



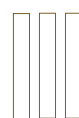
KINDER INSTITUTE  
on CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY



NEWSLETTER | FALL 2019



## The COLUMNS



Though it won't officially launch until July, when 20 students wend their way to the U.K. for a month of study at Oxford's Corpus Christi College, the new College of Arts & Science M.A. in Atlantic History & Politics has, in reality, been a long time in the making. One might date its origin to the first spring break trip to Oxford in March 2018. Or even further back, to the hiring of Kinder Institute Endowed Chair in Constitutional Democracy and Professor of History **Jay Sexton**.

Regardless of creation stories, the build-up to the new degree publicly began on October 15, with the first (we hope of many) Kinder Institute-Oxford exchange lectures. Speaking to an overflow crowd at the Reynolds

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It was roughly four years ago that we were using this space for similar ends, and again, the cover story could easily begin with and end at "thank you." But for those not on campus, that would make precious little sense, so context is due. On November 12 at the Center for Missouri Studies, faculty, administrators, board members, and students gathered for the announcement of the second major gift that the Kinder Foundation of Houston, TX, has provided to promote the study of political thought and history at the University of Missouri: \$10 million to support the development of a pair of new Arts & Science degrees, a B.A. in Constitutional Democracy and an M.A. in Atlantic History & Politics, as well as the Kinder Institute Residential College for first-year Mizzou students.

Generosity of this nature, shown to these scholarly disciplines, is not only unprecedented. As we have seen over the years, it is likewise transformational. In her remarks at the gift announcement, MU Senior **Riley Messer** spoke exactly to this idea of transformation in recalling her first interaction with Kinder Institute Director of Undergraduate Studies **Carli Conklin**. "I knew, after learning about the various programs provided by the Kinder Institute, that my dreams for undergrad would be much bigger than I had ever imagined. In an instant, I realized that I—an 18-year native of a Missouri town with only one stoplight and a population of fewer

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Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy  
University of Missouri

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## NEWS IN BRIEF



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people than the entire incoming freshman class at Mizzou—I could gain access to opportunities that had never seemed possible before.”

The pre-announcement testimonials sent in by Kinder Institute alumni reiterate Riley’s sentiments. The Kinder Foundation’s commitment to the humanities and social sciences at Mizzou hasn’t simply broadened horizons for MU undergraduates but forged entirely new, more adventurous, and more civically meaningful ones. And the same can be said for faculty and staff at the Kinder Institute, as well as for the many members of the community who have passed through the doors to Jesse 410 for a talk, seminar, or conference.

So, thank you to the Kinder Foundation—and to **Rich** and **Nancy Kinder**—for making these horizons possible, and we’re excited to share news in the coming months and years about how the programs supported by this gift are doing the Foundation’s generosity justice.

Festivities didn’t stop with the gift announcement, though. Later that day, students, colleagues, and friends re-convened, packing Cook Hall for our inaugural Distinguished Lecture in Atlantic History, delivered by University of Technology Sydney’s **Tamson Pietsch**. And as we hope the recap indicates, the pairing between announcement and lecture—which brought local history into the sphere of global history, and vice versa—couldn’t have been more perfect.





## DISTINGUISHED LECTURE IN ATLANTIC HISTORY

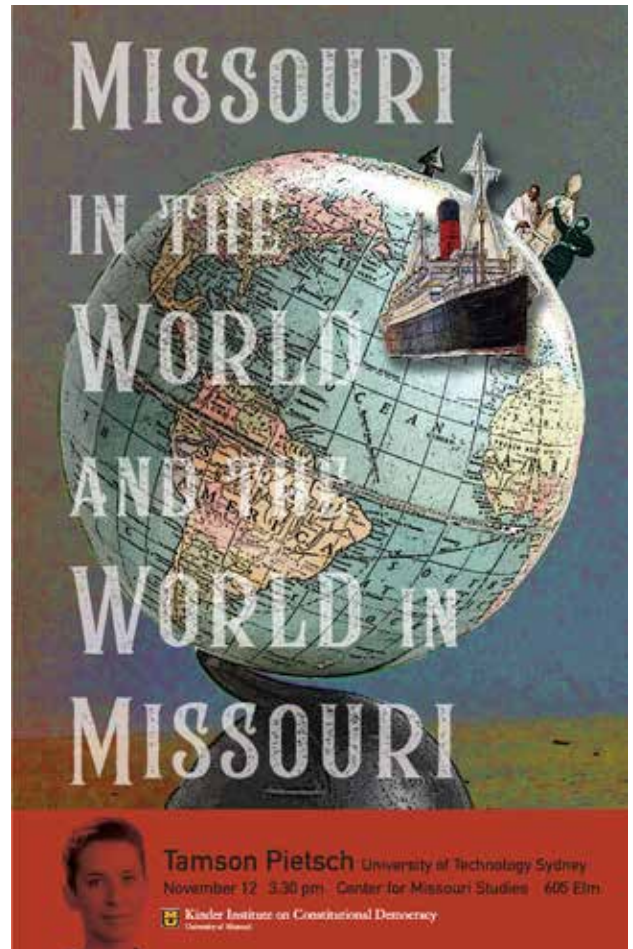
### *Missouri in the World, and the World in Missouri*

University of Technology Sydney Senior Lecturer and Director of the Australian Centre for Public History Tamson Pietsch

When it's written about, which is rarely, NYU Professor of Psychology James Lough's Floating University, the origin myth for today's semester-at-sea programs and perhaps the first for-credit U.S. study abroad offering, is cast as a resounding failure. But if we trace the story back to a Centralia, Missouri, railway station in 1926, and if we return to Centralia today to see the impression left on a small midwestern town by a near-century-ago circumnavigation of the globe, something quite different than failure comes to light.

In addressing origins, Prof. Pietsch explained how Lough, a disciple of William James, saw the pedagogical experiment of the Floating University as an opportunity to establish the educational value of direct experience with the world. Freed from the narrow confines of textbooks, not only would students on the ship gain first-hand knowledge of foreign affairs through meeting the leaders and observing the cultures of other nations; though certainly less quantifiable, they would also learn to think globally. One of these students—and the occasion of sorts for Prof. Pietsch's Midwestern sojourn—was Francis (Gano) Chance, a Mizzou undergraduate recruited to the Floating University by MU Professor of History and Dean of Men Albert Heckel, one of the first educators Lough tapped to join him as a faculty member on the *SS Ryndam*.

As for the journey itself, one look at the *Ryndam* as it pushed off from Hoboken Pier revealed not only an imagined version of rising America in the 1920s but also the inequitable power relations that shaped the U.S. at the time. All passengers—students but as in the case of Chance, some parents as well—were men and women of means and all were white. The ship passed through its first port, Havana, with its ambassadorial potential and educational legitimacy still intact. The press, following the journey with baited breath from home, fixated from the beginning on how discipline would work on a ship where students were honor code-governed, but the stories from Cuba—of glee clubs and the clicking of typewriters—proved student resolve and self-restraint strong (though Gano's photographs of undergrads spilling out of free beer lines told a somewhat different story). The headline would change once the ship crossed the Pacific: "Sea Collegians Startle Japan with Rum Orgy." There was tell in the media of women smoking and men drinking, of a break-in to the Emperor's suite at the Imperial Hotel, and of fights with police on the streets of Tokyo. The U.S. Ambassador to Japan claimed the vandalism set relations between the two countries back decades, and a small run of expulsions were subsequently leveled to ease tensions. Letters home, as well as editorials from the ship's in-house newspaper, *The Binnacle*, likewise persistently rebuked the ne'er-do-well few for tarnishing the reputation of the many, but scandal still followed the ship, coming to a head when news of a second voyage leaked, this time only for men, and word of ship romances and weddings followed. The presence of women on board the ship, press members like Henry Allen decided, was to blame



for both a lack of discipline and a lack of learning, and in general, everyone seeking a thesis for their arguments concerning the failure of Lough's experiment finally had one in co-education.

Ultimately, neither the Floating University nor its founder could outrun this legacy. Lough was fired by NYU, and upon attempting a re-launch of the program years later, he found himself the subject of a State Department investigation which determined the very concept of the Floating University to be an unfit educational enterprise. As Prof. Pietsch's current research reflects, this narrative and the problem of assessment at its core are long overdue to be revisited. That it was the press, and not educators, who adjudicated Lough's pedagogical hypothetical—whether experience gained via travel was worthy of college credit—reflects a troubling victory, or at least a serious

incongruence, in the 1920s fight over who got to define what was and what wasn't a viable method of study.

Which brings us back to Centralia. Though initially unimpressed by the voyage, Gano's parents, A.B. and Fancy Chance, came to embrace life aboard the *Ryndam*, and in their letters back to Missouri, they expressed regret for not being able to photograph more of what they saw around the globe. To make up for what they couldn't bring back with them, they transformed the grounds of their home into a living record of their time abroad, complete with a Japanese garden, a replica of the Taj Mahal, and a model of the lagoon where Moses was found in the bulrushes. The Chance's act of re-shaping experience into a publicly accessible history is, Prof. Pietsch argued, one of many things that we might point to in re-claiming the value of the experiment in modern education that Lough undertook. Student accounts of the trip spun countless tales of all that is missed by letting education play out only in the classroom. And the jobs that many Floating University alum went on to take—in international relations, as journalists, and with the telephone companies—collectively speak to a worldliness and curiosity they cultivated

while at sea. The moral of the story, Prof. Pietsch noted in closing, is a simple one: that personal experience really does matter and, as such, that we need to continue to challenge universities' stranglehold on being the primary authorizers of what constitutes knowledge.





*Continued from page 1*

Journalism Institute's Fred W. Smith Forum, St. Catherine's College Rhodes Chair in American History **Pekka Hämäläinen** summoned the figure Iktomi, a shape-shifting spider of Lakota mythology, to introduce how the Lakota people, too, had shifted shape throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, as they transformed themselves into an imperial force on the Great Plains. A recap of the talk follows, but we recommend getting the full version of the history in Prof. Hämäläinen's *Lakota America: A New History of Indigenous Power*, published in October 2019 by Yale University Press.

And stay tuned to the Kinder Institute website for news about the future of the lecture exchange, which will likely make a reappearance in April 2020 in conjunction with the annual meeting of BrANCH (British American Nineteenth Century Historians) in Columbia.

## OXFORD EXCHANGE LECTURE

### *Lakota America*

Oxford University (St. Catherine's College) Rhodes Chair in American History Pekka Hämäläinen

Though his October 15 talk at MU began and ended with the 1876 Battle of Little Bighorn, Prof. Pekka Hämäläinen stressed that understanding the significance of this historical touchstone requires tracing the Lakota's movement across the American interior in the century-plus prior to Custer's Last Stand. In this, he added, it requires Winter Counts, the Lakota pictorial calendars that mark each year with a specific event and that form the metaphorical spine of the narrative of imperial development that Prof. Hämäläinen unpacks in his new book.

This pre-story began along the St. Lawrence River, with the Sioux surrounded by hostile empires and on the wrong side of a technological divide. From here, the Lakota geographically detached from the larger Sioux confederacy and moved west into the Minnesota River Valley, where horses, being traded from the American Southwest across the interior, reached them in the early 1700s. The Winter Counts marked this as a transcendent event—in some cases, as the beginning of Lakota history—and in Prof. Hämäläinen's telling, it was the start of a series of reinventions that the Lakota underwent on their way to becoming an expansive indigenous empire. Now a horse people, the Lakota embarked on the first concerted westward expansion in American history, entering into a generational war with other tribes on the high west plains as they forged a domain one river valley at a time, all the while inching closer to the region's strategic center: the Missouri River. The Winter Counts depicted these as dark years, but it was also a time when the great technological frontiers converged for the Lakota. British traders, still acknowledging the primacy of a Sioux alliance, outfitted the Lakota with guns, and they became the first peoples to fight on horseback with significant firepower. After the small pox epidemic of 1781 spread up and down the Missouri, the Lakota—shocked by the epidemic but not decimated, as others were—engaged in a series of violent raids that ended with them securing a 200-mile expanse along the plains' major artery.

In the second of three reinventions that Prof. Hämäläinen would outline, they were now a river people, occupying land along the Missouri between the British empire





to the north and the Spanish empire to the south. Seeking outer tributaries that might lead them west to the Pacific, the Spanish in particular would have to learn how to navigate the Missouri without alienating the Lakota who were policing it, a position of weakness that effectively turned the river into a “tribute-reaping machine” for the tribe. Additionally, now fortified by horses, guns, and military power, the Lakota developed a mixed strategy of diplomacy and violence that rendered neighboring tribes, cut off from bison by the Lakota’s territory, needy and reliant. Little changed with the Louisiana Purchase, as Lewis and Clark crashed arrogantly and headlong into the unyielding Lakota Meridian. U.S. forces from the east would go on in the coming decades to build trading posts for the Lakota, sell them guns, and vaccinate them over rivals, an acknowledgment that placating the people whom Clark called “the pirates of the Missouri” was a new normal.

“Sublime and practical,” as Prof. Hämäläinen described them, the seven bands of the Lakota would scatter further west during the 1830s and 1840s, toward the spiritual epicenter of the Black Hills. They would here encounter other horsebound nations, necessitating a final shifting of shape: into a power capable of national mobilization. Though dispersed, through unifying reforms and sophisticated communications networks, the seven Lakota bands kept neighboring nations under constant siege, ultimately gaining control not of people but of resource nodes across the Great Plains in what would be the final step in their becoming “a kinetic empire” that not even gold rush fever could tear apart. When the U.S. Army brought tribes to Ft. Laramie in 1851 to negotiate safe passage along the Oregon Trail, the Lakota, claiming rite of conquest, left with title to a huge swath of the Great Plains, and they would continue to expand their holdings in the region throughout the 1850s, “hiding their empire in plain sight.”

The last chapter in Prof. Hämäläinen’s talk unfolded in the years after the Lakota’s 1862 conflict with the Union Army in the Dakota territory, after which all Sioux were declared enemies of the United States. As a result of this, Prof. Hämäläinen explained, the end of the Civil War brought about two reconstructions: one in the Confederate south and, although rarely cast as such, another to pacify the indigenous west. Initially, the Lakota empire would only grow as a result of this, as the 1868 Ft. Laramie Treaty, which came on the heels of Red Cloud’s War, saw the U.S. cede more than 400,000 square miles in the Black Hills to the Lakota, making this sacred land off limits to settlers.

Which brings us back to 1876 and the Battle of Little Bighorn, the direct consequence of settlers defying the terms of the Ft. Laramie Treaty after gold was discovered in the Black Hills. For Prof. Hämäläinen, this was a battle of two empires that had expanded their way to this “moment of historical acceleration.” The Lakota, as their third reinvention proved, were an organized nation capable of rapid mobilization and highly coordinated military strategy. The U.S., on the other hand, was governed by bravado and ignorance, incapable of mapping, or even understanding, the indigenous systems of communication and power that had developed over the past century. The result on the battlefield was Lakota-controlled chaos and a defeat that kindled the United States’ imperial hubris and led to a seismic act of military retribution that would break the Lakota’s hold on the high plains.



## CONSTITUTION DAY LECTURE

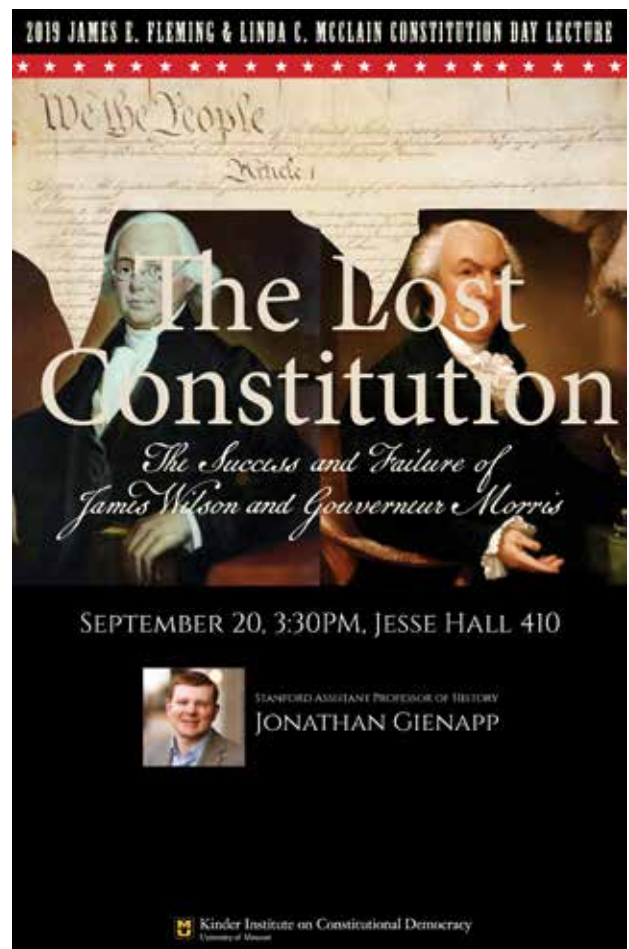
Back for an encore re-telling of the U.S. constitutional backstory (he gave a Valentine's Day 2019 talk on this subject at the Kinder Institute), Stanford Assistant Professor of History **Jonathan Gienapp** focused this time around on two figures from the 1787 Convention whose contributions to the drafting of the Constitution have largely been forgotten: James Wilson and Gouverneur Morris. Far from some whimsical act of scholarly archaeology, in introducing his September 20 talk, the 2019 **James E. Fleming & Linda C. McClain Constitution Day Lecture**, Prof. Gienapp underscored how excavating and re-examining Wilson and Morris' influence can have real bearing on our understanding of constitutional orthodoxy in the present day. Specifically, we take for granted that the intention was always and exclusively to establish a government whose powers were limited to those textually enumerated in Article I, Section 8. Not only did Wilson and Morris refuse to accept this familiar construction of limited government. They also put forth a vivid, competing form of nationalist constitutionalism that was incorporated into the United States' charter, if just as quickly abandoned.

### *The Lost Constitution*

Stanford University Assistant Professor of History Jonathan Gienapp

This form of nationalist constitutionalism took center stage in Wilson's 1785 "Considerations on the Bank of North-America," a pamphlet certifying the Continental Congress' power to charter a central bank, even though said power was not explicitly enumerated in the Articles of Confederation. To make his case, Wilson reached back to the Declaration of Independence. By establishing an inseparable unity—by establishing a nation—the Declaration likewise established, or at least called for the establishment of, a national government with the powers necessary to represent a national people. For the time being, Wilson argued, this government was the Continental Congress. Some of its powers were once held by the individual states, and these, he conceded, required enumeration. Others, however, were general or incidental powers born out of a national government's obligation to make and carry out laws when the individual states were incompetent to do so. Chartering a bank, Wilson concluded, was thus miscategorized as a congressional power that had to be enumerated; a task too tall for the states, it was instead implied by the mere act of forming a nation.

Wilson's logic would find its way into the deliberations of 1787 in the form of Resolution 6 of the Virginia Plan, which stated that "the national Legislature ought to be empowered to enjoy the legislative rights vested in Congress by the confederation—and moreover to legislate in all cases to which the separate States are incompetent: or in which the harmony of the United States may be interrupted by individual legislation." "Too vague!" proponents of limited government cried. For Wilson, though, this was perfectly, necessarily vague, given that it would be impossible to anticipate, let alone enumerate, all of the incidental powers upon which the national legislature would be called to act. The Virginia Plan hung around until the Constitution went to the Committee of Detail, which Wilson was the dominant voice of, and interestingly, it was thus under his watch that it became Article I,







Section 8, with its enumerated powers and “necessary and proper” clause. This would seem, Prof. Gienapp pointed out, to eviscerate the governing latitude that the Virginia Plan allowed the legislature, but for Wilson, that was not at all the case. Through creative comma usage at the very end of Article I, Section 8, he turned one clause into three and, in the process, drew a distinction between the “foregoing [i.e., enumerated] Powers” bestowed upon Congress and “all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States.” This grammatical twist, Wilson thought, was enough to ensure that the government would have all those incidental—all those “other”—powers implied by nationhood. It would ensure, then, that Resolution 6 wasn’t removed from but rather incorporated into the Constitution.

As for Morris, the “one-man Committee of Style” supported the work of his ideological ally by overhauling the Constitution’s Preamble. The original intro simply named the 13 states and affirmed that they did, in fact, “ordain, declare, and establish the following Constitution for the Government of Ourselves and Our Posterity.” The final Preamble is, of course, much different, most notably substituting “We the people of the United States” for “We the people” of the individual states and outlining, in general terms, the ends of government (establishing Justice, insuring domestic Tranquility, et al.). In its projection

of unified authorship and purposefully broad articulation of legislative purpose, the Preamble thus became Morris’ appeal to do exactly what Wilson was trying to do: codify for the U.S. government the general powers of nationhood.

So, what happened? Why did limited government become our default orthodoxy? As Prof. Gienapp argues in *The Second Creation*, the 2018 book that he provided an overview of during his February talk, the Constitution emerged from ratification incomplete, and its shape and purpose would ultimately be sorted out in a series of political battles in the decades after 1789. Even when they disagreed, the dominant voices of this period—think Madison, Jefferson, and Hamilton during debates over chartering the first Bank of the United States—all stressed a doctrine of enumerated powers. And while some Bank supporters drew on Morris and Wilson’s vocabulary of state incompetence and powers conferred by nationhood, Morris and Wilson themselves were more or less entirely absent from this and other such defining back-and-forths. And so, with the primary advocates of nationalist constitutionalism no-shows at a time when the rules of the game were being established, and with the Preamble steadily losing jurisprudential authority—it was finally relegated to the status of “rhetorical flourish” by *Jacobson v. Massachusetts* (1905)—we arrived at where we are today.



## PUBLIC TALKS

Events started at the Kinder Institute more or less as soon as the university calendar flipped to “back-in-session,” with the first fall colloquium happening on Friday of the first week of the semester. We will get to that in good time, but we wanted to start this newsletter’s “Public Talks” section a couple Fridays after that, before proceeding chronologically, with Vanderbilt University Cornelius Vanderbilt Distinguished Chair of History **David Blackbourn’s** September 6 presentation on the influence of the German model of higher education on 19th-century American universities, which was the keynote event in a daylong celebration of retiring MU Curators’ Distinguished Professor of History **Jonathan Sperber**.

One of Mizzou’s most decorated and revered scholars—his recent biography of Karl Marx was a Pulitzer finalist—Prof. Sperber has been a fixture at Jesse 410 talks throughout the Kinder Institute’s existence, so it was fitting to be able to send him off into retirement not only with a seminar room lecture in his honor but also with a roundtable discussion of the impact of his scholarship featuring Professors **Mark Ruff** (Saint Louis University), **Corinna Treitel** (Washington University), and **Chad Ross** (North Carolina Wesleyan), the last of whom was a Ph.D. student and advisee of Prof. Sperber’s.

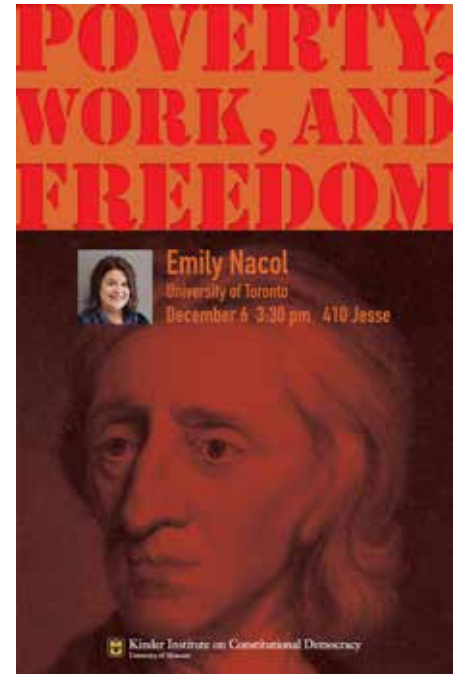
Along with the talks recapped here, we also held an October 4 panel discussion on “Constitutional Revision in Missouri” during this news cycle at the new (and beautiful) Center for Missouri Studies, and both fall meetings of the Missouri Regional Seminar on Early American History: a September 13 discussion in Columbia of BYU Professor of History **Matt Mason’s** paper, “North American Calm, West Indian Storm: The Constitutional Politics and Legacy of the *Somerset* Decision,” and a November 15 meeting in St. Louis to discuss University of Arkansas-Little Rock Assistant Professor of History **Nathan Marvin’s** book chapter, “‘Few Families Here Are Free of Black Blood’: Negotiating Whiteness in France’s Indian Ocean Colonies (1767-1790).”

### *Americans and the German University System in the 19th Century*

Vanderbilt University Distinguished Professor and Chair of History  
David Blackbourn


Culture being, as Raymond Williams described it, “one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language,” tracking its transfer is a somewhat elusive proposition. Be that as it may, Vanderbilt Prof. David Blackbourn made clear in his September 6 talk at the Kinder Institute that we nonetheless have a number of concrete markers of the influence of German culture on the wider world, particularly from the 19th century. In broad terms, Germany “exported” mining, forestry, and military strategy beyond its borders. In narrower terms, the 1800s likewise saw the global dispersal from Germany of music (see: Beethoven and Brahms), philology, and perhaps most notably, philosophy, with the likes of Coleridge and Matthew Arnold in Britain and American transcendentalists from Emerson, to Thoreau, to Theodore Parker all falling under the spell of German ideas.

This circulation of ideas naturally brings up questions of how. While transatlantic textual exchange was certainly a part of it, Prof. Blackbourn explained that, in the case of the U.S., the influence of Germany—particularly on higher education—can



FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 6 • 410 JESSE HALL






An Afternoon on  
**Modern German History**




JOIN US ON SEPTEMBER 6 TO CELEBRATE THE CAREER OF RETIRING CORAULTY Distinguished Professor of History JONATHAN SPERBER, AN ACCLAIMED AND PROLIFIC HISTORIAN OF MODERN GERMANY WHO HAS BEEN AT MU SINCE 1984 AND WHOSE RECENT BOOK, *Karl Marx: A Nineteenth Century Life*, WON A 2014 PULITZER PRIZE FINALIST IN BIOGRAPHY.

1:30-3:00PM "Dr. SPERBER: IMPACT AND INFLUENCE"  
Moderator: MU Professor of History Linda Redder  
Mark Hall (St. Louis University): "Jonathan Sperber: a Pioneer of German Catholic History"  
Cristina Tejada (Washington University): "Travels with Jonathan Sperber"  
Chad Ross (North Carolina Wesleyan): "Directed by Prof. Sperber: The Evolution of a Professional Historian"

3:30-5:00PM "AMERICANS AND THE GERMAN UNIVERSITY SYSTEM IN THE 19TH CENTURY"  
David Blackbourn, Cornell University Distinguished Chair and Professor of History at Vanderbilt University, will give the keynote lecture, examining why many new American universities were created—and more existing universities reshaped—along German lines in the second half of the 19th century, and what the consequences of this influence were.

LINDA REDDER MARK HALL CRISTINA TEJADA CHAD ROSS DAVID BLACKBOURN

 **History**  
University of Missouri

likewise be traced back to Americans studying abroad there throughout the 19th century. What's more, this influence came to quickly bear fruit, given the perceived need to reform the university that was widespread in the antebellum-era United States. Quickly, though not immediately. For example, after studying at the Universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, and Göttingen, George Bancroft returned to Harvard in the early 1820s and, along with Edward Everett, set out to rid the college of what they saw as organizational provincialism and curricular narrowness by aligning it more closely (or, really, aligning it at all) with a German model. To little avail, ultimately, as only their proposed administrative changes stuck.

It wouldn't be until the middle of the century—and primarily after the Civil War—that meaningful, German-inspired change took place, and Prof. Blackbourn used the second half of his lecture to focus on case studies that illuminate what such change entailed. First came Henry Tappan—"John the Baptist of the age of university reform"—who combatted obscurantism at the University of Michigan by attempting to reform it along German lines. This meant, among other things, increasing faculty size and elective course offerings; emphasizing faculty research and lectures vs. recitations; and introducing a conservatory, graduate school, and a broader curricular shift toward subjects of utility, such as civil engineering. Alas, Tappan was thought brash and

he failed to encourage daily prayers, so after a decade as Michigan's president, he was ousted by the university's regents.

Still, Tappan's legacy would live on in the reform projects of 1860s and 70s university higher-ups. At Cornell, Andrew Dickson White similarly emphasized utility, promoting programs in agricultural science and the mechanical arts and importing German books and equipment—model ploughs, models of machine movement—to support this new focus. In establishing Johns Hopkins and serving as its first president, Daniel Coit Gilman not only showed an affinity for hiring German scholars but also, like Tappan, prioritized specialized research via the creation of a Ph.D. program and a medical school and by encouraging faculty to establish field-specific journals. Finally, succeeding where Bancroft and Everett failed, Harvard President Charles W. Eliot put an end to the College's prescribed curriculum and its practice of recitations and instituted a system of pure electives and lectures, a pedagogical turn toward a German-style freedom to learn that was perhaps most evident in the philosophy department, where William James, George Santayana, Josiah Royce, and George Herbert Palmer, all German-trained, demonstrated the European nation's rich, complex influence on U.S. education.

### *Thomas Jefferson: A Life of Learning and a Life in the Law*

Washington University Professor of Law and Emeritus Professor of History  
David Konig

Though he's frequently credited with being its first utterer, Jefferson did *not*, in fact, introduce "that government is best which governs least" into the public (and, following that, the bumper sticker) lexicon. What he actually said, in a 1788 letter to William Stephens Smith, was far more poetic and nuanced: "we are now vibrating between

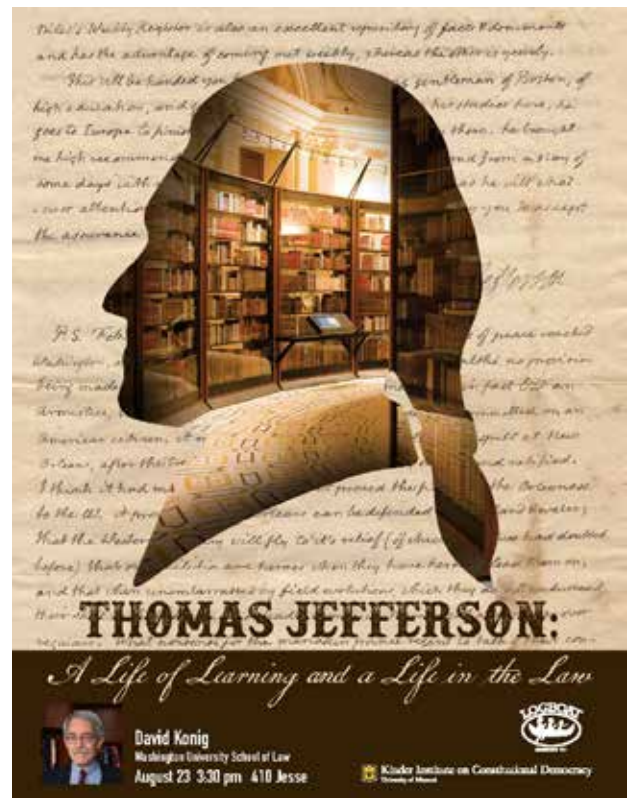


too much & too little government, & the pendulum will rest finally in the middle.” Within this misattribution resides at least one common shortcoming in our contemporary approach to understanding Jefferson’s legacy, Washington University’s **David Konig** noted in opening his August 23 talk at the Kinder Institute. In our rush to definitively characterize Jefferson—whether that be as a revered and quotable states’ rights advocate or as an inconsistent hypocrite—we often oversimplify, losing sight not only of the complexity of his mind but also of how and why this complexity makes any rigorous analysis of Jefferson, and particularly any analysis of Jefferson vis-à-vis his having enslaved men, women, and children, a fraught but also an important exercise.

We might recover some of this complexity without glossing over the enduring questions that it raises, Prof. Konig went on to show, if we view Jefferson through the lens of his sparsely examined years reading and practicing law. The law might seem an awkward fit for a figure as speculative and as literary in style as Jefferson was. But if we look at the ideas he meticulously curated in his legal commonplace book, an edition of which Prof. Konig just edited, we see that Jefferson perceived his time in the courts as an opportunity to apply and refine the moral philosophy he had begun to develop while at William & Mary as a student of Scottish Enlightenment devotees George Wythe and William Small—a philosophy, Prof. Konig explained, that was defined by a belief in humans’ natural sociability and a subsequent encouragement of reciprocal relationships built around the transcendent notion of equality that is central to natural law philosophy.

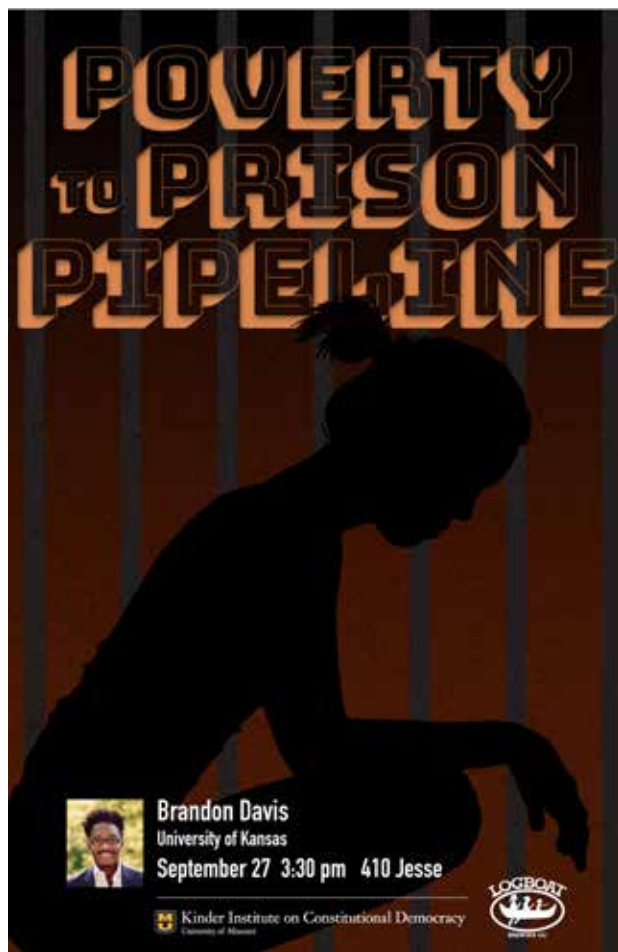
When it came to practicing law, applying this philosophy meant a jurisprudential gravitation toward equity as a concept that could be deployed to bring about justice when the rigidity of the common law failed to. The direction in which this “forensic compass” led Jefferson was perhaps most evident in the cases he argued regarding slavery. For example, two years *before* the decision in *Somerset v. Stewart*, Jefferson essentially made its same case, challenging settled imperial norms with his holding that the British common law did not support chattel slavery—specifically, that property rights in labor did not, under the common law, sanction property in personhood—and that a slave elsewhere was by right free upon re-entering England. Further demonstrating how the natural law tradition shaped his jurisprudence, Jefferson would later argue that the punishment in Virginia for miscegenation (indentured servitude) was not transferable from parent to child and that to suggest otherwise would be a violation of a natural right to move freely through the world that all men enjoyed by virtue of their being born into it.

Of course, these legal arguments in some respect only return us to the actions that contradict them. Jefferson practiced chattel slavery. He subscribed to a hierarchical moral order that did not acknowledge African Americans as part of the state and thus did not make room for their free movement through it. Still, Prof. Konig concluded, even if it does not resolve the contradictions we see between Jefferson’s life and his writings, considering his legal career nonetheless enriches our sense of the complicated figure inhabiting these contradictions and the times in which he lived.



## *The Poverty to Prison Pipeline: Gendered Pathways into the Carceral State*

University of Kansas Assistant Professor of Law & Society Brandon R. Davis



The school to prison pipeline has been studied and publicly discussed with much vigor in recent years, and rightfully so, as scholars and advocates have done important work exposing the disproportionate and lasting ways in which school policies like zero tolerance negatively affect young Black males. However, in setting up his September 27 presentation at the Kinder Institute, KU's **Brandon Davis** noted that this scholarship on school discipline and incarceration tells only part of the story. Specifically, far less has been done to better understand the effects of disciplinary sanction on young Black women, a gap that Prof. Davis' research aims to fill.

The baseline statistics on zero tolerance policies—which are used in 94% of public schools and mandate predetermined, highly punitive consequences for students' violation of certain rules—paint a grim portrait of racial inequality and injustice. Black students account for 30% of zero tolerance-related suspensions despite making up only 17% of the overall public school population, a punishment disparity that also holds true in private schools, as well as when GPA is accounted for. And as schools themselves become more prison-like—Prof. Davis cited how there are more resource officers in New York City public schools than there are police officers in the city of Boston—a stark reality backlights this carceral shift: not only are expulsions and suspensions, the primary stock-in-trade for zero tolerance policies, ineffective; they actually *hurt* school safety.

Returning to the thrust of his recent research, which looks at the longer-term consequences of disciplinary sanctions on 10th grade students, Prof. Davis introduced its guiding notion of gendered pathways. Unlike their male counterparts, young Black women are not being pushed out of school and into a direct apparatus of social control in the prison system. Or, perhaps put more accurately, while young Black women are far more likely to be suspended or expelled than all other female and all white male students, they are being pushed out of school and into the welfare state, an indirect mechanism of social control and, as Prof. Davis described it, its own form of penal state with its own form of racial disparities. All this, he added, in spite of the fact that young Black women have been found to have higher educational aspirations than young white women.



Where does this research leave us? For one, it leaves us with a better, more comprehensive understanding of the generational havoc wreaked by policies like zero tolerance and a clear idea of what *isn't* working: suspensions, expulsions, which leave re-entering students three grade levels behind on average, and police presence in schools. Moreover, it directs us toward subsequent questions—how, for example, do these policies impact other racial minorities?—as well as toward root causes, like implicit bias and cultural miscommunication among a majority-white teacher workforce, that if properly addressed, might help us begin both to bridge punishment disparity gaps and to reverse their cascading effects.



## *Middle Atlantic Congressional Elections and the Development of American Electoral Democracy, 1789-1824*

MU Professor of Political Science Jay Dow

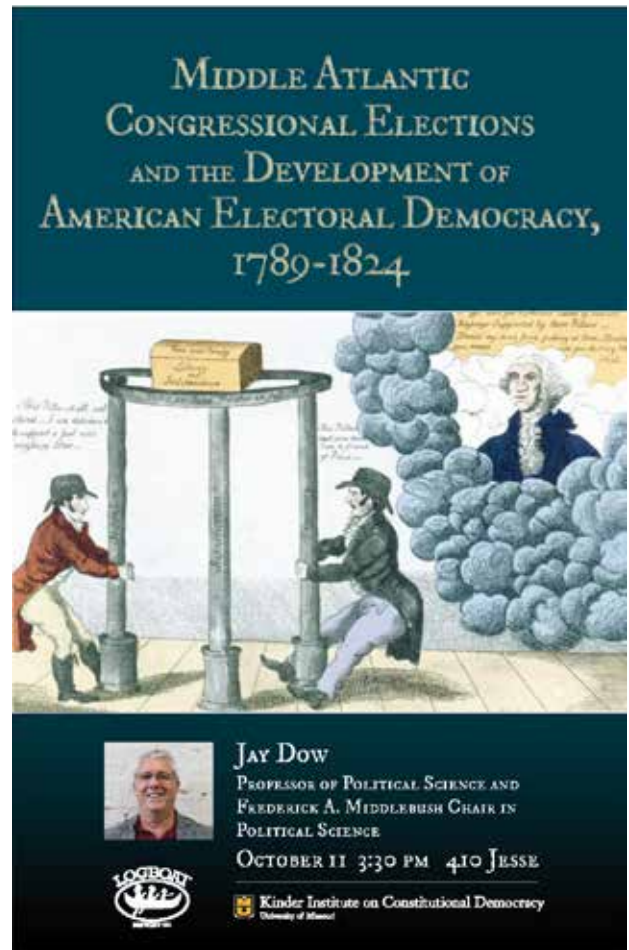
The driving question behind Political Science Prof. **Jay Dow's** current research—when did the United States become a recognizably electoral democracy?—is one for which history and government textbooks have long had a readymade answer: the dawn of the Jacksonian era. As he showed in his October 11 presentation of this research, however, the problem with the textbook take on electoral democracy pre-1830s is that it doesn't quite match up with the data on early American elections that we now have thanks to Dr. Philip Lampi, whose tireless work excavating voting records once thought lost to time has been recorded on the *New Nation Votes* (NNV) website.

First, the “company line.” The textbooks’ take holds that elections before Jackson were characterized by, among other things, scant party organization, low levels of participation, and little responsiveness, neither of voters to issues nor of representatives to voters. Prof. Dow is, in fact, one in a line of Kinder Institute presenters who have pushed back against this narrative. CUNY Prof. of History and inaugural Kinder Institute Visiting Research Fellow **Andy Robertson**, for example, contended in a recent talk in Jesse 410 that the partisan intensity of the Early Republic couldn't have happened without some degree—some relatively significant degree—of party organization. And MU Political Science Prof. **Peverill Squire** presented not too long ago on the glimmers of congressional responsiveness that we see in the early 19th century.

As for his contributions to this developing discourse, Prof. Dow's research looks specifically at when elections became the primary means for citizens to convey their preferences to a governing elite and to hold elected officials accountable. Or, in his own scholarly parlance, he's looking at when elections became “routinized.” What marks routinization? Details that more or less invert the aforementioned received narrative of the pre-1830s electoral landscape: partisan affiliation and un-crowded electoral fields, high turnout, issue-based language, congruence across state jurisdictions, and signs of control over (and manipulation of) electoral processes, to name a few.

In terms of what the *NNV* data tells us about routinization in pre-1824 America, Prof. Dow examined a handful of case studies to show how the numbers spin a tale not of weak participation and a Federalist party that rolled over and played dead in 1812 but instead of vibrant, often hotly contested elections. For example, the fact that voter turnout spiked in Pennsylvania from 1808-1820 at a rate far greater than the population was increasing not only dispels basic low participation myths; given the small margins of victory in many of the state elections from this period, this spike likewise suggests fierce partisan inclination and issue-based voting. Again, not what we've been led to believe.

Particularly when it comes to overstating the demise of the Federalist Party, Prof. Dow went on to show how tight margins of victory are one of many reasons that “win-loss record” is a poor metric for understanding partisanship and participation during



this era. The at-large nomination process in New Jersey, for example, suppressed voter turnout and party mobilization in non-competitive elections, though the opposite was true in competitive elections, of which there were many (even if the Federalists didn't win them). Similarly, whereas House elections seemed to cast certain regions across the mid-Atlantic as Democratic-Republican strongholds, looking at the election returns for lower chambers (e.g., state assembly) proves this perception of dominance somewhat superficial. The reason why persists today: while they could, in Prof. Dow's terms, "gerrymander the hell" out of voting districts, they couldn't change county lines, and when we look at elections that were determined at the county level, states like New Jersey and Pennsylvania start to seem a lot more "purple." And then, of course, there were failures of coordination. In single member district states like Virginia, Federalists often ended up losing elections in districts they would have otherwise won because they couldn't prevent votes from being split.

All of these factors—high turnout, the manipulation of election rules and processes, party clashes, and more—come together both to prove routinization and modernization pre-Jacksonian phenomena and, importantly, to encourage more scholars to revisit the nation's first decades for further signs of electoral life.

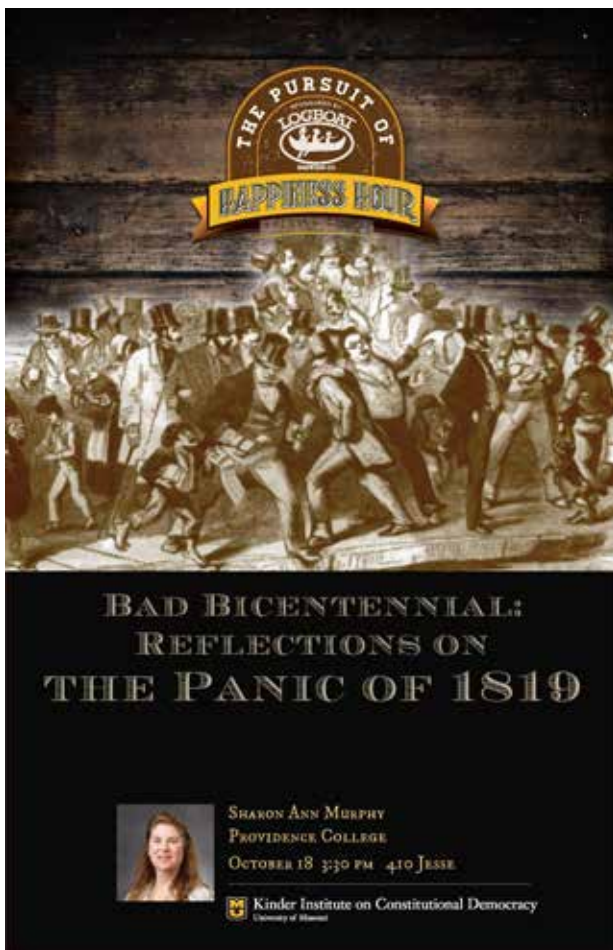
### *Bad Bicentennial: Reflections on the Panic of 1819*

Providence College Professor of History Sharon Ann Murphy

Half history colloquium, half crash course in 19th-century public finance, Providence College Professor of History **Sharon Ann Murphy's** October 18 talk at the Kinder Institute began with a lesson on how not to borrow and how not to lend. After the War of 1812, she noted in opening, the U.S. went almost straight into a period of financial boom, thanks in large part to the 1815 eruption of Mount Tambora, which destroyed agricultural output in Europe. The result was a shortage of cotton, grain, and tobacco there, the effects of which trickled down throughout the American economy: a spike in cotton prices, which led to a spike in public land sales in the South and West, which led to a corresponding spike both in land and slave prices.

The financial bubbles that formed as a result of land speculation must be understood, Prof. Murphy continued, within the context of the commercial banking structures of the early United States. With the First Bank of the United States' charter having expired in 1811, the banking landscape was dominated by private, state-chartered institutions which, short on specie, issued loans in the form of banknotes (a practice that the Second U.S. Bank likewise adopted when it was re-chartered in 1817...more on that in a moment). The issues with these banknotes were twofold, Prof. Murphy explained, and both led to near immediate devaluation. One, the notes were easy to counterfeit, which predictably inspired a lack of confidence. Two, they faced a problem of transportation. Notes originating in Massachusetts, for example, were

brought by the stagecoach-load to the Western Territories but were only redeemable in Massachusetts. This led to them circulating at a deep discount with merchants and to coastal banks issuing far more notes than they could back in specie, due to the expectation that a number wouldn't be redeemed, simply out of the nuisance of doing so.





When the Second Bank of the United States (2BUS) entered the fray, this geographic inexpediency was eased to a degree, given that 2BUS-issued banknotes could be redeemed at one of 18 BUS branches that were scattered across the U.S. In spite of the contentious state-federal relations that ensued—state-chartered banks started taxing BUS branches to make up for lost revenue (until *McCulloch v. Maryland* deemed this unconstitutional)—the public and private accumulation of debt was sustainable so long as the economy remained strong. Which, of course, it didn't. As Prof. Murphy outlined, a number of trans-Atlantic factors conspired to precipitate the 1819 Panic: revolutions in Latin America decreased specie supply, competition from India and Egypt in the cotton market was on the rise, and European agriculture was on the mend. Things reached a head when, domestically, \$2 million in Louisiana Purchase Bonds came due in specie—specie that the central 2BUS branch in Philadelphia didn't have and that its overextended satellite branches couldn't recoup from their overextended borrowers when loans were called back in. Land values plummeted as a result of foreclosures, and crop values followed, sparking a contractionary spiral that led to bank runs, to bank failures, and ultimately to the new republic's first great depression.

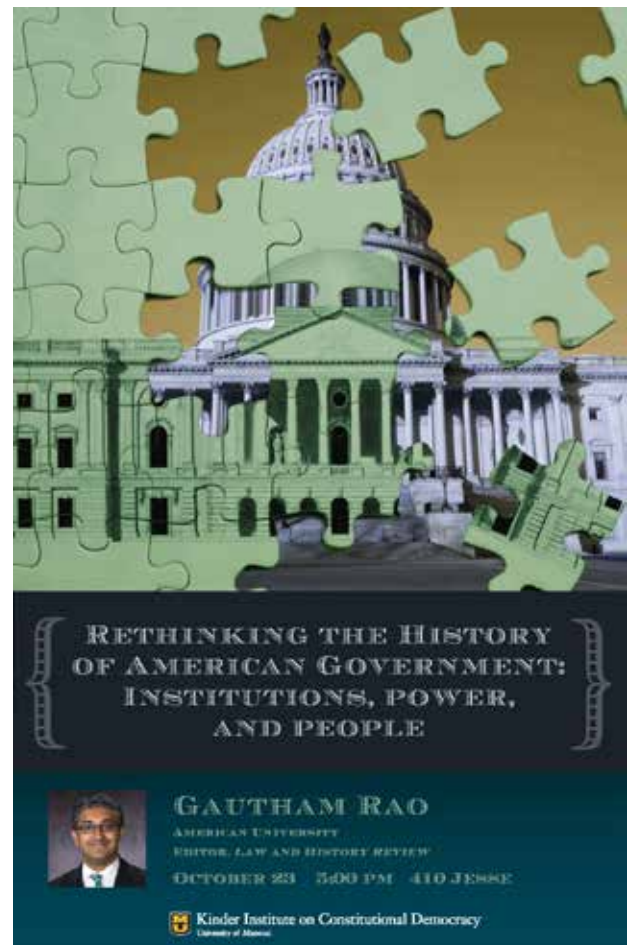


Turning toward her current research into the on-the-ground reach and ripples of the Panic, Prof. Murphy took the audience to Russellville, KY, where, in October 1817, with markets on the doorstep of collapse, speculators Armistead Morehead and Robert Latham found themselves \$16,000 in the hole to the Bank of Kentucky, which, understandably nervous, had demanded that Morehead and Latham mortgage slaves, land, and properties to back up the loans they'd received. When credit dried up in Kentucky, they crossed the border to Clarksville, TN, where local merchant Samuel Vance endorsed their \$4,500 bill of exchange only after Morehead and Latham agreed to mortgage the same 19 slaves that, unbeknownst to Vance, they had already mortgaged to the Bank of Kentucky. Little time passed before Morehead and Latham were entirely underwater, which led to a protracted legal battle between Vance, who had already sold one of the mortgaged slaves, and the Bank of Kentucky, which, seeing Vance's designs, quickly seized 11 more. Vance argued that the Bank could re-possess and sell any number of assets—acreage, houses, Morehead and Latham's distillery—whereas he had only one option. The courts, however, ruled in favor of the Bank which, undeterred by anything resembling a moral qualm, proceeded to sell off the remaining seven slaves at the highest price possible. As Prof. Murphy argued in drawing her talk to a close, this arrangement, a common one in the post-Panic years, adds stark new depth to our understanding of the instability of the lives of enslaved persons. Not only, as Prof. **Lawrence Goldman** showed in a Fall 2018 lecture at the Kinder Institute, were they subject to the arbitrary whims of their enslavers. In the narrative of "accelerated instability" that Prof. Murphy ended with, enslaved persons were also being reduced to the status of abstract financial assets whose fates were now decided by wholly disinterested third parties.

### *Rethinking the History of U.S. Government: Institutions, Power, and People*

American University Associate Professor of History Gautham Rao

The need for a "new historiography of the early federal government," American University's **Gautham Rao** underscored throughout his



October 23 talk at the Kinder Institute, is predicated on the simple fact that the longstanding one is incomplete—bordering on—incorrect. Until recently, literature has cast the nascent U.S. state as diminutive and weak. Prof. Rao pointed out, however, that if we ask different questions—in whose interests and for what purposes were federal institutions working in the Early Republic?—and if we look in different places—the peripheries rather than the metropolises—we get different answers.

Far from “soft,” the United States in fact bore some resemblance to England in its early years, emulating British imperial structures related to land, law, and commerce as it developed into a fiscal-military state. As Prof. Rao showed, though, the institutions of federalism often worked quietly, inconspicuously, and far afield from the scrutinizing public eye, which may have led to misconceptions about the government’s stature. Lower federal courts, for example, negotiated and strengthened U.S. relations with the greater Atlantic world, but often did so in the shadows. Similarly, land offices, customs houses, and army officials all bent the law to serve the needs of profit-seeking merchants and land-ravenous settlers in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, fueling the expansion of an empire that, because of its distance from the coast, was hiding—and growing—in plain sight.

Westward expansion, Prof. Rao noted in wrapping up his talk, provides perhaps the most glaring, as well as troubling, evidence of federal institutions’ clout in the early 19th century. Specifically, while the state apparatus might have seemed limited to those who were benefiting from its operations—i.e., white, male settler colonists—it seemed anything but limited to the native peoples who, whether through coercive treaties or physical removal, found themselves in near constant, often violent contest with the U.S. state.

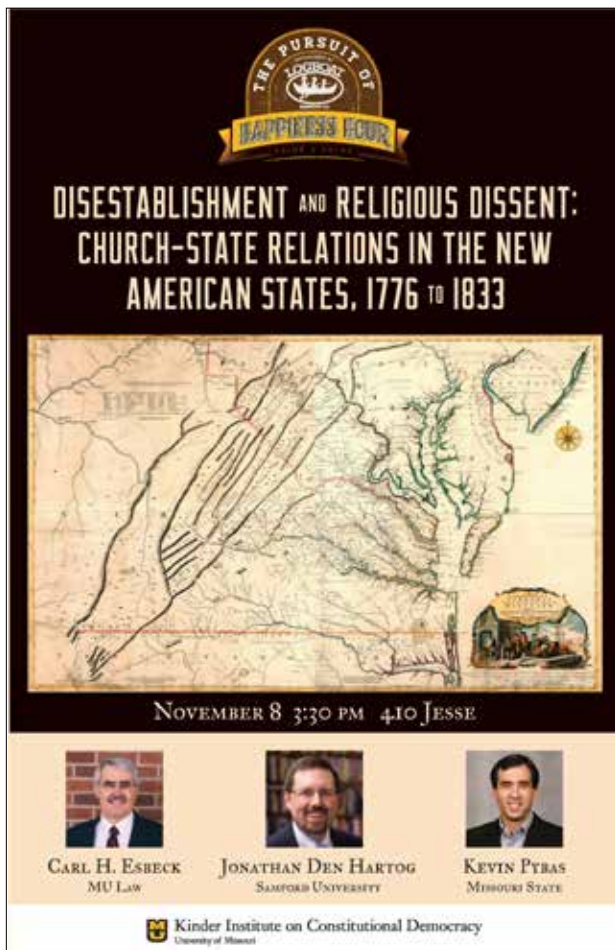
### *Disestablishment & Religious Dissent: Church-State Relations in the New American States*

MU Law Professor Emeritus Carl Esbeck and Samford University Professor of History Jonathan Den Hartog

We’ll keep this recap brief and direct those interested in the topic to the recently-published experts, but we were thrilled to have MU Law R.B. Price and Isabelle Wade & Paul C. Lyda Professor Emeritus **Carl Esbeck** and Samford University Professor of History **Jonathan Den Hartog** on the fourth floor of Jesse on November 8 to discuss their co-edited *Disestablishment & Religious Dissent: Church-State Relations in the New American States, 1776-1833*, out just weeks prior to the talk as

part of the Kinder Institute’s *Studies in Constitutional Democracy* monograph series with University of Missouri Press.

In their presentations, both editors stressed how the new book, the first ever to tackle disestablishment on a state-by-state basis, not only fills a significant gap in the historical literature on church-state relations but also corrects some popular misconceptions about religion and U.S. politics in the Revolutionary and Early Republic eras. In service of this act of correction, many of the book’s core findings thus address what state disestablishment actually was *not* integrally associated with. For example, unlike in France, where antireligious and anticlerical sentiment were at the heart of revolutionary rhetoric, resistance to church establishment—Congregational





in New England and Church of England in the Southern colonies—was not, Prof. Den Hartog noted, a material cause of the War for Independence. Though we might expect the opposite, Prof. Esbeck detailed how neither the U.S. Constitution nor the First Amendment contributed significantly to the disestablishment process in the original 13 states (though the First Amendment did apply to federal territories). And though we might have been *told* the opposite, the conventional wisdom about Jefferson’s outsized influence on state disestablishment has little support in the way of historical evidence. Instead, Prof. Den Hartog argued, it’s Madison who should be getting more attention on this front, as his “Memorial & Remonstrance,” the echo of which resonated in Georgia and Louisiana, made a powerful argument regarding disestablishment as both useful for the state *and* beneficial for the church.

What, then, *is* the story of disestablishment? On one hand, the editors agreed that emphasis should be placed on the fact that it’s not a single story but, rather, multiple unique stories: some of near immediate disestablishment and others of a gradual, sometimes arduous break between church and state. In addition, this latter class of disestablishment narratives speaks to the way in which the process was as much—if not more—one of bureaucratic deregulation and legal reform as it was one of philosophical decoupling. As Prof. Den Hartog showed, while protecting the right to private judgment in religious observance “came easy,” the work of eliminating state funding for churches and repealing religious tax assessment and glebes was slow. However, acknowledging the more bureaucratic and legalistic factors in play should not be misconstrued as a dismissal of the non-regulatory stakes of this period in U.S. history. As Prof. Esbeck pointed out when wrapping up his portion of the talk, the majority of colonists agitating for disestablishment were religious dissenters seeking freedom on faith-based grounds—they were Baptists, Presbyterians, and Separatists who may have agreed with many of the general tenets of Protestant Christianity but still differed materially in their religious practices and beliefs from the established church in their respective states.

### *Civilians and the Laws of War: The Case of Civil War Missouri*

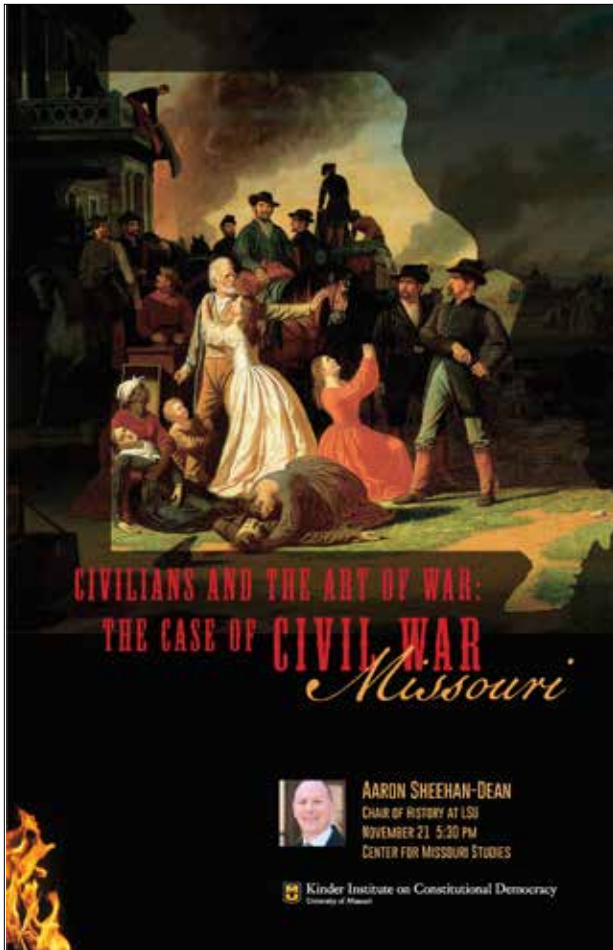
LSU Fred C. Frey Professor of Southern Studies and Chair of History Aaron Sheehan-Dean

Though the French Revolution is typically designated as such, LSU Professor and Chair of History **Aaron Sheehan-Dean** opened his November 21 lecture at the Center for Missouri Studies with the competing claim that the Civil War was instead the “first popular war,” primarily because it was being fought by two democracies, if two highly imperfect ones. As a result, he noted, it was likewise the ideal test case for the question at the heart of his recent Harvard University Press book, *The Calculus of Violence*: How do democratic societies determine how to manage wars democratically; how, that is, do they establish democratic boundaries for and impose these boundaries on lethal violence?

Missouri, he explained, was central to this inquiry because it was a bloody staging ground of sorts for a related and perhaps even more fundamental question: Who must be acknowledged as a soldier in, and thus be subject to the laws of, war? This question was, on the one hand, particularly, tragically relevant to Black men, who the Confederacy categorically didn’t acknowledge as soldiers. Especially after the Emancipation Proclamation, and especially in border or divided states like Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, this led to a surge of savage violence directed at Black troops. Also of acute interest in Missouri was the case of the Confederacy’s irregular



or guerrilla soldiers: those bands of men who organized independently, who wore no uniforms and had no chain of command, and whose indifference to the laws of just war introduced a system of barbarity on Missouri's western border. As Prof. Sheehan-Dean showed, the Union's difficulty in determining how to deal with these combatants would lead to one of the most notable escalations of violence in the history of the Civil War.



Initially, the Union tried non-lethal, primarily monetary and confiscatory means for curbing guerrilla violence, but on balance, these strategies failed (a problem compounded throughout the region by inexperienced Provost Marshals' trouble with even identifying irregulars in the first place). They then turned to taking hostage known or presumed supporters, but when the roof of a Kansas City women's prison collapsed, killing the wives, sisters, and children of many guerrilla fighters, the issue reached a new nadir. In retaliation, Quantrill's Raiders stormed Lawrence, KS, burning huge swaths of the city and executing 150 men and boys. The response was swift and harsh. Figures like military theorist Francis Lieber declared—for some, re-affirmed—that guerrillas were *not* public enemies and were thus not owed the privileges due prisoners of war (i.e., they could be killed if caught). More dramatically, the U.S. government issued General Order No. 11, which held that residents of four Missouri border counties must either take a loyalty oath and re-locate to a Union military outpost or face forcible displacement from their homes. This introduced unprecedented wartime consequences for white, non-combatant civilians. Some, as George Caleb Bingham's *General Order No. 11* depicts, were killed in the course of the Order's execution, while others perished from disease or exposure after being cast, shelter-less, onto the western plains.

These are, to be sure, grim histories, but as Prof. Sheehan-Dean underscored in the second half of his talk, for as bloody as the Civil War was, it was also, somewhat paradoxically, restrained in its savagery. In some respects, the boundaries placed on violence were pragmatic; for both the North and South, courting European support meant fighting the war with European decorum. That said, there were certainly moments of willing de-escalation. For example, not only did James Anderson blow the whistle to Jefferson Davis about the inhumane conditions at the Andersonville POW camp; even after *Harper's* published horrifying images of Andersonville POWs, Northern citizens' calls for ruthless counter-action were quelled by Union leaders. Similarly, broad commitment to the rules of right retaliation—that enemy violations of the laws of war should be balanced but not exceeded—helped ensure that retaliatory cycles were hemmed in, versus exponential, trajectories of vengeance.

Prof. Sheehan-Dean closed by citing what he saw as the two most powerful forces curtailing Civil War violence. One was Lincoln's insistence on managing the war with the ultimate goal of re-unification in mind (and thus an implied imperative to not embitter Southerners via excessive force). Even more significant than this, though, was the fact that, in spite of a claim to righteous violence, formerly enslaved people pursued freedom over revenge, fleeing *en masse* to Union lines rather than bearing out slaveholders', and even some cabinet members', racist prophesy of a second Haiti.





## FACULTY & GRADUATE STUDENTS

After introducing our readership to the AY 2019-20 Graduate Fellows in our summer newsletter, we're back in the fall with bios for our new Distinguished Visiting Research Fellows, as well as for our 2019-20 Postdoctoral Fellows, housed both in Jesse Hall and, in one case, at the Rothermere American Institute, helping get the new M.A. in Atlantic History & Politics off the ground. Some familiar faces here, some new, and all are already actively contributing to intellectual life at the Kinder Institute.

### *Distinguished Visiting Research Fellows*



**Alan Gibson** is Professor of Political Science at California State University, Chico. His scholarly focus is American political thought, especially that of the American founding. Gibson has held fellowships from the International Center for Jefferson Studies in

Charlottesville, Virginia, the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. He has published articles in, among other journals, *American Political Thought*, *Polity*, *History of Political Thought*, and *The Review of Politics*. Gibson is the author of two books on the historiography of the American founding, both published by University Press of Kansas, and he is currently working on a study of the political thought of James Madison, tentatively titled *James Madison and the Creation of an Impartial Republic*. He earned his Ph.D. at the University of Notre Dame.



**Kenneth Owen** is Associate Professor of History at the University of Illinois, Springfield. His research interests lie primarily in the political history of the United States, focusing particularly on the relationship between governments and the people. His published essays

include discussions of political legitimacy and the political uses of violence in the early republic. Dr. Owen received his BA, MSt and DPhil from The Queen's College, University of Oxford. Before arriving in the Midwest, he taught at the University of Sussex and Ohio University. His first book, *Political Community in Revolutionary Pennsylvania, 1774-1800*, was published with Oxford University Press in 2018. Dr. Owen has additional teaching interests in digital history and the history of sports. He is a founding member of *The Junto* blog and the host of their podcast, *The Juntocast*. He will serve during AY 2019-20 as a Distinguished Visiting Research Fellow at the Kinder Institute, where he will be working on a project investigating the long history of secession movements within the United States.

### *Postdoctoral Fellows*

**Zachary Dowdle** earned his B.A. and M.A. in History from Angelo State University in San Angelo, Texas, and his Ph.D.



from University of Missouri, where his dissertation, completed with Kinder Institute Associate Director Jeff Pasley, looked at shifting conceptions of race and gender in the political culture of nineteenth-century Missouri and the United States through an examination of the career of James Sidney Rollins,

a slave owner who was a leading Whig politician and pro-Unionist. Rollins served as a representative at both the state and national levels, working to establish the University of Missouri in the 1830s and providing a crucial swing vote in Congress that approved the Thirteenth Amendment. Zach has presented his work at conferences in Columbia, New Orleans, and San Diego, received a graduate dissertation fellowship from the Kinder Institute, and was a Goodrich Fellow with the State Historical Society of Missouri in Columbia. Away from work, he enjoys spending time outdoors, either cycling on country roads or hiking along local trails. A 2017-19 Research Affiliate in History at the Kinder Institute, he now serves as a Postdoctoral Teaching Fellow in Political History.



**Rodolfo (Rudy) Hernandez** earned his B.A. in Liberal Arts from St. John's College in Annapolis, MD, and his Ph.D. in Political Science from Louisiana State University. His work focuses on political theory and American political development, and his dissertation

considers the political economy of Abraham Lincoln's thought, especially as it relates to the principle of equality expressed by the Declaration of Independence. As a graduate student, he was awarded the Huel D. Perkins Fellowship by LSU and the Richard M. Weaver Fellowship by the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. Rudy previously taught as a Visiting Instructor at Louisiana Tech University and as a Senior Lecturer at Texas State University, and he also has prior government experience, including serving in AmeriCorps, working as a tax examiner in the U.S. Treasury Department, and eight years in the U.S. Army Reserve. He joined the Kinder Institute in Fall 2018 as a Postdoctoral Fellow in Political Thought & Constitutionalism, a position he will stay on in during 2019-20.

**Erin Marie Holmes** holds a B.A. in History from the College of William and Mary, a Certificate in Early American History and Museum Studies from the National Institute of American History and Democracy, a Ph.D. in History from the University of South Carolina, and a Certificate in Historical



Archaeology and Cultural Resource Management from South Carolina's Department of Anthropology. Her manuscript project, *The House that Slavery Built: Social and Material Transformation in the British Atlantic World, 1670-1831*, explores how the built environment—buildings,

landscapes, objects, and the spaces in between—shaped the experience of slavery within the plantation house, transforming colonial identity to create the conditions that made the American Revolution possible. Her research has been funded by organizations including the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and the Fred W. Smith National Library for the Study of George Washington at Mount Vernon, and from 2017-2019, she was an Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow at the American Philosophical Society. She joins the Kinder Institute as a Postdoctoral Fellow in Political History.



**Sonia Tycko** is a historian of early modern England and its American colonies, with an emphasis on social relations, law, and labor. She received her Ph.D. from Harvard University in 2019. As a Kinder Junior Research Fellow in Atlantic History at the Rothermere American Institute and

St. Peter's College, Oxford, she is revising her dissertation into a book, tentatively entitled, *Captured Consent: Forced Labor and the Rise of Freedom of Contract*. This project examines what consent meant and how it worked in seventeenth-century master-servant relationships that were formed under coercion. An article arising out of this research, "The Legality of Prisoner of War Labour in England, 1648-1655," is forthcoming in *Past & Present*. Her research has been supported by the Mellon-ACLS Dissertation Completion Fellowship, the American Historical Association, the Huntington Library, the North American Conference on British Studies, the John Carter Brown Library, and the McNeil Center for Early American Studies.



**Constantine Vassiliou** earned his B.A. in Political Science from Mount Allison University, and both his M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Theory from the University of Toronto. His research points to a perennial problem in political economy that continues to the present-day

unresolved: how to balance commercial considerations with the public interest? He looks at this question through the lenses of Enlightenment-era political philosophers who met similar challenges during capitalism's nascent stages. His dissertation considered Montesquieu's conception of political moderation in the context of John Law's economic system in early eighteenth-century France, and his current research project examines how the politics of the South Sea 'Bubble' in England [1720] informed early debates in American political economy, with a view toward gaining a deeper understanding of how financial crisis impacts citizens' trust in public institutions. Constantine was recently awarded a Visiting Research Fellowship at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C. He joins the Kinder Institute as a Postdoctoral Fellow in Political Thought & Constitutionalism.



## UNDERGRADUATES

Per usual, the undergraduate news from the fall runs the gamut from arrivals to departures, and from endings to beginnings. The first cohort of our Kinder Institute Residential College got to Columbia on move-in day and almost immediately jumped into KICD programming with a daylong orientation session on August 16. As they were settling in, MU Senior **Ian De Boer** (History & German Studies) was preparing to set sail for the U.K., where he'll spend AY 2019-20 as our first three-term Fellow at Corpus Christi College (see pp. 25-26 for details on what led Ian to Oxford and what he's hoping to get done there).

In another trading places moment, as our Kinder Scholars were winding their summer in D.C. down (see p. 24 for a final recap), members of the sixth class of our Society of Fellows, including **Austin Stafford**, whose yet-to-be-titled *Journal on Constitutional Democracy* article is teased on p. 27, were descending on Columbia to kick that program off with our annual summer seminar, which is where this section begins. In addition to Distinguished Visiting Research Fellow **Ken Owen's** opening night talk on the non-Confederacy secessionist tradition in U.S. history—from the Whiskey Rebellion, to the State of Franklin, to Calexit—Fellows attended the following sessions.



### *2019 Society of Fellows Summer Seminar*

*August 6th-9th at the Tiger Hotel*

#### **Wednesday, August 7th**

Seminar 1: "Revolution and Rebellion," with Kinder Institute Director **Justin Dyer**

Seminar 2: "Federalist and Anti-Federalist Republican Visions: Virtue, the Good, and Tyranny," with Professor of Political Science **Jay Dow**

Seminar 3: "The Future of Health Care Policy in the U.S.," with Assistant Professor of Political Science and Public Affairs **Jake Haselswerdt**

Dabbling in health care is as deeply rooted in the history of U.S. government as tossing tea into harbors or hanging lanterns in steeples. More deeply rooted, in fact. As Prof. Haselswerdt noted in opening his session with the Fellows, the Massachusetts Bay Colony's 1629 charter called for no one to practice medicine without the consent of those trained in the art. Over time, though, dabbling has become something far, far more involved. Specifically, as the quality of health care has improved in lockstep with developments in science and technology, the government's role in health policy has grown in lockstep with the rising costs of quality care.





It's important to remember, Prof. Haselswerdt explained, that the fundamental goal of keeping a population healthy involves much more than medical care. Behavioral and environmental factors, for example, *must* come into play when we consider and discuss routes to effective health care provision. Still, at the risk of oversimplification, two primary challenges have arisen when it comes to maintaining a healthy populace: ensuring quality of care, which the government plays a fairly passive role in, and ensuring access to care, which, as today's debates reflect, the government is squarely entrenched in.

At the heart of many of these debates is the Affordable Care Act (ACA). Signed into law by President Barack Obama in 2010, and rolled out (mostly) in 2014, the ACA addressed a system plagued by adverse selection, wildly variable costs, and decreasing life expectancy. For one, it expanded health care access, most notably by extending Medicaid options to a far higher number of low income individuals and households. It also brought order to the world of private insurance through guaranteeing coverage to those with pre-existing conditions and by delineating the essential health benefits that policies must account for. The carrot for private insurers?—under the ACA, everyone had to have coverage.

It was the issue of mandatory coverage that most rankled the ACA's largely conservative critics, who thought the requirement an anathema to core R/republican values such as avoiding excessive regulation and prioritizing individual liberty and responsibility. Efforts to repeal the ACA thus began in earnest almost as soon as the legislation went into effect,

but as Prof. Haselswerdt outlined, for a number of reasons, these efforts failed more than they succeeded. Perhaps most glaringly, there was no consensus on what would replace what was being repealed. Moreover, and particularly in the Senate, birdbath provisions and other budget issues doomed the large-scale replacement plans that eventually did take rough shape. And, of course, there was the small issue of the ACA becoming more popular the minute that threats to its existence began to seem real. Opponents didn't walk away from the table empty-handed, though. On top of the fact that many states, including Missouri, simply refused to expand Medicaid, the individual mandate was rolled back, the rules on short-term plans were relaxed, and support for marketplace navigators was cut.

Where does all of this leave us? Not in a good spot, according to Prof. Haselswerdt. As he detailed in wrapping up, due in large part to the aforementioned refusal to expand Medicaid at the state level, as well as to a lack of competition on the open market, problems of uninsured residents and high, privately-absorbed costs of insurance persist. This latter issue, Prof. Haselswerdt added, is one to watch. Even more than a public option, he noted how he anticipates high deductibles and massive out-of-pocket spending to be the issues driving health care policy debates in the years to come.

Seminar 4: "The Best Laid Plans: How Administrative Burden Complicates Voting Rights Restoration Law and Policy," with Assistant Professor of Constitutional Democracy, Political Science, and Public Policy **Jennifer Selin**



## Thursday, August 8th

Seminar 5: “Creating the Capital City,” with Associate Professor of Constitutional Democracy and Law and Kinder Institute Director of Undergraduate Studies **Carli Conklin**

The fact that even the title of Dr. Conklin’s August 8 seminar had a history of controversy woven into it speaks to the degree to which the founding of Washington, D.C., was anything but seamless. Part of this might stem from the ambiguous—yet somehow also ultra-specific—language of Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution, which granted Congress the power “[t]o exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of Government of the United States.” In terms of said history of controversy, to call the “Seat of Government” a ‘capital,’ some suggested, would symbolically invest it with too much authority over the states. ‘District,’ however, could acceptably signify a “ten Miles square” avatar for federalism.

As Dr. Conklin explained, how to refer to “the Seat of Government” was not the only flag raised during the process of founding the capital city. That Congress would govern the District—and the lack of representation for District residents that this implied—was then, and remains today, a point of contention. In fact, it led to mid-19th-century Virginians taking back the land they’d given over to the government to create D.C. Which brings us to the “ten Miles square” and the issue of where, exactly, they would be (or, in constitutional terms, the issue of which particular state or states would cede them). As for location, the area along the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers that is now D.C. was initially opposed as being too southern but was eventually deemed fit for a capitol after the federal government agreed to assume states’ war debt. And for

a variety of reasons that the Fellows unpacked in examining correspondences between Jefferson and Washington, the square mileage would come from private landowners in Maryland and Virginia, who voluntarily ceded their holdings. Some of the reasons they did this—for example, an abiding belief in the necessary relationship between public virtue and republican self-government—were purely altruistic. Some landowners, Prof. Conklin noted, might have just been the Revolutionary-era equivalent of star-struck that Washington himself was approaching them for assistance. And some, of course, were in it for the money. Not only were proprietors paid for all donated land that was sold for public use; they were also allowed to continue to work all donated but unsold plots.

This hybrid arrangement fostered a patchwork aesthetic in D.C.’s early years. Cattle roamed among carriages. Rows of corn were interspersed among the stately row houses. And the prickly issue of what to do with displaced dirt plagued the District’s collective psyche.

Seminar 6: “Just Walk Away: Congressional Retirements and What They Tell Us about the Chambers, the Parties, and the State of American Politics,” with Professor of Political Science **Marvin Overby**

Seminar 7: “International Relations Theory & U.S. Foreign Policy Making, 1861-1989,” with Assistant Professor of Political Science **Heather Ba**

Seminar 8: “The Politics of Slave Resistance,” with Kinder Institute Endowed Chair in Constitutional Democracy and Professor of History **Jay Sexton**

The Summer Seminar wrapped up on Friday with Rachel Newman’s presentation on fellowship opportunities and a mock *Journal on Constitutional Democracy* class session led by course co-instructors **Carli Conklin** and **Thomas Kane**.



## KINDER SCHOLARS WRAP-UP

As we do every year, once the dust settles after a summer in D.C., we reach out to some of our Kinder Scholars for reflections on their time in the capital. Thanks this time around to **Ashley Dorf** (Junior, Journalism), **Josh Eagan** (Senior, Economics & Political Science), and **Lauren Wilcox** (Junior, Strategic Communication) for volunteering their services. We'll let them take it from here.

**KICD:** What was the highlight of the internship?

**JE:** I was responsible for finding the locations that terrorist attacks happened and geocoding them into a database. Incidents were particularly hard to code in Myanmar, until I found an online bank of maps of the geographical divisions of the country. This allowed my supervisor to create new resources to streamline the coding process, freeing up resources to work on new projects.

**LW:** The Representative I worked for sits on the Homeland Security Committee, and this past session they held hearings on the humanitarian crisis happening on our southern border. Before these hearings, I attended several briefings from lawyers, agents, and social workers who had been providing aid relief to immigrants at the border. Sitting in the hearing as Border Patrol Agents and officials of the Department of Homeland Security testified on this issue made me realize the power the public has on influencing what Congress decides to investigate.

**AD:** Through my work at the National Archives, I got to go on a social media tour to see exhibits in the area commemorating the centennial of women's suffrage, including at the Library of Congress and National Portrait Gallery. I loved meeting interns and professionals from other organizations in the area and seeing how each of the exhibits could portray history in different ways to educate the public on such a monumental movement.

**KICD:** What is the reading from the class that's stayed with you the most and why?

**AD:** I remember a reading about Mount Vernon—Jean B. Lee's "Historical Memory, Sectional Strife, and the American Mecca: Mount Vernon, 1783-1853"—that talked about how it became a site "adopted" by the public over time. For instance, Washington did not want a public funeral, yet a large ceremony was held anyway because of the public. After visiting, I found it interesting that Mount Vernon has now become this place associated with freedom and patriotism when there is a lot more to it than that.

**LW:** Jay Sexton's readings on "The Civil War in Global Context" were interesting because they seemed outdated in terms of how we view the study of history. He did this on purpose, as the lecture made more of an impact on how I viewed and studied history. His point was that history is seen through a rearview mirror; we only see what we want in history by how we view the present.

**KICD:** Was there a time during one of the field trips when you felt a true synergy between the place you were and the material you were discussing in the class session?

**AD:** I think both Civil War battle sites were like this for me (Antietam and Gettysburg). When you look at them, you see fields, statues, and cannons, and when you hear the stories of the figures you've studied in the classroom fighting in these places, it takes on a whole new meaning.

**KICD:** If you could bring one place in D.C. back to Columbia, what would it be?—and we're living in a world governed by magic here, so it can really be anywhere in D.C.

**AD:** The National Mall. It would be cool if it was called the Mizzou Mall here. I like the alliteration.

**JE:** The Rock Creek Trail in D.C. near WISH, the housing complex that we lived at. The trail was a beautiful place to run, photograph, or pitch a hammock and relax with a book. This was one of my favorite places in the city.

**LW:** The openness and silence of the Rotunda in the Capitol Building at approximately 5pm. There would be no one there but myself (and the security guards). Standing below the Apotheosis of Washington while surrounded by statues of the most influential American leaders is at once an overwhelming and satisfying feeling.

**KICD:** When you shut your eyes and think about the summer, what appears (has to be different from answer #4)?

**JE:** I think about the long bus rides to out of town field trips. I would always try to sit by someone new and have introspective conversation. This was my favorite aspect from the summer.

**LW:** To be quite honest, when I shut my eyes and think about my summer in D.C., I see the smiling faces of strangers who have become some of my best friends and life teachers. My summer was filled with exploration of American history, career interests, and lots and lots of growing that I never imagined for myself.



## STUDY ABROAD

### *Back to Oxford with Ian De Boer*

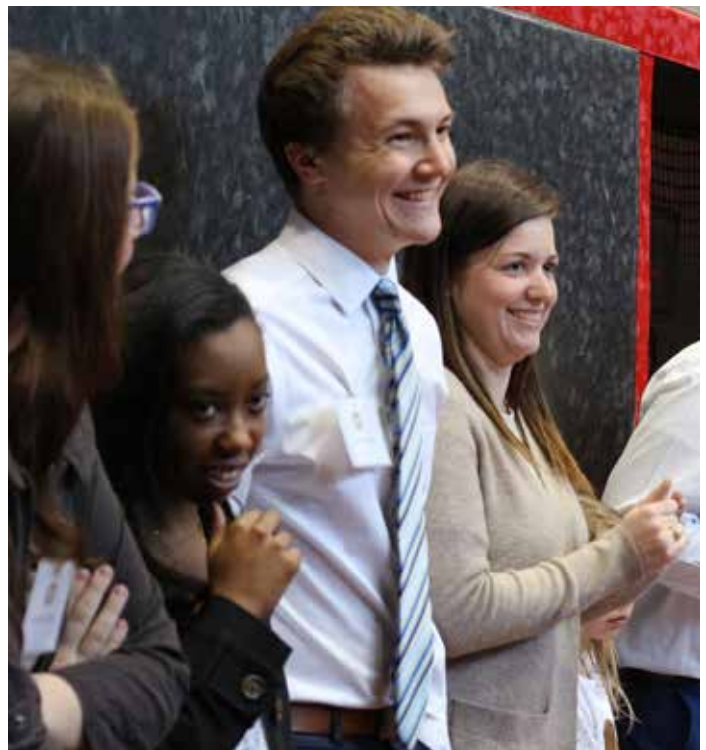
A History and German Studies major from Lee's Summit, MU senior **Ian De Boer** will represent the Kinder Institute abroad as our third Oxford Fellow, and the first to spend the full, three-term academic year at Corpus. In this pre-departure Q&A from August, he touches on everything from the week at Oxford that turned into a year, to the thesis project he'll be working on when he's there, to what it is about Jay Sexton that makes him so easy to impersonate.

**KICD:** One probably doesn't need any extra motivation to want to spend a year studying at Oxford, but nonetheless, were there things about the Spring Break trip—or the spring class in general—that really underscored why this was an opportunity you wanted to pursue?

**IDB:** By far the style of instruction was what most motivated me to go back. At Mizzou, there are countless incredible instructors who do so much for their students, but the legacy of instruction and the culture that is present at Oxford stand out above even the most entertaining mythology lecture. I got my first taste of the intensity and expectations before we left for England, when we read *After Tamerlane* in Dr. Sexton's class and tore into the argumentation as a group. Dr. Sexton really pushed us to take charge of the discussion and dictate the flow according to our own goals for the conversation. It was empowering to have such an intellectual discussion with my peers in so open a setting. This was just compounded when we arrived at Oxford. The professors we met were open and friendly, but one could still tell that they were looking for well-thought out, well-structured questions after their lectures. I enjoyed how the expectation for a follow-up was always present, something that I didn't know I missed in our own classrooms and lecture halls. Our class was really prepared to tackle the environment presented to us, and I was truly proud to be a part of such a quality group. I'm absolutely looking forward to a similar setting during my time abroad, perhaps even more so in the intimate two-to-three-person tutorials.

**KICD:** Can you talk a little bit about the thesis project that you're working on with Prof. **[Jonathan] Sperber** and how it'll benefit not only from the resources available at Oxford but maybe even from the pedagogical approach they take there (and if you know what tutorials you're taking in the fall, definitely feel free to weave that in)?

**IDB:** I'm researching and writing on the student movements in the later 1960s in West Germany and their connections to the Vietnam War, specifically engaging with the intellectual backdrop of the rise of the New Left. Dr. Sperber was



adamant that my time across the pond wouldn't inhibit my ability to complete the project—what I was most concerned with in making the decision—and he and I discussed how the Bodleian Library has a wealth of primary documents and newspapers that in fact will elevate my research tremendously.

As for coursework, one of the tutorials I've chosen, "Europe Divided, 1914-1989," covers Europe in the global 20th century. It will be a great opportunity to see how another culture entirely, not just Oxford, approaches the contentious topics that I study, and I'm especially curious as to what they point to as the main trends that led to the staunch generational divides that arose in the 60s. I think that learning about connections to Vietnam in Oxford, given that the more Eurocentric view might touch on points I have not yet been introduced to concerning the conflict in Indochina, will be invaluable and might even change how I perceive the events of the tumultuous time myself.

**KICD:** What's the plan after you wrap up there in June 2020?

**IDB:** The plan at the moment is actually two separate plans. The first rests on how far I go in the application process for a Marshall Scholarship this fall. If all goes ideally, I'd like to go back to Oxford to start a Masters of Philosophy in History for two years, potentially working toward a Ph.D. in History in the third. The backup plan to the Marshall Scholarship is to attend an M.A. or Ph.D. program in History here in the U.S., but I don't have a specific university chosen as of yet. There are a few—UC Berkeley and University of Michigan—that have professors I would love to work on a dissertation with,

but there's too much up in the air for me to be certain about a concrete landing zone!

### *Lightning Round*

—Favorite lecture of the Spring Break 2019 trip and a sentence or two on why?

My favorite was definitely the first lecture with **Pekka Härmäläinen**, when we discussed the power and empires of the Comanche and Lakota tribes during colonial times through American westward expansion in the 19th century. I was really intrigued by how the Native Americans conducted a quasi-slave trade, as well as by the ways in which they exerted their influence over other tribes.

—Since you're a man of many interests, top 3 German authors that we're not reading but should be?

That's a tough one because there are SO MANY that I want others to read, but German literature is hard to approach, most of the time because it's not translated. Frederick Dürrenmatt, who is Swiss-German, wrote an incredible set of detective novels, one of which is in fact translated. Wagner's opera classic *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, which is tough to read at

fifteen hours of playtime, is a truly awesome work that has so much influence on pop-culture without us realizing it. E.T.A. Hoffman is also amazing and haunting to read, as well as very hard to approach, so prepare for a challenge.

—Oxford site (could be a river, could be a library, could be anything) that you're most itching to get back to?

I've been dying to get back to the garden at Corpus Christi. It's so overgrown and wild, it almost feels like a rainforest. The bench at the top of the old medieval wall is one of my favorite places to read.

—Favorite Sexton-ism to impersonate (the race between a sentence containing either "musn't" or "nimble" is a close one on my end)?

"Musn't" is a good start to let the audience know who you're impersonating, but my personal favorite (and the one I think I'm best at) is the stuttered "a-a-a-and" he does as he formulates his sentences. Right behind that is the lowering of the voice to provide emphasis on words. He's hilarious to pick apart for an impersonation.





## JOURNAL ON CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY

from MU Sophomore **Austin Stafford's** exploration of the overlapping, yet quite distinct missions of America's early conservation advocacy groups



...Loads of likeminded pieces emphasizing an intimate connection with the natural world can be found in the *Sierra Club Bulletin*, which initially functioned as a depository for writings like McLean's. The *Bulletin* would thus provide preservationists with a centralized hub for their community, serving as a vehicle for social cohesion and political change rooted in a common admiration of and reverence for nature. Preservationists, though, were not unique in their sentiment, nor in their aspiration for community.

Namely, conservation-minded sportsmen of the era shared in this appreciation. Mirroring the *Bulletin* in many ways, the conservationist magazine *Forest and Stream* sought to convince its readers that the environment and its contents were to be revered. Editor until 1880, Charles Hallock dotted the publication's pages with poems, the very first of which, found on the front page of the maiden issue of *Forest and Stream*, establishes the magazine's (and its readership's) perception of nature as derivative of the sportsman's close relationship to his natural surroundings. Written by Isaac McLellan, the poem reads as a sublime exploration of the forests that a sportsman may find himself navigating. "On the fair face of Nature," McLellan writes, "let us muse, And dream by lapsing stream and dropping wood...Glance at the life that fills our native woods, And game of Asian plains, and Afric wilds." The poem's use of eloquent language—"fair face," for example—and its celebratory imagery echo McLean's description of nature in both matter and tone. However, the fundamental spirit of and, in some respects, objective underlying this appreciation is where the sportsmen diverge from the preservationists. The preservationist, as McLean's writing exemplifies, experiences

a soulful connection with the trees, flowers, and animals—almost a connection of equivalence—that organically inspires passivity. The sportsman, on the other hand, admires nature for its content—the "game" of its "plains and wilds"—viewing the environment not as an extension of himself but as a source for utility. There are animals to be hunted and fish to be caught. The sportsman does not appreciate nature for its spectacle, then, but asks what nature can provide for him.

To further illuminate the distinction between these two groups, it is important to consider the formalization of their communities. The *Forest and Stream* weekly magazine served as a significant point of reference for sportsmen across the country, projecting an archetypal persona within its pages for readers to model themselves after. The first issue of *Forest and Stream*—the same one that contains McLellan's poem—dives headfirst into this endeavor. The top of the first page has the title of the publication written in large, tree-like font with a vine of leaves woven through the letters. Displayed over a widely framed drawing of a forest scene with two men at the center, a mounted moose head and its antlers additionally separate each of the title's words. The two men, one holding a gun, the other a fishing rod, sit atop a large log and appear extraordinarily calm, confident, and at peace with where they rest. If it were not for their placement in the image, they would blend perfectly into their surroundings. Wearing matching boots and coats, their attire, as well as their facial expressions, are likewise nearly identical. This depiction serves as an embodiment of the sportsman and the personified status associated with the term. The figures in the image are simultaneously, somewhat ironically, in harmony with and poised to make use of the natural world. What's more, via the accessories they boast—boots, coats, guns, and rods—their persona becomes commodified and thus transferable. In the coming pages of *Forest and Stream*, readers would find detailed bits of information on what to do, what to know, and what to purchase if they wanted to look the part and act the part, too.

This club-like mentality, with all its requisites and seeming contradictions, would be consolidated officially by Teddy Roosevelt and George Bird Grinnell, editor of *Forest and Stream* from 1880 to 1911. Together, they formed the Boone and Crockett Club, whose self-declared purpose was to "promote the conservation and management of wildlife, especially big game, and its habitat, to preserve and encourage hunting[,] and to maintain the highest ethical standards of fair chase and sportsmanship in North America..."

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For more information about contributing to the Kinder Institute, please feel free to contact Institute Director Justin Dyer, [DyerJB@missouri.edu](mailto:DyerJB@missouri.edu)

**K**inder Institute on  
Constitutional Democracy  
University of Missouri

409 Jesse Hall  
Columbia, MO 65211  
573.882.3330  
[democracy.missouri.edu](http://democracy.missouri.edu)

## NEWS IN BRIEF

First and foremost, some congratulations are due to a trio of alumni of Kinder Institute undergrad programs: to **Faramola Shonekan** and **Christian Cmehil-Warn** on being named finalists for the Rhodes Scholarship, and to **Bryce Fuemmeler** on being named a finalist for the Marshall Scholarship . . . Google “**Jennifer Selin**,” and you’ll very quickly discover that she has become something of a go-to public commentator on the history and process of impeachment . . . Thanks to MU’s Teaching & Learning Center & Visiting Fellow **Ken Owen** for hosting a November 7 roundtable with Prof. **Tamson Pietsch** on “Podcasting & Public Pedagogies” . . . And to the K.C. Public Library & St. Louis Federalist Society chapter for hosting Profs. **Carl Esbeck** (MU Law Emeritus) and **Jonathan Den Hartog** (Samford University) on their Midwestern book tour for *Disestablishment & Religious Dissent*, out now on MU Press . . . Kinder Institute Director **Justin Dyer** was on the road in September to give Coastal Carolina’s Constitution Day Lecture on “Lincoln and the Rule of Law,” and KICD Postdoc **Erin Marie Holmes** was in Philly in November to talk about “Mapping a Nation: Shaping the Early American Republic,” an exhibition she curated while she was a Fellow at the American Philosophical Society

