettysburg. I had never been fascinated by the Civil War until that field trip. I could have spent a whole week hiking those battlefields.

Most “D.C. thing” you did/saw/that happened to you?

JK: By the end of the trip I was so bitter at “escaleftors,” AKA tourists who stand on the left side of the escalator during rush hour.

ST: Seeing Rep. Chaffetz solemnly eating breakfast alone in a DC café.

Favorite place to find a moment of quiet (or delightful noisiness) in D.C.?

JK: Library of Congress reading room, the empty Rotunda after a long day of tours, Korean War Memorial, running through Dupont Circle...

GR: The National Cathedral, maybe my favorite spot in D.C.

TS: I think this question is a bit ironic, because there are not too many quiet spots in the city! If I ever needed a spot for reading or completing homework, I would walk to Philz, a coffee shop located in the Adams Morgan neighborhood.

When you shut your eyes, what’s the first D.C. image that will come to mind?

JK: The mall at night in the pouring rain (which is the last way I saw it—and I came home drenched).

TS: When I shut my eyes, I can’t help but think of the House Chamber in the Capitol Building. I had the opportunity to visit the House Chamber multiple times throughout my internship, and one of my favorite moments [there] was watching Congresswoman Hartzler debate with other congressional members about an amendment she proposed.

ST: The Metro Station ceilings.



SOCIETY OF FELLOWS SUMMER SEMINAR

Held every year in the weeks leading up to the start of the fall semester, our Society of Fellows Summer Seminar brings each new Fellows class to the Tiger Hotel in downtown Columbia to spend three days studying the landmarks and nuances of American political thought and history alongside Kinder Institute faculty and other members of our intellectual community. Providing students with an introduction to the Institute's interdisciplinary mode of scholarly inquiry—as well as with an opportunity to begin bonding as a cohort—this year's crash course in constitutional democracy took place August 8-11. The following pages contain a full list of the nine seminar sessions that students attended this year, including notes from a pair of perennial favorites led by MU Professors **Marvin Overby** and **Jeff Milyo**. But first, a brief recap of Professor **Dennis Trout's** August 8 keynote lecture.

Imagined Romes and Virtuous Republics
MU Professor of Classical Studies Dennis Trout

To kick off our fourth annual Summer Seminar, MU Professor of Classical Studies Dennis Trout took this year's class of undergraduate fellows on a journey back-and-forth between the 18th century and the ancient world—and across terrains both real and imagined—as a way to examine what exactly attracted Enlightenment-era thinkers, and the American Founders in particular, to the narrative of Rome's transition from monarchy, to republic, to empire.

As Prof. Trout noted in opening his keynote, when it comes to the actual history of ancient Rome, the dividing lines between these three stages of government aren't quite as clean as the above statement of transition makes them out to seem. Especially

in the period on which the lecture focused—the 2nd century B.C., near the beginning of the fall of the republic—Rome was, in effect, a constitutional monarchy that looked like a republic that was already in the process of empire building. The innovation of this mixed constitutional form, he went on to explain, was what enabled Roman philosophers and historians including Livy, Cicero, and Polybius to envision a state that could break out of the then familiar cycle of monarchy devolving into tyranny, aristocracy into oligarchy, and democracy into mob rule. More than just believing this arrangement a basis for stability, theorists at the time also saw the cooperation and checks and balances that came with mixed government as having the potential to inculcate citizens in a spirit of civic virtue—and specifically, a willingness to sacrifice for the common good—that they felt was necessary for a state to prosper.

Interestingly, Prof. Trout pointed out, the relationship between constitutional form and civic virtue is what led 18th-century thinkers to focus their attention not so much on the heyday of the Roman republic but, instead, on the history of its decline. For figures like John Adams, observing a causal link between waning civic-mindedness, decreased commitment to constitutionalism, and the collapse of the state underscored the broader threat to republican welfare posed by conditions such as disunion in the body politic or a notion of individual liberty untethered to an inclination for individual sacrifice. And during the Founding era, Prof. Trout concluded, the fascination with Rome extended beyond political theory and into creative life and popular culture in the new nation. In their own ways, Trumbull's Revolutionary War paintings, Addison's *Cato* (quite in vogue with late 18th-century Americans), and even Patrick Henry and Nathan Hale's famous declarations of patriotic devotion all drew on the imagery and tropes of the Roman republic in treating narrative as a morally educative means of revealing to citizens both the importance of civic virtue and the political stagnancy and devolution that come when it flags.





DAY 1: WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 9, 2017

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| 9:00 – 10:10 | “Political Philosophy and the <i>Declaration of Independence</i> ” Dr. Justin Dyer , Political Science |
| 10:30 – 11:40 | “Federalist and Anti-Federalist Republican Visions: Virtue, the Good, and Tyranny” Dr. Jay Dow , Political Science |
| 1:30 – 2:40 | “An Introduction to Alexis de Tocqueville” Dr. Marvin Overby , Political Science |

On one hand, this year’s class of fellows came away from Prof. Overby’s August 9 talk with invaluable, if not specifically Tocqueville-ian, practical knowledge: that ‘amateur’ is derived from the Latin *amare* (to love); that you have to see *Life of Brian* and *Papillon* if you haven’t yet; that you can always spot a 19th-century French aristocrat by the number of pairs of gloves he brings with him on his trip to the United States. In between life lessons, they also got an introduction to said aristocrat’s *Democracy in America*, a seminal work of history, political theory, and sociology that Harvard Professor of Government Henry Mansfield described as perhaps both the best book ever written about democracy and the best book ever written about America.

Understanding the book and the trip that spawned it, Prof. Overby began, first requires understanding its author and the times in which he lived. The son of a prefect under Napoleon and the friend of famous French Romantic François-René de Chateaubriand, Alexis de Tocqueville grew up with family connections both at home and abroad; a keen sense of *noblesse oblige*; and a hand-me-down, post-Reign of Terror aristocrat’s notion of the causes and effects of democracy gone awry. It is also important to remember, Prof. Overby added, that the lecture’s protagonist lived in a time of discovery and enlightenment—as Tocqueville himself described it, a democratic age—when global implementation of the theories of Locke and Hobbes had rendered monarchy all but dead. In the more immediate context of the trip itself, while Tocqueville was sent to America to escape the upheaval of the July Revolutions in France, he was re-thrown into a turbulent crucible as soon as he touched shore, arriving in the states in the thick of the Jacksonian era, when regional tensions were beginning to boil over.

The result of the trip—despite its official purpose being to study U.S. penitentiaries—was a groundbreaking, two-volume study of political life and culture in America, the first published in 1835 to great success, and the second published in 1840 to much less fanfare and much more criticism. The first volume, which Prof. Overby categorized as broadly observing what Americans had done to democracy, was light-hearted and optimistic. Yes, Tocqueville communicated in it his general fear about how an accumulation of wealth among the few might result in democratic society trending toward isolation and, eventually, landscape-shifting turmoil. At the same time, though, Tocqueville devoted much time in Volume One of *Democracy in America* not only to documenting the mores and habits of Americans but also to commenting on how citizens’ native impulses toward association and cooperation might well be enough to ward off the unraveling that he saw wealth disparity potentially inspiring. The second of the two volumes, a broad observation of what democracy had done to Americans, provided a much bleaker forecast of the United States’ future. Specifically, Prof. Overby noted that Tocqueville focused in it on warning how the centralization of government in the U.S., when combined with the uneven distribution of wealth, could

create an industrial aristocratic class that lacked a sense of the *noblesse oblige* which he believed central to national well-being.

And while some of Tocqueville’s observations of course proved more prescient than others, the book’s impact on how we think about and critique American democracy today is undeniable. To give but one of many, many examples of *Democracy in America*’s influence on contemporary political life and discourse, Prof. Overby ended his talk by reading from U.S. Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy’s opinion in *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015), in which Kennedy quotes at length from Tocqueville’s comments on marriage in articulating his support for extending this right to same-sex couples.

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| 3:00 – 4:10 | "Back to the Future/Forward to the Past: The American Political Press in Historical Perspective" Dr. Jeff Pasley , History |
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DAY 2: THURSDAY, AUGUST 10, 2017

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|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9:00 – 10:10 | "The American Experiment" Dr. Carli Conklin , Law |
| 10:30 – 11:40 | "A Social Science Perspective on the Voter ID Debate" Dr. Jeff Milyo , Economics |

In providing an August 10 overview of how social scientists have approached the task of parsing debates about the potentially discriminatory effect and, ultimately, the constitutionality of voter ID laws in the United States, Prof. Milyo began by showing how these debates’ somewhat circuitous 21st-century timeline really boils down to one major takeaway: though they have been examined and re-examined in courts, and though they have taken on many different forms over time, both strict and non-strict photo ID laws have been consistently on the rise since the issue came to the fore in 2000.

With broad context set, Prof. Milyo then turned to outlining some of the normative conclusions that social scientists have drawn regarding three questions in particular that are central to partisan arguments for and against photo ID laws.

1. **Is voter fraud a myth?** While there is circumstantial evidence that the frequency of illegal voting at least exceeds the low conviction rate for it, more important to the larger conversation about voter ID laws, Prof. Milyo explained, is the fact that statistical analysis shows no correspondence between stricter ID laws and a decrease in voter fraud.
2. **Is there a correlation between voter ID laws and voter turnout?** The answer here, Prof. Milyo noted, is a bit more complicated. Most notably in Wisconsin, arguments have successfully been made in court that voter ID laws should be struck down on the grounds that even the smallest change in the cost of voting could have significant, negative impact on the probability of voting. However, he went on to show that, by using a slightly more complex voting calculus, one can arrive at the opposite conclusion. Particularly in studies that track how public perception of the integrity of the electoral process is affected by voter ID laws, we see two things: (a) along partisan lines, ID laws do have a differential and not necessarily inconsequential effect, with democrats’ confidence and subsequently





their turnout depressed by ID laws; (b) that even in accounting for this, there is no net effect of ID laws on turnout.

3. **Statistically-speaking, are voter ID laws racially discriminatory?** Contrary to a highly publicized and since debunked study on the sizable discriminatory effects of photo ID laws, bipartisan teams of scholars at Harvard and Cal Tech (among other places) have gathered significant amounts of data showing that, on balance, ID laws neither place an undue burden on nor discriminate against minority voters.

Prof. Milyo closed with an important reminder: while these conclusions might present a different narrative than the one we hear shouted across the aisle in Congress, they also by no means tell the full constitutional story. Specifically, he pointed out that the studies he cited draw conclusions from very large sample sizes; which is to say that, while they might show that a large number of minority voters are not burdened by ID laws, they likewise reveal that a small, and not at all insignificant because it is small, number of voters *are* affected, and we must remember that rights exist as much for this latter group of voters as they do for the former.

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|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1:30 – 2:40 | "We Are Not Children: College Students and Constitutional Rights" Craig Forrest , Ph.D. Candidate in History |
| 3:00 – 4:10 | "Crisis in U.S. History" Dr. Jay Sexton , History |

DAY 3: FRIDAY, AUGUST 11, 2017

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| 9:00 – 10:10 | "Democracy: America's Other 'Peculiar Institution'" Dr. Andrew Robertson , History (CUNY Graduate Center) |
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Following the 9:00 seminar on Friday, students trekked up to the Kinder Institute offices in Jesse Hall for a lunchtime presentation by **Tim Parshall**, Director of Mizzou's Fellowships Office, and a brief introduction to the *Journal on Constitutional Democracy* with Drs. **Carli Conklin** and **Thomas Kane**.



UNDERGRADUATE COLLOQUIUM

Frederick Douglass in the American Mind

Linfield College Associate Professor & Chair of Political Science Nicholas Buccola

Given his status as one of the nation's most vitally significant statesmen, it is to our collective benefit that Frederick Douglass continues to play a role in shaping contemporary political discourse. Still, as Linfield College Professor **Nicholas Buccola** noted in introducing his keynote lecture for the October 7 undergraduate colloquium on "The Essential Frederick Douglass," while it is of the utmost importance *that* Douglass' ideas remain in circulation, how they are invoked in the course of partisan debate should in no way escape scrutiny. Even accounting for the vast scope and careful nuance of his writings, the sheer number of ideological camps that adopt Douglass as a co-signer on their agendas suggests that, somewhere along the way, interpretational slippage must occur.

We should be careful, however, not to mistake slippage for wholesale invalidity. Take, for instance, the case of "The Libertarian Douglass." In its principled focus on natural rights, self-ownership, and self-reliance, Douglass' thinking about the individual absolutely overlaps at points with present day libertarianism. However, as seen in Justice Clarence Thomas' dissenting opinion in *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), which opens with a lengthy quote from Douglass' speech, "What the Black Man Wants," this congruency can be bent too far to fit the needs of particular arguments. Specifically, in the introduction to his opinion in *Grutter*, Justice Thomas invokes Douglass' response to Americans' post-emancipation anxiety concerning "what they shall do with" freed slaves—"Do nothing with us!" Douglass writes—in opposing the majority's decision to uphold affirmative action policies and practices at University of Michigan. As Prof. Buccola argued, this constitutes a misreading—or, at the very least, an incomplete reading—of Douglass' call for justice over benevolence, in so far as Thomas wholly ignores Douglass' insistence that justice be coupled with fair play, a notion that, for him, implied the government's obligation to take affirmative steps to address historical injustices.

Similar issues arise, Prof. Buccola went on to show, when we examine progressives' appropriation of Douglass. On one hand, Douglass' speaking out against economic inequality and his support for material aid from the state reveal a belief in fraternity as a cornerstone of democratic governance and behavior that is a hallmark of contemporary progressive politics. On the other hand, though, in drawing on Douglass to support their own views, some progressives fall prey to the temptation to selectively ignore Douglass' vocal critique of the utopian socialist strain in abolitionist rhetoric as little more than "errant nonsense."





In bringing his talk to a close, Prof. Buccola pointed out how the potential for over-determination that comes with “wanting Douglass on our side” is metaphorically exemplified in how radicals and conservatives mutually claim him as an ideological ally, with the former citing his desire for fundamental social and political transformation and his critique of dogmatic law and order conservatism as points of connection, and the latter latching onto a stern moralism that manifested itself in Douglass’ pro-prohibition stance and, more broadly, in his belief that it was the moral responsibility of African Americans to prove themselves worthy of citizenship.

What can we take away from this sometimes messy tangle of appropriation, Prof. Buccola asked in concluding his lecture? That Douglass was a model of epistemic humility, a devotee of principle over ideology, and that, because of this, he will be eternally valuable as an intellectual resource for determining how to navigate complicated political terrain.

The “Essential Douglass” colloquium, in which 38 MU students participated, including a number of our 2017-18 undergraduate fellows, was made possible by generous support from The Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University and the John Templeton Foundation.



FACULTY AND GRADUATE STUDENTS

Year-over-year turnover at the Kinder Institute isn’t limited to the undergraduate side of the ledger; every fall, a fresh roster of Kinder Graduate Fellows also takes up residence on the fourth floor of Jesse Hall. There are two familiar faces this time around to go along with the four new ones listed below, with **Aaron Kushner** (Political Science) staying on for another year and **Zach Dowdle** (History) occupying the emeritus desk in Jesse 401. As a bonus feature, in addition to the standard bios, we have an excerpt from **Ed Green’s** August 21 piece for *Starting Points* on the presidential pardoning power, so our readers can begin to get acquainted with the kind of innovative scholarship that our graduate students are working on day in and day out.

A more complete recap of faculty and graduate student happenings will come with the winter newsletter—including news on Fall 2017 Research & Travel Grant recipients and bios for our two 2017-18 Distinguished Research Fellows—but, for now, enjoy matching names you may have heard to faces you likely have not yet seen.



Craig Forrest earned his B.A. and M.A. at the University of Missouri, where he is currently a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History. His doctoral dissertation at MU examines *in loco parentis* in American higher education from the 1860s through the 1970s, and the conflicts over definitions of adulthood, citizenship, and constitutional rights that are the central narrative in this history. Craig has presented his work at conferences in Columbia, St. Louis, and Malibu, and he has received travel and research grants from the History Department at Mizzou. He is married with four children, and enjoys family activities in his free time. Craig joins the Kinder Institute as a 2017-2018 Graduate Fellow in Political History.



Ed Green completed his B.A. in History and Politics at the University of Oxford, and he joins the Kinder Institute as a 2017-2018 Graduate Fellow in Political History. His research focus at Mizzou is the creation of the American nation, the emergence of its international norms, and the continuing relationship between the United States and the British Empire, with particular interest in how the common language shared between the two nations offers a clear opportunity to examine the development of language that surrounds the promulgation of empire. He also studies political theory and ideology, with emphasis on the ways in which nation

states produce specific obligations between their members and the justifications for this outcome.



Ted Masthay received his B.A. in Political Science and Religious Studies from the University of Dayton and is currently a Ph.D. candidate in MU’s Department of Political Science. His research broadly focuses on legislative careers, and his dissertation examines the personal and institutional factors that drive retirement decisions in the U.S. Congress and European Parliament. During his time at the University of Missouri, Ted has received the Outstanding Graduate Student Award from the Graduate Student Association, the J.G. Heinberg Scholarship, the Jeffery D. Byrne Scholarship, and the David M. Wood Excellence in Political Science Research Award, and he has also served as the president of the Graduate Association of Political Science. His research has been published in *Political Research Quarterly* and on the London School of Economics’ *American Politics and Policy* blog, and he has given numerous presentations at professional conferences and taught multiple courses about American politics at MU. He joins the Kinder Institute as a 2017-2018 Graduate Fellow in Political Thought and Constitutionalism.



Henry Tonks completed his B.A. (Hons) in History at Corpus Christi College, at the University of Oxford, where his undergraduate thesis, winner of the 2013-2014 Bushell Prize for History, examined the ideology of ‘movement conservatism’ in the early post-War period. During the 1950s, a number of writers, activists, and public intellectuals set out to develop the ideological structure for an organised political movement, central to which were both a reinterpretation of American constitutional democracy along ‘Judaean-Christian’ lines, and a radical rejection of bipartisan consensus in politics and policymaking. Building on this, his research interests include conservative political thought, the role of bipartisanship in American history, and the character of élites in modern politics. After graduating from Oxford, Henry worked as a researcher in the UK Parliament and as a policy advisor on strategic and local government issues for a business improvement district (BID) in Birmingham. Henry was raised in Birmingham, UK, though, through his mother, he has family roots in Gentry County, MO, and Granite City, IL. He joins the Kinder Institute as a 2017-2018 Graduate Fellow in Political History.

STARTING POINTS JOURNAL

from “*Executive Exoneration to Congressional Clemency*”

by Kinder Graduate Fellow in Political History Edward Green

One of the most unique aspects of the US Constitution is the presidential power to pardon those who have committed crimes. What began as a single line contained within Article II of the Constitution has ballooned to an aspect of governance that requires its own office and specialized attorney. The professionalization of the process indicates that a shift in scope and scale has occurred. The pardon retains value, but must be circumscribed to a much greater extent than it currently is if it is to continue to have a positive effect on the governmental system of the United States. The most efficient remedy to the problem is a joint relationship with Congress in the exercise of the pardoning power.

The right of a president to pardon comes from a single sentence in Article II of the US Constitution. The president “shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.” What is striking about this is the lack of limits imposed on this power. There can be no objection by the other branches of government and there is no substantive explanation of what purpose the pardon is actually supposed to serve. It is probably the most powerful act that the Constitution permits a single actor – it allows the president to interfere in the sentencing of criminals, commute death sentences, or even eliminate criminal proceedings entirely.

We might first examine what need there is for a presidential pardon in the first place. A return to the time of the Founding Fathers is necessary in this

regard. Anti-Federalists in the late 18th century were concerned about the permanent election of justices; their life tenure raised the spectre of monarchy. In *The Federalist*, particularly in “Federalist 78,” Hamilton penned an explanation of the reasoning behind the justice system, arguing that it would be the “least dangerous” branch of government. He suggested that, since legislative power was vested in Congress and

military power in the executive, the Court would have little ability to actively affect the way in which policy was made and the nation was run. Nonetheless, despite the assurances of the Founding Fathers, many feared in the early years that the Court would erode the independence of the states or force judgments upon them, backed up with the assurance of non-removal.

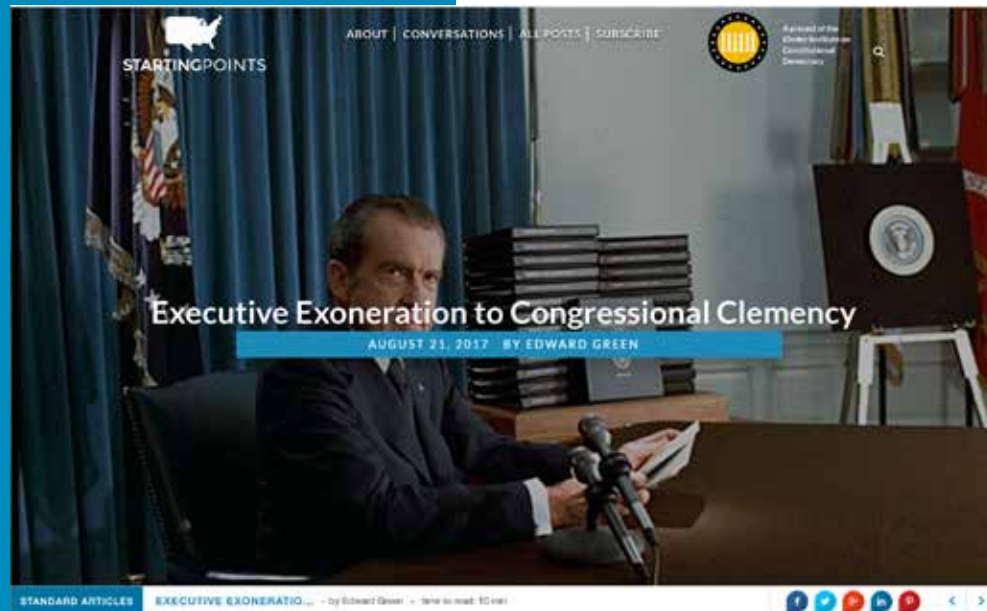
It is within this discussion that the presidential pardon made sense to the Founders. It functions as an additional check to judicial power – in pardoning or granting a reprieve to an individual, the president could prevent the Court from overstepping the mark, or respond to an overstep by making the case (quite literally) disappear. The choice to vest this power in the president is similarly coherent within the 18th century political understanding – he was to be elected indirectly by the Electoral College and to serve as a figurehead without party affiliation. There could be no danger of him abusing the pardon to serve a partisan end, therefore, as he had none. Within the theory of separate powers, the pardon thus served as an important check on an otherwise uncontrollable judicial branch.

The pardon served another important function which only became clearer as actual governing began. It was a method to defend the inviolability of the laws of the land while also allowing an exit route when political expediency demanded another outcome. Two examples might make this point clear: one very early on in the Republic’s life and one far more recent. The first was George Washington’s (and later John Adams’) decision to pardon leaders of the Whiskey Rebellion in the 1790s. Within the climate of the early US, there was a clear need to put down sedition and prevent further outbreaks, while recognizing that the rebellion contained valid objections. By releasing the leaders, Washington and Adams hoped to allay fears of a rampant federal government running over the will of the states, but could also maintain that the legal process had been followed. The pardon served as a vital release valve, releasing the pressure that had built up in the nation.

The more recent example comes from Barack Obama’s second term in office and the decision to release Chelsea Manning...

To continue reading Ed Green’s “Executive Exoneration to Congressional Clemency,” and for more recent work on topics ranging from “Natural Justice and the Amistad” to “What Did the Constitutional Convention Do with Slavery,” visit startingpointsjournal.com

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PARDON
IS PART OF A BROADER PATTERN OF POWER SHIFTING
WITHIN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

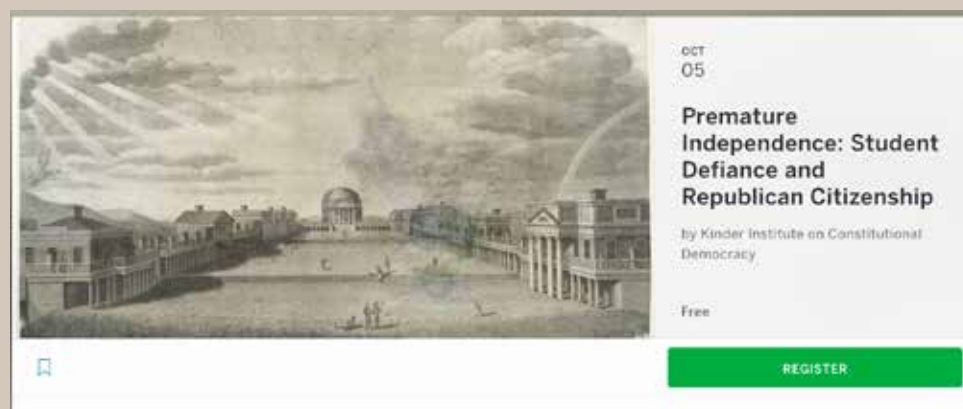




CAMPUS AND COMMUNITY

In addition to the public lectures (pp. 17-21) and history colloquia (pp. 22-23) recapped here, there was much happening behind the scenes at the Kinder Institute during September and October, including the launch of Kinder Institute Director **Justin Dyer's** new community seminar on the meaning and practice of 'Justice' and the first 2017-2018 meeting of Associate Director **Jeff Pasley's** Missouri Regional Seminar on Early American History, during which participants discussed a precirculated draft of University of Virginia Thomas Jefferson Foundation Chair in History **Alan Taylor's** paper, "Premature Independence: Student Defiance and Republican Citizenship."

For more information about attending the remaining sessions of Prof. Dyer's seminar or future meetings of the Missouri Regional Seminar, contact Kinder Institute Communications Associate **Thomas Kane** at KaneTC@missouri.edu, or sign up for our monthly email updates on the Kinder Institute website, democracy.missouri.edu.



CONSTITUTION WEEK LECTURES

Given that Constitution Day proper fell on a Sunday this year, we took the liberty of extending our celebration of the 230th anniversary of the signing to a Constitution Week, with festivities including the soft release of our undergraduate *Journal on Constitutional Democracy* on September 20, a Missouri Humanities Council-sponsored (and C-SPAN documented) evening lecture with TCU's **Gene A. Smith** on September 21, and a September 22 keynote with Boston College's **Mary Sarah Bilder**.

Madison's Hand

Boston College Founders Professor of Law Mary Sarah Bilder

Though James Madison's *Notes on the 1787 Constitutional Convention* bear the Library of Congress' rare distinction of being one of the nation's "top treasures," the mystique (and shroud of secrecy) that come with this title might to some degree skew approaches to establishing the document's historical significance. As Professor Mary Sarah Bilder noted in introducing her September 22 talk at the Kinder Institute, in spite of its being archival royalty, we shouldn't treat Madison's famous work as a relic to be enshrined as an unimpeachable, definitive account of exactly what happened at the Convention. Given that we now know the degree to which Madison revised the *Notes*, she offered that we should instead read them as a textual artifact which reveals both his own and other leaders' experience of contentious national politics in the early republic as well as their shifting understanding of the Constitution itself.

Even if we put Madison's own *ex post facto* revisions aside, Prof. Bilder added that the process by which the *Notes* were crafted introduced certain contingencies that make any hope for a verbatim transcript impossible to sustain. Because the various note takers re-shaped "rough copy" into "fair copy" twice per week, on Wednesdays and Sundays, their accounts naturally fell victim to both the limitations and liberties of memory. For example, Saturday speeches were understandably the most fully and poetically rendered, given that they were freshest on the documentarians' minds. Objectivity, she went on to explain, was further compromised by the revisionist license that came into play when note takers were creating records of their own speeches.

At the center of Prof. Bilder's talk, however, were the more deliberate revisions that Madison made to his original fair copy, and how they enable us to view the *Notes* as a legislative diary of his thinking about the future of the nation under the new Constitution both during and long after ratification. Perhaps the most important factor to keep in mind when assessing the significance of these revisions, Prof. Bilder argued, is that no one truly grasped the magnitude of the Convention during the actual proceedings, and as a result, they tempered political optimism in the years after the signing with lingering concerns about the fate of the young republic. Nowhere is this better seen, she pointed out, than in Madison's "Federalist 37," where he warns against seeking "regular symmetry" in a document that had to account for, and somehow surmount, the difficulties posed by individual and regional differences of opinion, principle, and agenda.

This cautious uncertainty, and the ambiguity of language that came with it, had to be theoretically and textually re-considered when it became clear that the 1787

*... no one truly grasped
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proceedings...*

CONSTITUTION WEEK LECTURE

MARY SARAH BILDER
BOSTON COLLEGE FOUNDERS PROFESSOR OF LAW

MADISON'S HAND
James Madison

FOR THE SECOND INSTALLMENT IN OUR CONSTITUTION WEEK LECTURE SERIES, BOSTON COLLEGE FOUNDERS PROFESSOR OF LAW MARY SARAH BILDER WILL GIVE A TALK ON HER RECENT RESEARCH INTO MADISON'S NOTES ON THE 1787 CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, WHICH USES DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES AND RIGOROUS TEXTUAL ANALYSIS TO REVEAL INVISIBLE, AND PREVIOUSLY UNSUSPECTED, LAYERS OF REVISION IN HIS ACCOUNT OF THE CONVENTION'S CHARISMATIC FIGURES, CRUSHING DISAPPOINTMENTS, AND MIRACULOUS TRIUMPHS. A BRIEF RECEPTION WILL FOLLOW PROF. BILDER'S LECTURE.

SEPTEMBER 22, 3:30PM, JESSE HALL 410

Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy
University of Missouri



Constitution would survive ratification intact. It is no coincidence, Prof. Bilder showed, that many of Madison’s most noticeable revisions were thus made in the years after the document’s fate was secured: certain speeches were removed wholesale; Madison re-imagined himself as moderate, dispassionate, and thoughtful (versus the moody figure he actually cut in Philadelphia); and perhaps most tellingly, he substituted in a more official language for political turns of phrase that, in retrospect, proved overly equivocal. And what might seem to some like small changes were, in reality, of incredible significance: in one of many examples, while the original language of a ‘federal constitution’ was theoretically broad enough to account for a nation existing under the Articles of Confederation, the revised ‘federal system of government’ closed the door on that possibility.

Madison’s tinkering, Prof. Bilder noted in concluding her talk, did not stop with ratification, nor with the addition of the Bill of Rights. In the late-1790s, for example, he made further changes to show his support for Jeffersonian Republicanism (though he stopped short of honoring Jefferson’s request to publish the *Notes* in 1799 as a shot across Adams’ bow during their heated contest for the presidency). After his own turn in the executive office, Madison once again went back to his original record, revising it to increase the appearance of comprehensiveness and, in doing so, to alleviate his persistent worry that another note taker’s version would be published and raise questions about the integrity of his own account.

Fulfilling Jefferson’s Empire of Liberty? The Louisiana and Missouri Constitutions

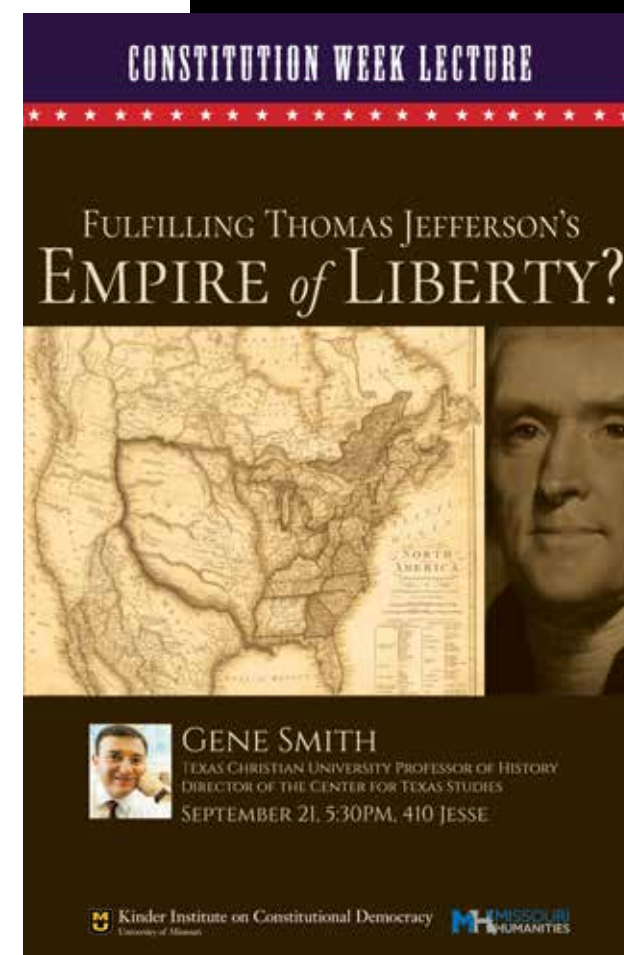
Texas Christian University Professor of History Gene A. Smith

To understand just how much nineteenth-century politicians relied on political expediency—and, in this, evaded political reality—in the course of incorporating Louisiana and Missouri into the union, we have to first look at Jefferson’s aspirations for an “empire of liberty.” Specifically, TCU Professor **Gene Smith** began his lecture by explaining how, for Jefferson, the land acquired through the Louisiana Purchase not only neutralized outside threats to national security but also provided a living canvas for the advancement of his vision of a republic expansive enough—and a government energetic enough—to allow all citizens a true share in their own rule.

As Prof. Smith would go on to show, the idyllic simplicity of Jefferson’s “a plot for every yeoman farmer” vision belied the political divisions that the Louisiana Purchase exacerbated and the national problems that would remain unresolved long after Louisiana and Missouri achieved statehood. For example, he explained how incorporating Louisiana stoked the ire of New England Federalists for a variety of reasons: because of questions surrounding the constitutionality of the Purchase itself; because of moral and political opposition to the extension of slavery into the territories; and because of their own vested economic interest in developing the Ohio Valley. The particular cause of backlash on which Prof. Smith focused, however, was born out of xenophobic fear of and prejudice against integrating foreign citizens into the union, and he noted that the solution to this problem that Jefferson ultimately reached—a long, somewhat oligarchic process

of inculcating Louisiana residents in American political values and processes—did very little to adequately address the larger issue of how to equitably extend fundamental freedoms to pre-Purchase inhabitants of newly acquired territories.

As for his other case study, Prof. Smith noted how the federal government allowing slavery to extend into Louisiana merely foisted the pressing need to find a satisfactory solution to this problem onto the process of incorporating Missouri. While the 1820 compromise that was ultimately reached is familiar, the way in which the state constitution then attempted to re-butress the institution of slavery and the slaveholding interest in Missouri gets less attention. As an expression of their intense dissatisfaction with the lack of control they had over the terms of their incorporation, the drafters of Missouri’s constitution not only made it illegal for the state to end slavery but also established laws preventing free blacks from settling there. And while the less-heralded 1821 compromise prevented the second of these provisions from becoming law, the practice of excluding free blacks nonetheless continued, further showing, Prof. Smith concluded, how fulfilling Jefferson’s “empire of liberty” often meant avoiding resolving those issues that most vehemently contradicted its underlying ideals.



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PUBLIC LECTURE SERIES

The Continental Revolution

University of Virginia Thomas Jefferson Foundation Chair in History Alan Taylor

Though they are likely the two words most frequently used by undergraduates when discussing U.S. expansion on the North American continent, as University of Virginia Professor **Alan Taylor** noted in framing his October 4 public lecture at the Kinder Institute, ‘manifest’ and ‘destiny’ might be the two least accurate terms for actually characterizing the nation’s push westward in the decades after the American Revolution.

As Prof. Taylor went on to explain, it was not that the United States didn’t want to push its borders past the Appalachian Mountains; in fact, there was something of a domestic imperative to do so. As the fastest growing polity on earth, not to mention a heavily majority agricultural society, acquiring more land was integral to maintaining social peace. Nor was it that the United States lacked license to expand, as the favorable terms of the Treaty of Paris granted it military control over territory as far west as the Mississippi River.

Instead, Prof. Taylor argued, a number of structural factors initially prevented the post-Revolution U.S. government from satisfying the need to grow (or, as undergraduates would have it, from realizing its providential destiny). For one, the limits of the Articles of Confederation rendered what control the U.S. did have over western lands more or less theoretical. Without a power to levy taxes or regulate commerce, the national government had no means of functionally administering the process of expansion. The fact that rival empires occupied the choke points of trade in the region—the Great Lakes (Britain) and the mouth of the Mississippi in New Orleans (Spain)—only compounded the difficulties that the U.S. faced in establishing its western presence.

The greatest threat to expansion, however, came from the native peoples who had long occupied the land that the U.S. government coveted. In particular, Prof. Taylor noted how alliances formed between the British and Spanish empires and tribes west of the Appalachians shut down land sales and trade route and port access to the point that the very possibility of western settlement was effectively eliminated. And rivalry begat rift, with the British in the north and the Spanish in the

south then attempting to use promises of land grants and commercial privileges to woo settlers in Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee to secede from the union (a ploy that found success with none other than Daniel Boone himself).

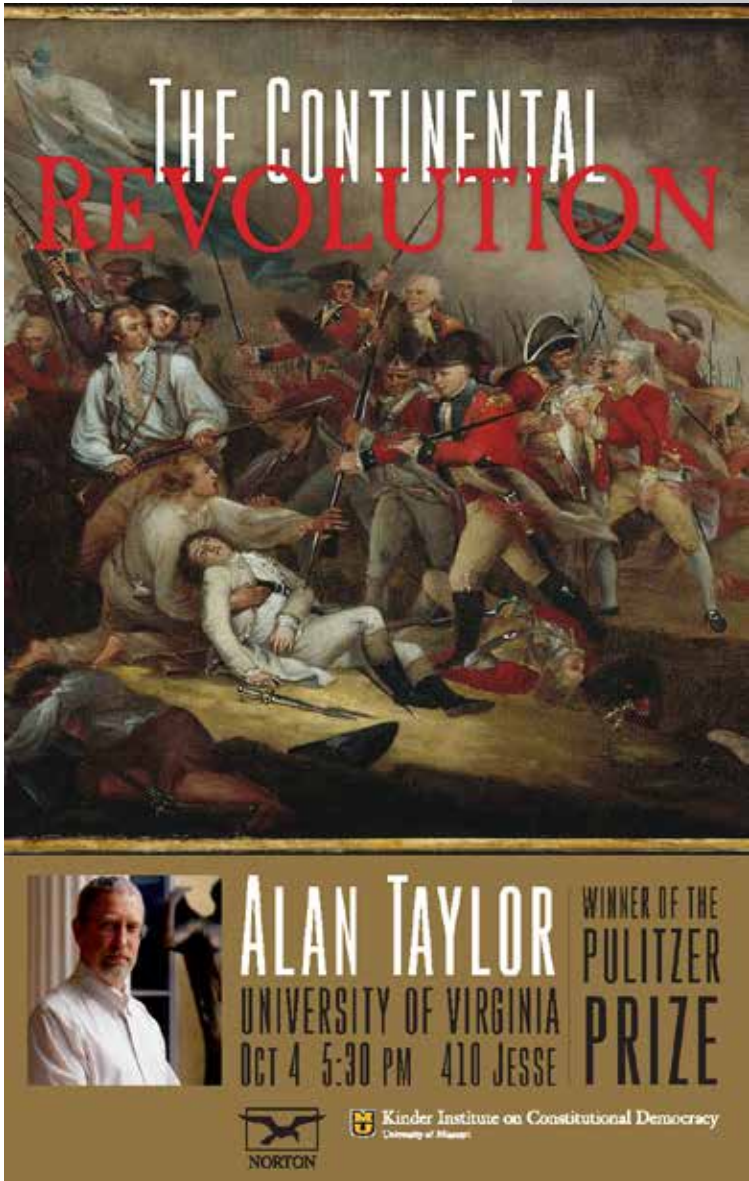
This rift began to widen as a result of politics east of the Appalachians, most notably John Jay’s proposal to sacrifice any claim to the Mississippi River for up to 20 years on the grounds that the Spanish would open up various other ports to U.S. mercantile interests (which were, of course, consolidated largely in the northeastern states). The Southern response, led by Jefferson, not only pointed

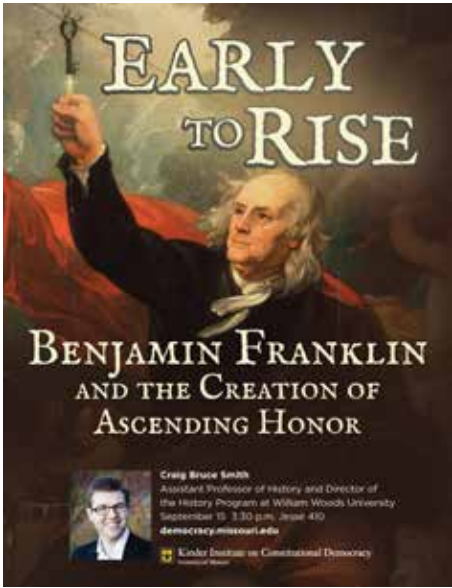
out the collateral damage this would create—namely, that it would forsake the best means of paying down debt—but also threatened secession should the terms of Jay’s plan be accepted.

Observing the multiple fault lines that were created by these obstacles to expansion demands that we in turn re-think what drove the states to concede to the terms of the Constitution. Rather than as an expression of American nationalism, we must re-read ratification, Prof. Taylor argued in drawing his talk to a close, as an agreement entered into by states which distrusted each other in no small part because of their mutual desire to stave off secession, war, and, in their doomsday scenario, a political arrangement in which the new nation was broken up into regions that were little more than funded pawns of rival European empires.

There is, he added in concluding, a broader historiographical point to be made here. Studying the fear of implosion that led the U.S. to abandon the Articles of Confederation and seek out a more stable governing apparatus—and, more importantly, studying the drivers of domestic tension and anxiety in the nation’s first decade—reveals a story of contingency in which native peoples’ very real political power factored prominently. And while the field of American history has been generally gravitating toward viewing the early U.S. through a more continental lens, this focus often recedes when dealing with the years between the Revolution and the Constitutional Convention, leaving much of the narrative of the American founding, especially native peoples’ role in it, un-told.

The Kinder Institute would like to thank W.W. Norton & Co. for their generous co-sponsorship of Prof. Taylor’s lecture.





FALL 2017 COLLOQUIUM SERIES

Early to Rise: Benjamin Franklin and the Creation of 'Ascending Honor'
William Woods University Assistant Professor and Director of History
Craig Bruce Smith

Drawing on research at the heart of his forthcoming University of North Carolina Press book, *American Honor: The Creation of the Nation's Ideals during the Revolutionary Era*, William Woods Professor **Craig Bruce Smith** began his September 15 talk at the Kinder Institute by noting the slipperiness of his key term. In the time period being examined, he explained, the meaning of 'honor,' like related concepts such as 'virtue' and 'ethics,' was difficult to pin down, though we can safely say that what we most commonly associate with it now—Burr and Hamilton with dueling pistols drawn in the shadows of the Palisades—hardly suits as a functional definition.

As for the primary subject of his talk—Benjamin Franklin's rejoinder to the aristocratic conception of honor as tied to birth status—Prof. Smith traced Franklin's notion of 'ascending honor' back to his early fascination with literature. From Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and Cotton Mather's *Essays to Do Good*, Franklin began to derive a definition of honor as lived: the product of a religious commitment to dignifying God when presented with an opportunity for goodness. From his reading of Plutarch and *The Spectator*, a more secular iteration of this idea started to take shape. Through Plutarch, he came to see behaving honorably as a way for people of limited means to advance in society. And in a literary turn of fate especially relevant to the scope of Prof. Smith's talk, Franklin found in Volume 3 of *The Spectator* a sharp-tongued critique of the expectation that honor, even if initially earned through virtuous behavior, would transfer to younger generations based on grandeur of station rather than merit of action.

It was the moral artifice of a notion of honor rooted in birth that his alter ego, Mrs. Silence Dogood, took aim at in lampooning Harvard College for allowing "dunces and blockheads" to ascend to prominence and title based on the contents of their purses, and that would remain central to Franklin's thinking about honor during its somewhat serpentine evolution: a hedonistic left turn in London that he recanted on the return trip to Philadelphia; a diligent pursuit of the thirteen virtues that expediently deviated from the Christian equation of self-denial and virtuousness; and most importantly, a slow-to-form, patriotic tethering of honor to Revolutionary era colonists acting on behalf of the state.

The implications of Franklin's connecting honor to behavior in service of the common good in many ways crystallized in his critique of the 1783 founding of the Society of the Cincinnati. His issue was not so much with the Society itself, a fraternal order of Continental Army officers, but instead with the fact that future membership in it would be limited to blood descendants of these officers, rather than extended to all individuals who embodied in their actions the revolutionary spirit of sacrifice. Franklin's frustration with this ultimately boiled over into the artful shorthand at the center of Prof. Smith's talk: the democratized formulation of honor as incompatible with heredity and dependent instead on an embrace of communal duty that he described in a 1784 letter to his daughter when he wrote that "honour does not descend, but ascends."

Berlin Calling: Subculture and the Fall of the Berlin Wall
Author and Journalist Paul Hockenos

In a rare Monday installment of our Colloquium Series—and one that took the form of an interview led by MU Associate Professor of History **Catherine Rymph**—author and journalist **Paul Hockenos** was at the Kinder Institute on October 9 to discuss his most recent book, *Berlin Calling*, which tells the story of "the birth of the New Berlin" not through the familiar lens of WW II history and the high drama of its diplomatic aftermath, but instead by focusing on the subcultures that developed in both the East and West in the decades before the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Weaving between topics from legalized squatting to industrial music pioneers Einstürzende Neubauten, Hockenos painted the picture of a West Berlin that, by virtue of its being subsidized to the gills by western capital interests, had accrued a large enough crew of draft evaders and "brilliant dilettantes" by the late 1970s that it essentially operated as an alternate universe. Specifically, it was a city in which free universities, transportation, health care, and occasionally rent produced the *freizeit* (free time) and *freiraum* (free space) necessary for the simultaneous development of numerous subcultures: a thriving punk rock scene, a burgeoning gay community, and a virtual army of Frankfurt School Marxist grad students (to name only a few). While the West may have shown little interest in the East, Hockenos described how similar, and sometimes even stronger, movements were born out of the conditions on the other side of the "Death Strip." Punk rockers in East Berlin, for example, saw their music less as a mode of political expression and more as a weapon to be used against an oppressive regime, an aggressiveness perhaps best captured by the "Church from Below," a radical anarchist group that, in Hockenos' telling, played a key (if rarely acknowledged) role in the Wall's collapse.

Though developers' dream of unified Berlin as a global center of finance never materialized, and though the subsidies West Berlin enjoyed largely dried up when the Wall tumbled, the city would continue on as a cultural mecca throughout the 1990s, as the remaining vestiges of *freizeit* and *freiraum* attracted a creative class that brought with it publishing houses, record labels, art galleries, and, eventually, start-ups. In wrapping up the interview portion of the talk, Hockenos touched on two collateral consequences of the rapid and drastic social, political, and economic changes that the city underwent after the Wall fell: the inevitable gentrification and commodification of its distinct subcultures; and the rise of nationalist political groups whose resentment festered in the post-unification wake of skyrocketing unemployment rates and a disappearing social safety net.



NEWS IN BRIEF

The state press has taken notice of the Kinder Institute in recent months, with the *Springfield News-Leader* running a story on Kinder Scholar **Tricia Swartz**, the *Columbia Tribune* publishing a piece by Kinder Institute Prof. **Adam Seagrave** and Black Studies Chair **Stephanie Shonekan** on their co-development of the new “Race and the American Story” seminar at MU, and the *Kansas City Star* featuring an op-ed by Kinder Institute Director **Justin Dyer** and Associate Director **Jeff Pasley** on the vibrant intellectual climate at Mizzou and the Kinder Institute’s contributions to it . . . Jeff Pasley presented his paper, “Reporting the News in the Partisan Press,” at the Huntington Library’s October 2017 conference on *The Rise of the Newspaper in Europe & America, 1600-1900* . . . Congrats to Faculty Advisory Council member **Catherine Rymph** on the publication of her new book, *Raising Government Children: A History of Foster Care and the American Welfare State* . . . and to FAC member **John Wigger** on the publication of his new book, *PTL: The Rise and Fall of Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker’s Evangelical Empire* . . . and to affiliated faculty member **Keona Ervin** on the publication of hers, *Gateway to Equality: Black Women and the Struggle for Economic Justice in St. Louis* . . . and to affiliated faculty member **Peverill Squire** on the publication of his, *The Rise of Representatives: Lawmakers and Constituents in Colonial America* . . . Many thanks to the Missouri Humanities Council for awarding the Kinder Institute their 2017 Partnership in the Humanities Award.

For links to these articles and descriptions of these books, and to browse our newly launched online store for in-house designer **Allison Smythe’s** expertly crafted Kinder Institute merch, please visit our website, democracy.missouri.edu.



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



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