



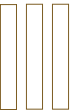
KINDER INSTITUTE  
on CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY



NEWSLETTER | SPRING 2020



## *The* COLUMNS



The spring/summer undergraduate lead-in is typically the most joyful (and tearful) *Columns* section to write each year, one where we have to say goodbye to graduating seniors but where we also get to champion their post-MU endeavors. And it's especially bittersweet this time, since we didn't even get to throw a final party in their honor.

Streamers and finger foods there were not, but accolades there were, starting with a big one. After finishing as a runner-up for Rhodes and Fulbright Fellowships, **Faramola Shonekan**—who's done just about everything that the Kinder Institute has to offer—was selected as Mizzou's 2020 Mark Twain Fellow, a distinction which will

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## A SEMESTER LIKE NO OTHER

The Spring 2020 public talks section could, of course, be much longer, but the rush of cancellations that came with the spread of COVID-19 meant that all venues on campus were understandably shuttered from mid-March on, including our beloved Jesse 410, and that all gatherings were just as understandably suspended.

Gone by the wayside were major conferences—March's scheduled symposium on "Haiti in the Atlantic World," as well as the annual meetings of the Shawnee Trail Conference on American Politics & Constitutionalism and the Association of British American Nineteenth-Century Historians that were scheduled in April in Waco and Columbia, respectively. We likewise didn't get to see talks on James Madison's political thought and religious nationalism in the Age of Lincoln, among others, though with any luck, at least some of these might be re-scheduled.

And though it's not necessarily relevant to public talks, perhaps most crushing of all was the travel that almost happened but didn't. Professors missed out on the chance to present their work at conferences the nation (and globe) 'round, and worse, we had to cancel both our annual undergraduate Spring Break trip to Oxford and our inaugural Spring Break trip to Washington, D.C., which was part of Prof. **Erin Hawley's** new undergraduate course on "Constitutional Litigation."

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Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy  
University of Missouri



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NEWS IN BRIEF

But enough about what didn’t happen. Happiness was pursued, and pursued often, during the first half of the Spring 2020 semester, with our Friday afternoon Colloquium Series kicking off on the last day of January, with the first talk recapped here, and continuing on with a trio of February talks before a March hiatus for the True/False Film Festival turned out to be longer than anticipated.

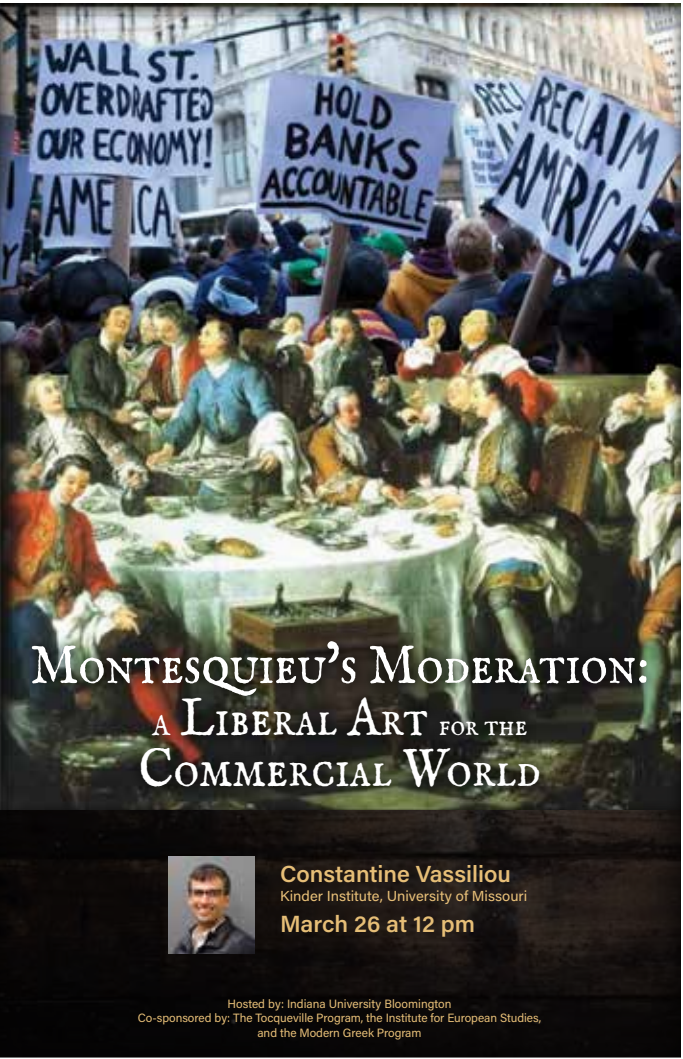
Montesquieu and Moderation: A Liberal Art for the Commercial World

Kinder Institute Postdoctoral Fellow Constantine Vassiliou

The commerce v. virtue dilemma central to Kinder Institute Postdoctoral Fellow **Constantine Vassiliou’s** January 31 talk in Jesse 410 is (at least) as old as the Enlightenment and (at least) as immediately relevant as the subprime mortgage crisis of the 2000s. How, we continue to ask, can magnanimity be nourished within the context of commercial systems that invite impetuous, apathetic self-interest? How can we functionally manage the moral hazard of capitalist excess?

For Montesquieu, the leading actor in Prof. Vassiliou’s talk, the inherent dangers of commercial society crystalized in the figure of John Law, an 18th-century Scottish financier-rogue whose reckless scheme to convert France’s government debt into shares of the Mississippi Company created a speculative bubble that, once burst, cast the French economy into a catastrophic spiral. Disincentivized at every turn by profit to consider the intense public risk of choreographed inflation, Law became, for Montesquieu, the avatar for despotism.

Prof. Vassiliou explained how, like many other political philosophers of the era, after the Mississippi Bubble burst (as well as the South Sea Bubble in the U.K.), Montesquieu took on the task of theorizing how virtue might be cultivated and a commitment to the common weal revitalized within commercial society. Some of his contemporaries, like David Hume and Adam Smith, believed that systems of commerce by nature contained tools—an impulse for improvement or the very act of exchange—that could be harnessed to accomplish these ends. Montesquieu agreed that commercial



activity did not implicitly preclude virtuousness, though he likewise found that stoking fellow feeling and empathy still required some force that liberated individuals from commerce; in a liberal society, he reasoned, wealth could not serve as the lone measure of social standing. As Prof. Vassiliou’s current research lays out, that force, in general terms, was moderation for Montesquieu. In more concrete terms, he showed in his talk how Montesquieu conceived of moderation as being encouraged through a plurality of honors and, specifically, political honors. Somewhat counterintuitively, this involved adapting the conditions of aristocracy for the evolving commercial world. For example, Montesquieu saw venality—making political office purchasable—as a practice that would bring recognition to a broader range of citizens and, in doing so, create a new hierarchy of value in which public spiritedness surpassed wealth accumulation in importance.

In expanding the frame beyond Montesquieu, Prof. Vassiliou then considered some of the ways in which the concerns and solutions associated with the commerce v. virtue debate shifted for subsequent thinkers. Adam Ferguson, for example, unpacked the morally corrosive effects of bureaucratization



and mechanization—how the former untethered public officeholders from a spirit of public service, while the latter created separation between the laborer and the production of useful goods. On the other side of the Atlantic, John Adams toyed with importing monarchic institutions into the American republic as a way to counterbalance the rise of an oligarchic wealthy elite, while Tocqueville presented the church and the town hall as spaces of similar function. These arguments, Prof. Vassiliou noted in closing, reverberate today in our discussions about technology, atomization, and a decline of sociability and about the academy’s potential to use the study of history as a means of illuminating the shadow side of commercial culture, thereby promoting precisely the sense of fellow feeling so vital to Montesquieu’s vision.

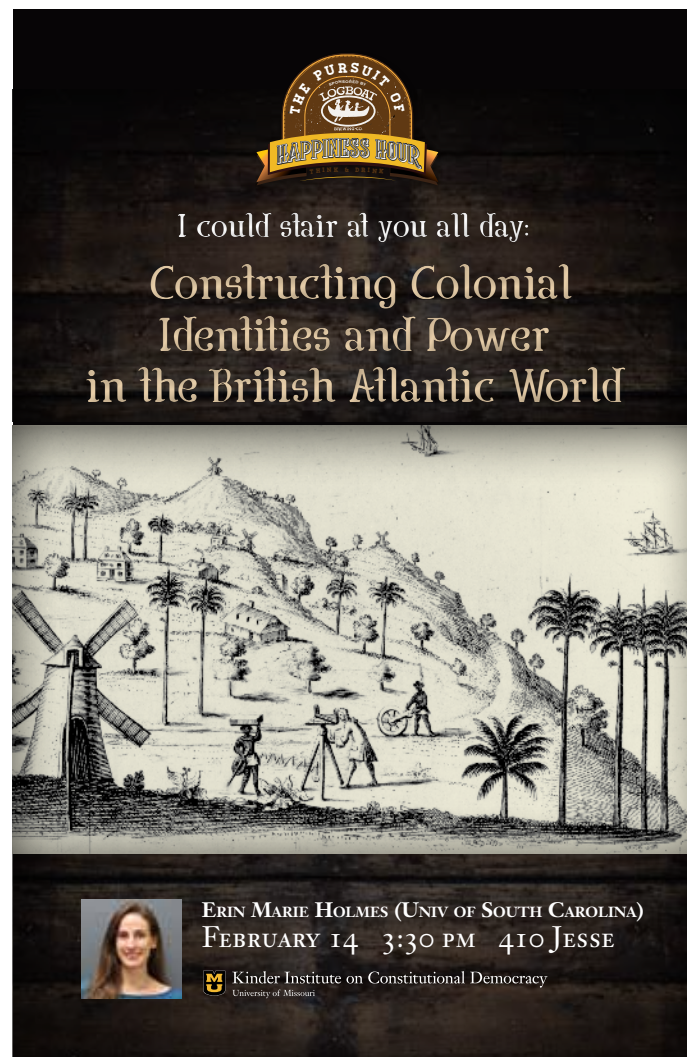
Constructing Colonial Identities and Power in the British Atlantic World

Kinder Institute Postdoctoral Fellow in Political History Erin Marie Holmes

At first blush, the initial question posed in Kinder Institute Postdoc **Erin Marie Holmes’** February 14 colloquium—“how do we recover the lost 18th-century landscape and built environment?”—seems like an insurmountable obstacle. Especially given limited scholarship on the subject, scanty documentary record, and a sometimes counter-productive disciplinary divide within the academy, it would appear that a built environment lost might just be unrecoverable. As Prof. Holmes discovered during extensive fieldwork in Barbados, however, such an assumption would be wrong.

When it comes to the island’s architecture, she explained, it’s not that the built environment was lost but rather that little about it changed significantly during the period in question (from the late 17th into the early 19th century). Or, perhaps more specifically, the built environment in Barbados





did change toward the front end of this timeline: houses became more open to account for the tropical clime, with higher ceilings and larger windows, while deforestation, slave rebellion, and hurricane damage resulted in a shift in building materials from timber to such soft stone as coral rubble. Once embraced, though, these adaptations became relative constants, as did two other key aspects of Barbadian material culture. For one, the colony stayed fixated on interweaving the ornamental trappings of British society into their homes. Secondly, the layout of the houses' first floor—one large room, with a smaller room attached—likewise remained consistent. The interplay between these latter two factors, Prof. Holmes noted, is instrumental to considering some of the larger questions—about the lives of enslaved people and the evolution of colonial identity—that can be assessed via study of the built environment. In both the décor and the close quarters through which enslaved people and their enslavers moved, we can see a colonial, Barbadian population far more interested in proving that their Englishness had not eroded than in re-shaping the landscape to account for the presence of slavery.



The same might be said of the first wave of Barbadians who moved to South Carolina. The original Ashley Hall, for example, was modest in stature and its design normalized frequent interactions between enslaved people, indentured servants, and enslavers. However, the “tale of two houses” with which Prof. Holmes closed her talk tells a story not of con- but divergence. When St. Nicholas Abbey (originally built in the second half of the 17th century) was renovated in 1748, the updates—triple-arcaded portico, sashed windows, Chippendale staircase—were largely cosmetic and marked a Frankensteined, not altogether accurate vision of what constituted British fashionability. Meanwhile, far from superficial, the updates made to Hampton House in the 1750s embodied decided shifts in colonial South Carolinians’ relationship with the enslaved population. The houses grew in size, projecting the wealth produced as a result of the labor of enslaved people and symbolically reinforcing oppressive hierarchies. They also grew in complexity. Hallways were incorporated to divide rooms from one another, establishing a physical barrier between enslaved persons and the owners of Hampton House, while also restricting the free movement of the former. Gardens on the grounds of the plantation created greater distance between home and field which in turn created greater opportunity for surveillance. And the sheer number of different rooms that were added to Hampton House when it was renovated speaks to a broader shift toward specialization and formalization of enslaved labor and a growing distance between the domestic and the agricultural spaces. If the mid-18th-century built environment in Barbados reflected a people desperate to visually associate themselves with the British empire, in South Carolina, it reflected a people who, in the wake of the 1739 Stono Rebellion and 1740 Negro Act, were recognizing the instability of the institution of slavery and, in turn, were striving simultaneously to achieve greater distance from and assert greater control over the men, women, and children they enslaved.

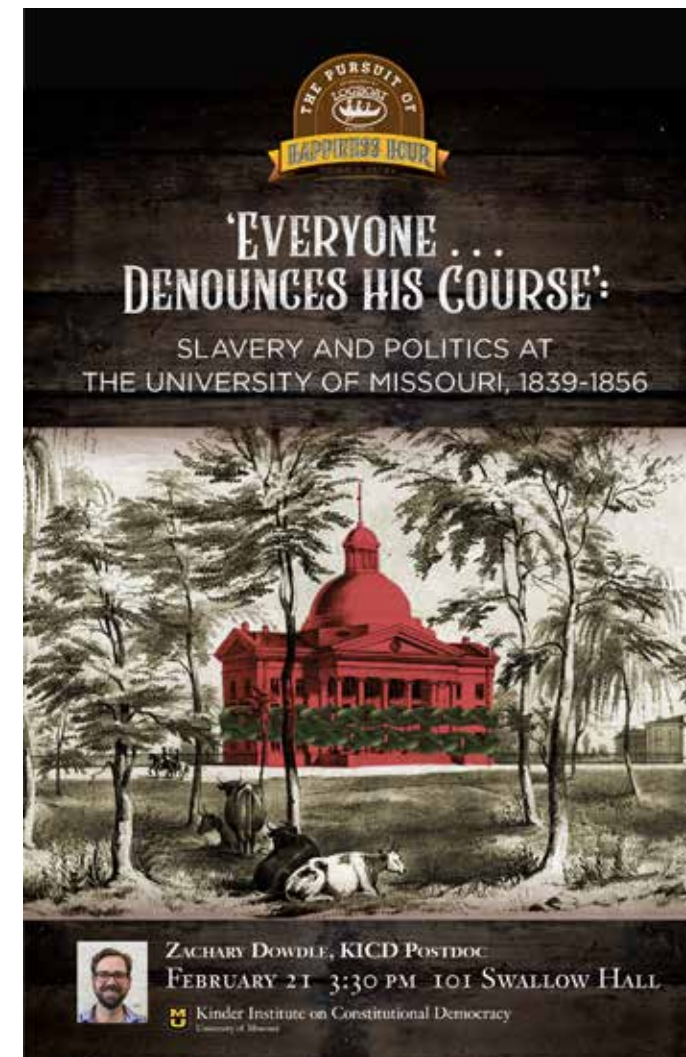
## *Slavery and Politics at the University of Missouri, 1839-1856*

Kinder Institute Postdoctoral Teaching Fellow  
Zachary Dowdle

When then-aspiring politician James Sidney Rollins gave a July 4, 1834, public speech on the importance of education, he must have known that he was preaching to the choir. The state’s Whig-leaning population was open in its belief that an informed citizenry would benefit both civic and economic life in Missouri, and when Rollins reached the state house in 1838, he made good on the implied promise of his Independence Day oration by proposing a bill that would pit six counties against each other in a bid to house a public university. All six were centrally-located along the Missouri River, with dense enough populations and strong enough economic bases to support an institution of higher learning. These counties’ wealth, Kinder Institute Postdoc **Zachary Dowdle** noted in unpacking the driving force behind both his February 21 talk and his recently completed dissertation, was also built on the labor of enslaved people.

That the creation of the University of Missouri bears the stain of slavery is undeniable, and it is a history that can be observed from a variety of documentary angles. Slaveholders contributed approximately 76% of the nearly \$100,000 raised in a subscription drive to support bringing the university to Boone County. An additional 60% of funds generated by the sale of federal seminary lands for the same purpose came from the slaveholding class. And though he never could find the “smoking gun” explicitly linking the physical construction of the university to the labor of enslaved people, Prof. Dowdle allowed that, for a variety of reasons, it’s a truth we’re safe to assume. As UMKC Prof. Diane Mutti-Burke’s research on the Missouri slave economy shows, leasing enslaved people out was a common practice in the state, and records reflect that much of the labor used to build the university was sub-contracted. On this note, Prof. Dowdle argued that the fact that an 1840 call-for-laborers singled out a shortage of journeyman suggests that much of the unskilled labor needs had indeed been filled by enslaved people. That the leasing of enslaved men and women to serve as janitors and attendants was a norm at MU in the 1840s and 1850s only further supports the case that their coerced labor was indispensable to the university opening its doors in 1841.

Prof. Dowdle would go on to demonstrate, however, that the university’s inescapably intertwined relationship with slavery is perhaps more complicated than meets the eye. For example, a brief look at the biographies of the three candidates for the university’s first presidentship would suggest that promoting





a pro-slavery position was *not* at the fore of curators' minds. Andrew Wylie was a committed participant in Western Pennsylvania's abolitionist movement while president of Washington College. John Clarke Young, a Princeton-trained, anti-slavery Presbyterian minister and president of Centre College in Kentucky, freed the enslaved people he inherited through marriage and continued his manumission efforts thereafter, acquiring slaves so to then emancipate them. And John Hiram Lathrop, who would eventually become Mizzou's first president, never owned slaves and was driven from his position as Professor of Law and Civil Society at Hamilton College after not coming out in opposition to a student-signed anti-slavery petition with enough fervor to suit the New York legislature. Proving the young university's legitimacy by establishing connections to elite East Coast institutions was, it seems, the primary concern of first wave administrators.

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If the state, too, was relatively complacent about the issue of slavery during MU's first years, this would change in the mid-1840s, as national debates about the expansion of slavery heated up. The toll on the university would be marked. Prof. Dowdle explained how an airtight clique of antagonistic Democrats' first move was to push through re-districting legislation that would change the composition of the Board of Curators to skew pro-slavery. With new leadership in place, Lathrop was effectively ousted and replaced by James Shannon. A Belfast-born Southern Baptist minister and devotee of the John C. Calhoun school of pro-slavery theology, Shannon accepted the offer to serve as president on two conditions: that he get life tenure and that he be allowed to continue to preach the gospel. The latter would put him squarely in the crosshairs of U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton. As Shannon traversed the state, delivering sermons on the biblical justifications of slavery, Benton became more and more vocal in espousing his fear that Shannon's sectarian politics were tarnishing the reputation and perverting the mission of the university by re-shaping it into an institution designed to produce pro-nullification, pro-Calhoun ideologues. Initially, nothing came of this, but with the Kansas-Nebraska Act demanding re-consideration among Missourians of slavery's spread westward, Whig and moderate



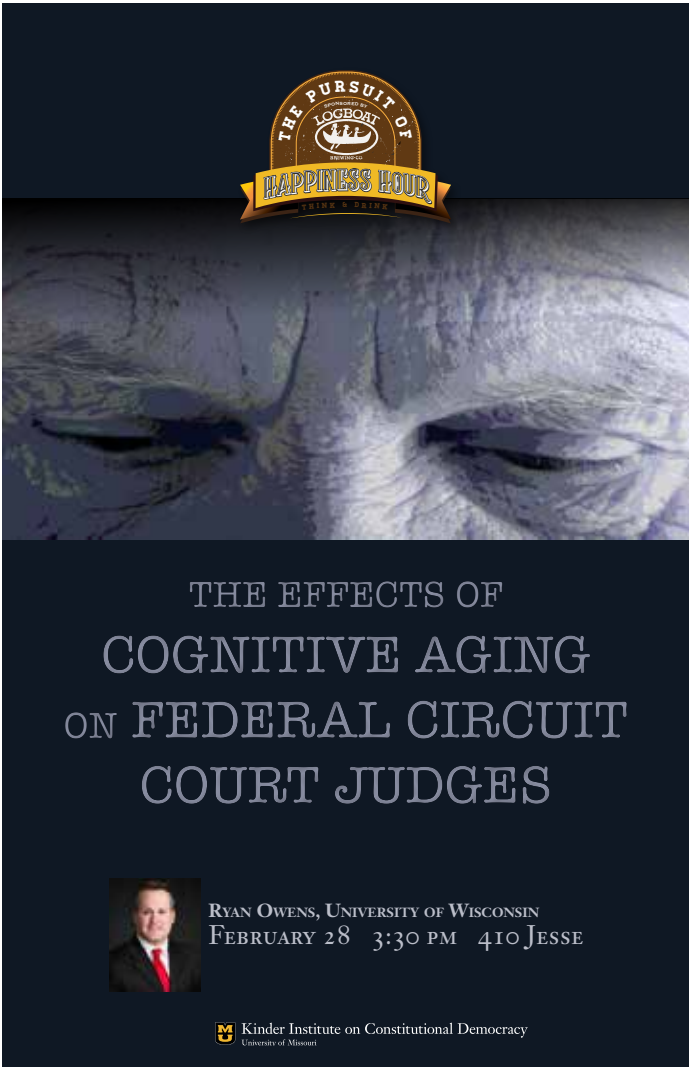
Democrat editors began to apply even greater anti-Shannon pressure on the state legislature and the MU curators. Finding that the president was spending far more time outside the university than on campus, and observing a dispiriting shift toward irregular enrollment, the legislature didn't forcibly remove Shannon from his post but instead amended the bill determining the terms of his employment to preclude preaching. The curators, unsurprisingly, re-tenured him, but Shannon rejected the offer, choosing to instead assume the same office he held at MU at the newly created, Disciples of Christ-affiliated Culver-Stockton College in Canton, MO.

*Justice Grayed, Aged, and Delayed*

University of Wisconsin Edwards Professor of American Politics Ryan Owens

The short answer to the question at the heart of University of Wisconsin Professor of American Politics **Ryan Owens'** February 28 colloquium at the Kinder Institute is, quite simply, 'yes': In a way that we should probably expect, cognitive aging does impact the faculties of judges in manners similar to everyone else. Attention and memory wane with age, for example, while speech and language skills actually tend to improve until we reach 50 (and plateau from there). Still, the stakes are different for members of the judiciary, and as Prof. Owens' recent research at the intersection of neuro- and political science shows, we might do well to pay closer attention to two specific effects of cognitive aging when it comes to federal circuit court judges.

Why is this question especially relevant today? Most notably because Article III judges—who, per the Constitution, have life tenure so long as good behavior is maintained—are serving



longer and longer terms. In 1789, a 25-year-old could expect to live to 45 or 50. Today, a 40-year-old can expect to live another 35-40 years, and judges over the age of 75 currently make up more than 30% of the federal judiciary.

In terms of where and how these statistics come to bear, Prof. Owens focused in his talk on the impact of aging on processing speed and executive functioning in particular. As for the former, he noted how, as they age, federal circuit court judges take 2 to 3 weeks longer on average to circulate the first draft of their opinions, a delay that has (and will continue to have) material consequence, given a backlog in circuit court dockets that doesn't appear to be going away anytime soon. Additionally, decreased processing speed causes cognitive stress to compound, and the effects of this, Prof. Owens observed, can be mapped onto executive functioning (think: working memory, cognitive flexibility, and self-regulation). Specifically, an increase in stress drives judges toward heuristics, and this reliance on shortcuts manifests itself (a) in a greater likelihood to *refuse* accommodating differing opinions on ideological

grounds and (b) in greater deference to the position that the United States argues in a given case.

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All of this brings up difficult questions of what to do next. Imposing term limits and/or age limits on federal judges has certainly been discussed, but this would require drastic constitutional overhaul which, Prof. Owens argued in closing, is neither likely nor optimal. Patience, he suggested, might instead be in order as we continue to study whether changes such as increasing the number of clerks, or even the number of judges, might mitigate the issues that his research raises.



ONLINE COLLOQUIA



A new enough concept that we felt like it deserved its very own section! We got friendly enough with Zoom after campus closed that we decided to move our events online. Minor Facebook hiccups aside, the new virtual venture was a rollicking success, as our online audience would have filled Jesse Hall 410 to the gills for the “Pursuit of Happiness Hour” colloquia recapped in the coming pages. In addition to these lectures and discussions, we brought our April 10 MRSEAH with Oxford’s (St. Anne’s College) **Gareth Davies** online, as well as our scheduled Unbound Book Festival panel, with Profs. **Carli Conklin** (Kinder Institute/MU Law), **Aurelian Craiutu** (Indiana), **Jennie Ikuta** (KICD, Incoming Fall 2020), and **Daniel Mandell** (Truman State) gathering on April 25 for a discussion on “Pursuing Happiness in Troubled Times.”

*The Creation of the President’s Cabinet*

White House Historical Association Historian Lindsay M. Chervinsky

Talking about the constitutional origins of the president’s cabinet comes by necessity with a wink and a nod, Dr. **Lindsay M. Chervinsky** noted in opening her April 17 colloquium presentation, since the institution we’ve all grown so accustomed to isn’t officially mentioned in the nation’s charter. That said, variations on the concept of a cabinet certainly made their way into the debates at the 1787 Constitutional Convention, with two primary schools of thought emerging.

On one side, George Mason floated something similar to the Council of State that was written into the Virginia Constitution. An eight-person advisory body chosen by the state assembly, the Council of State, when extrapolated to the federal level, roused concerns among convention delegates that such a body would, at best, limit the power of the executive and, at worst, turn him into a puppet of the legislature, and Mason’s proposal was eventually unanimously cast aside. Opposite Mason was South

Carolina’s Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who proffered something closer to Great Britain’s Privy Council: a flexible, behind-the-scenes group of department heads, a private secretary, and perhaps the Chief Justice whose advice the president could ask for but would in no way be obliged to follow. While this solved the problem of rendering the executive toothless, it introduced in its place the issues of corruption, cronyism, and lack of transparency regarding who, actually, was making decisions that the public associated with the British model. This, too, fell by the wayside.

Or at least it seemed to fall by the wayside. Under Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution—which permitted the president to request the opinions of executive department heads on matters related to their offices in writing (so to create a paper trail)—Washington established an advisory body not unlike what Pinckney suggested. This proto-cabinet, which consisted of the likes of Henry Knox, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Edmund Randolph, initially operated through individual letter exchanges followed by private consultations, though Washington would soon pursue Article II, Section 2’s second advisory clause, which granted him the power to seek the advice of the Senate on matters related to treaties. Traveling to New York with Knox to solicit input on existing treaty agreements with Native Americans, Washington’s queries were met with silence and the request to return in a week for further discussion. Enraged, Washington never again publicly sought Senatorial counsel, though by 1793, he was regularly convening full cabinet meetings (51 that year alone) as tempers over the neutrality crisis flared. The role of the cabinet continued to shift and evolve during Washington’s presidency, and by the end of his time in office, he was back where he started, resorting primarily to written advice and one-on-one meetings with department heads. The takeaway, Dr. Chervinsky offered, is one of contingency, as Washington’s vacillating stance on how the cabinet would be used ensured only that it did not have any substantive, constitutionally-determined role in the decision making process but rather served entirely at the president’s leisure. Projecting outward, this would mean that subsequent cabinets—from Lincoln’s “Team of Rivals” to the diverse, close-knit cabinet under Obama—would be deployed and empowered not by precedent but as the executive saw fit.

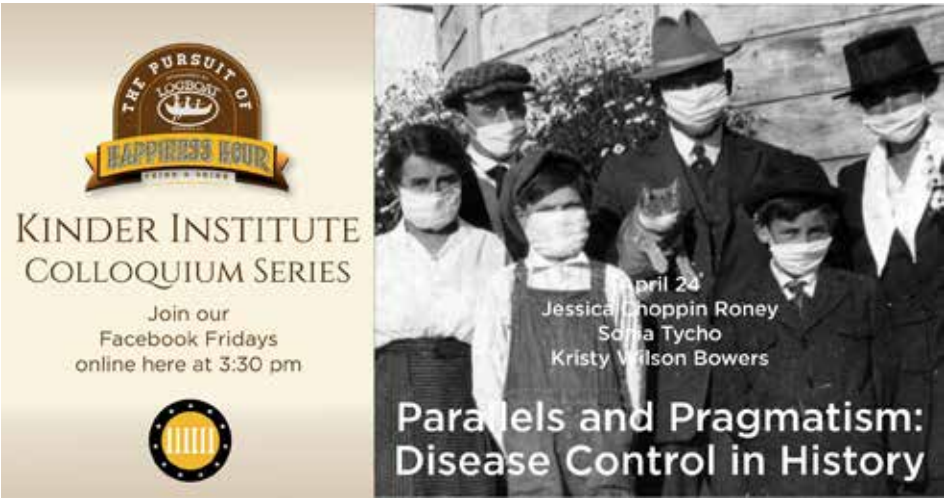
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*Parallels & Pragmatism: Disease Control in History*

Online Panel Discussion on Historicizing Covid-19 Responses

The manic depressive “end of history” rhetoric that inevitably arrives in lockstep with crisis is, Kinder Institute Associate Director **Jeff Pasley** pointed out in kicking off the April 24 panel on “Disease Control in History,” something that can (or at least should) be easily tempered by showing how, in similar times, history hasn’t actually ended. And we can learn something about our present difficulties by considering why.

Take, for example, the lesson to be gleaned from Benjamin Franklin’s





response to the looming threat of French and Spanish privateers who were just off the coast of Philadelphia in 1747-48. As Temple University Associate Professor of History **Jessica Roney** showed in elaborating on her April 2 *Washington Post* op-ed, “Benjamin Franklin would want us to take the covid-19 battle into our own hands,” Franklin’s call for citizens to rise up in defense of the militia-less colony when the pacifist Quaker government wouldn’t has interesting parallels to our current (depending on when you read this) shelter-in-place lifestyle. Specifically, while staying at home might seem the polar opposite of members of Franklin’s Defense Association drilling in the streets of Philadelphia, Prof. Roney argued that they spring from the same ethos. We don’t stay indoors because we are coerced to by the government, that is, but we do so instead out of the same commitment to civil society—the same *freely-made choice* to defend one another—that motivated Franklin’s volunteer militia.

*Franklin was a pragmatist who believed in the state, and nowhere did this belief prove more accurate-by-negative-example than during the 1793 yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia, when conditions worsened after state officials, along with members of the elite class, fled the city, leaving the people to fend for themselves.*

Prof. Roney warned, however, that we should not mistake Franklin’s DIY leanings for a conviction that we, as a public, can go it alone. Franklin was a pragmatist who believed in the state, and nowhere did this belief prove more accurate-by-negative-example than during the 1793 yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia, when conditions worsened after state officials, along with members of the elite class, fled the city, leaving the people to fend for themselves. Likewise were the inherent inequities and injustices that arise during times of crisis on full display here. As Prof. Roney noted in closing, African Americans, who were wrongly thought unsusceptible to the disease, did much of the nursing during the pandemic, though credit for this frontline work was never given and has largely been lost in histories of the era.

Dr. **Sonia Tycko**, the Kinder Institute’s Junior Research Fellow at Oxford (St. Peter’s College) and the Rothermere American Institute, highlighted another disheartening historical parallel in her examination of the effects of outbreak on prisoners. For one, she underscored the treacherous ethics of putting people’s lives at risk for crimes that are not only often quite minor but for which prisoners have, in many cases, not yet been sentenced. Also troublesome are the ethics of prisoner release. In the mid-17th century, for example, POWs were frequently released during times of epidemic but then forced immediately into bound labor scenarios that were as dangerous to their health as imprisonment. Today, Prof. Tycko showed, we continue to see prisoners released not only into perilous, uncertain conditions but also into a world where the infrastructural apparatuses (e.g., parole offices) that can assist with re-integration have been shuttered. This is, Prof. Pasley added, something of a microcosm of the lockdown phenomenon as a whole, where policies, however good they may seem or even be, are passed without legislators taking responsibility for what happens after.

Finally, MU Assistant Professor of History **Kristy Wilson Bowers** noted how fellow historians of medicine—and particularly pre-modern historians of medicine—have surged into the fray to provide important historical context both for our present times, in general, and for the specific policies that have been put into place to address the spread of disease. The separation of the sick from the healthy is, she argued, not new at all but dates back beyond the common touch point of the Bubonic Plague to the earliest of civilizations. The trick in considering and contextualizing this, she continued, is to help people re-frame contemporary conditions away from medieval stigma. Containment strategies which keep us apart from one another are not barbaric;

it’s not draconian to not be able to do what you want to do. Instead, strategies like sheltering-in-place represent—and have long represented—a communal effort to do the best we can with the little information we have.

## *Divided Houses: The Long History of American Secession Movements*

Kinder Institute Distinguished Visiting Research Fellow Ken Owen

The Pacific Northwest, where Distinguished Visiting Research Fellow **Ken Owen** geographically began, embodies the two major takeaways from his May 1 Zoom colloquium: that secession is entrenched in the American political story and that it’s nearly impossible to singularly characterize the motivations behind secession movements.

As to the former, almost as soon as the boundaries of the Pacific Northwest took solid shape, a movement arose to create a State of Lincoln, dividing the ocean facing regions from their more rural counterparts at the Cascade Mountains. As to the latter, secession movements only intensified in the 20th century and for a variety of reasons. Noise in King County (Seattle) about seceding from Washington centered around issues of legislative apportionment and distribution of tax burden. Proponents of the Greater State of Idaho—which spanned California, Oregon, and Washington—crossed their fingers that Democrats might be willing to free themselves of the financial burden of administering rural counties and, in the process, make way for an ideologically cohesive state with an electoral college number that accounted for the population surge of incorporating the seceding counties into their named mother state. There have likewise been calls for a West Coast ecotopian secession, the movement for which coheres around issues of ecology and the rights of indigenous peoples, and, in the recent decade, Washington Representative Matt Shea—whose connections to white supremacist and Christian fundamentalist domestic terror groups are quite public—introduced legislation in the State House to create a State of Liberty east of the Cascades. Not only, Prof. Owen noted, do we see the difficulty of monolithically framing the reasons underlying secession in these examples, which claim everything from natural resource protection to political representation as their animating forces; we also see how easily secession movements can become malicious and threaten the internal fabric of a nation.

In unpacking a handful more case studies, Prof. Owen showed how, even in their pervasive variety, secessionists’ visions for a new nation or state—and their logic for forging one—do exhibit *some* measure of consistency of argument. For example, in addition to demonstrating just how historically deep the United States’ secessionist roots run, western North Carolinians’ 1784 attempt to split from the mother state and form a State of Franklin in what is now Tennessee likewise demonstrates how secessionists’ dissatisfaction with extant arrangements often breaks down along political/economic and social/cultural lines (and how, more broadly, issues of power





so often motivate fracture in these instances). Frustrated by the North Carolina government's lack of functional presence in its western borderlands, the Franklinites, led by John Sevier, staked their claim to—and, in fact, began to logistically pursue—new statehood on the ground that a separate, if similarly constituted government would more efficiently and fruitfully administer land titles; provide better protection from Native American attacks; and bear none of the “good eating, good drinking, good carriages” cultural trappings of southern gentlemen on the east side of the state.

*Not only ... do we see the difficulty of monolithically framing the reasons underlying secession in these examples, which claim everything from natural resource protection to political representation as their animating forces; we also see how easily secession movements can become malicious and threaten the internal fabric of a nation.*

Technically speaking, the Franklinites' plan crashed and burned, but as Prof. Owen argued, important waves had nonetheless been made. For one, the State of Franklin seized the attention of the not-yet-nation, and as news about it traveled up the coast from Savannah to New England, and as similar situations began to arise in Maine, Vermont, and Western Pennsylvania (among other places), concern began to spike among central planners both that these areas would become natural targets for Spanish and British forces looking for an imperial foothold in the frontier and, moreover, that the entire national experiment would fail if the west couldn't be placated. Not only did these concerns spill over into the Constitutional Convention, but delegates there also leveraged the spirit of the Franklinites to advance regional

interests. Maryland's Luther Martin, for example, reacted against population-based representation designs by saying that the ten least populous states would happily form a splinter confederacy if these designs weren't altered. John Rutledge similarly made clear that any rejection of clauses protecting the importation of slaves would be tantamount to promising South Carolina's retreat from the republic. And Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts also threatened dis-union should Massachusetts' commercial interests not be preserved. Whereas Franklinites and Vermonters had to take concrete steps to establish their own government in order to have their voices heard, New Englanders and Southerners merely had to float the threat of doing so. Circling back to the State of Franklin before jumping ahead in time, Prof. Owen added that, while the original plan was never consummated, Sevier's nuisance did kind of work. He would go on to walk the halls of Congress in North Carolina's first representative delegation, and in 1796, his vision of an alternate government was realized when Tennessee was admitted into the union with more secure land title policy, more severe anti-Native American positions, and him as its first governor.

This failure followed by success pattern re-surfaced in the American heartland in the mid-20th century. Take, for example, McDonald County, a rural community deep in Missouri's southwest corner whose industry revolved around tourism and whose officials, in the early 1960s, wrote to Arkansas and Oklahoma to see if they would be interested in taking on the county as one of their own. Why secede from “the tyrants in Jefferson City”? As Prof. Owens showed, the breaking point was the fact MO Highway 59, which ran through McDonald, was left off Missouri's state-issued “Family Vacation Land Map,” not a small issue for a county whose economy relied so heavily on out-of-town travelers. This was, though, a symptom of what county residents saw as a larger disease: a political system in which winners and losers (here, of a contest for national interstate passage) were callously selected; an economic system that marginalized rural communities; and a growing cultural and social sense of being left behind by a rapidly changing world. The same could be said of many other midwestern locales that threatened secession: Winneconne, WI, which was

also left off of a tourism map; Kinney, MN (aka the Republic of Kinney), which received no state funding for a failing water tower; or the Republic of Forgottonia in West-Central Illinois, which tried to break away from the state due to lack of infrastructural support for transportation in the area.

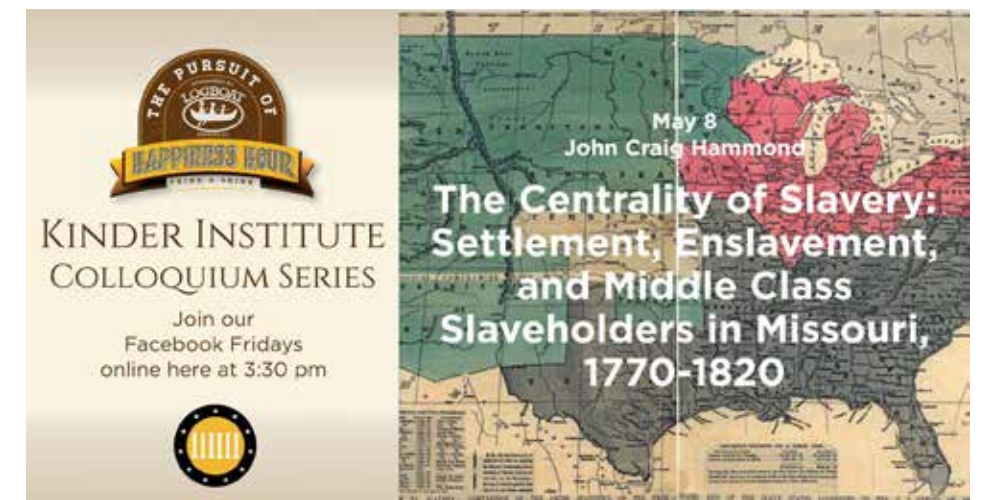
And not unlike Sevier “getting” Tennessee, these locales saw their grievances addressed. McDonald got back on the map; Kinney got its water tower; and Forgottonia's protestations launched a state re-investigation of infrastructural resource distribution. The through line, Prof. Owen noted in closing, comes back to the social contract and both an articulation of where citizens feel as if it hasn't been upheld and an imagined vision of what honoring it might look like.

### *The Centrality of Slavery: Settlement, Enslavement, and Middle Class Slaveholders in Missouri, 1770-1820*

Penn State University-New Kensington Associate Professor of History  
John Craig Hammond

In providing a preview of what will be the lead chapter in the forthcoming MU Press/*Studies in Constitutional Democracy* monograph re-visiting the Missouri Crisis at 200, Penn State University-New Kensington Prof. **John Craig Hammond**, who will edit that volume along with Kinder Institute Associate Director **Jeff Pasley**, highlighted how little is actually known about the history of enslavement in Missouri despite the state's central place in the history of slavery. Specifically, he pointed out how recent scholarship on slavery and capitalism has focused largely on deep south plantations at the expense of looking at the borderlands, meaning that we don't yet have a good answer to the question of how and why a slave society/a society with slaves was constructed in Missouri.

That said, Missouri—or, more accurately, the Missouri Crisis—*has* held a key place in the historiography of the early nation since 2006: as a marker of the conclusion of politics that began with the Revolution and ended with the Missouri Compromise; as a point of genesis for political parties committed to protecting slavery; and as an inflection point for examining why some southern whites adopted pro-slavery ideology and others retreated from slave politics. As Prof. Hammond argued, though, truly understanding the history of slavery in Missouri requires thinking about the 50 years prior to the Crisis and how they led to this breaking point. As he studies in his chapter—and as he outlined in his talk—un-earting this pre-Crisis narrative demands close attention to the degree to which, beginning in the 1770s, slavery and European settlement were inextricably bound together in the Missouri territory. Perceiving the enslavement of Africans as a pre-requisite for incorporation into not only North America but also the larger trans-Atlantic imperial world, French settlers petitioned the Spanish crown for assistance in establishing Missouri as a slave society, promising to pay with crops for enslaved men, women, and children that the Spanish purchased and delivered on credit. White Missourians' commitment to slavery—



along with their sense of entitlement to hold slaves—would only grow in post-Louisiana Purchase America, running as deep by 1819 as Alabamans’, Mississippians’, and Virginians’. And as Missourians came to construe keeping slaves in slavery as necessary to securing and expanding imperial state power, gradual abolition plans quickly became unimaginable, a position that underscores a certain cognitive dissonance in early 19th-century America. While Easterners like Tallmadge argued about slavery in the abstract, coming to the conclusion that Missouri was ripe for gradual abolition, the reality on the ground, supported by the majority pro-slavery contingent at the Missouri state constitutional convention, was that the territory would have outright refused entrance into the union were any restrictions on slavery put into place.

*.... recent scholarship on slavery and capitalism has focused largely on deep south plantations at the expense of looking at the borderlands, meaning that we don’t yet have a good answer to the question of how and why a slave society/a society with slaves was constructed in Missouri.*

On one hand, then, at the time of the Compromise, Missouri, with its citizens’ willingness to deploy coercive violence against subjugated peoples in order to uphold white autonomy and sovereignty, had all the trappings of a slave society. And yet, Prof. Hammond noted, it continued to straddle the line between a slave society and a society with slaves, due largely to the fact that material conditions in the borderlands—namely the number of slaveholders and enslaved people—varied drastically with conditions in the deep south (even if, again, the two regions’ ideological commitments to slavery mirrored one another). As he touched on in wrapping up his overview, one critical, but often overlooked byproduct of the structural indeterminacy in the borderlands was that enslaved African Americans and Native Americans were able to challenge bondage in numerous ways. Shifting jurisdictional regimes, for example, opened the door for some successful challenges to the legality of bondage, while the generally unsettled nature of social, political, and economic life in Missouri created ways for many other enslaved people to exercise freedoms within the institution of slavery, blurring the line between emancipation and enslavement.

## FACULTY & GRADUATE STUDENTS

This section promises to be far more robust in the summer edition of the newsletter, when we introduce a quartet of new hires, as well as re-introduce a familiar face, who will join us on the fourth floor of Jesse Hall in Fall 2020. As always seems to be the case, though, the prospect of introducing new hires comes with the bitter pill of bidding farewell to exceptional colleagues. Professor **Sarah Beth V. Kitch**, who has engaged our undergraduates in study of everything from the *Iliad*, to Wendell Berry’s poetry, to the ethics of what and how we eat, will be moving with her family to Houston this summer. Additionally, a pair of our postdocs will be abandoning Jesse 401 next year, with **Zachary Dowdle** heading down US-54 (or Route J) to Fulton, MO (see “News in Brief” for more on that), and **Rudy Hernandez** making the brisk walk across campus to the Professional Building, where he’ll set up shop as an NTT Professor in the Department of Political Science. For now, though, we bring news of grants awarded and M.A. students welcomed, again, with the promise of more to come next time around.

### Spring 2020 Research & Travel Grants

Research and travel grants were awarded to the following two MU professors during the spring cycle.

**Jay Dow** (Political Science/Kinder Institute) received an award to fund travel to Philadelphia, where the papers of Federal Judge Albert Branson Maris are housed, and to Chicago, where the major holdings of the Columbian Exposition are located (the trip to Philly will also include a jaunt over to the Winterthur Library in Delaware). Both trips will advance work on his current book project, which examines 19th-century efforts to introduce proportional representation to the United States.

**Lynn Itagaki** (English/Women’s & Gender Studies) received an award to hire undergraduate and graduate assistants over the summer who will help her wrap up research for the final two chapters of her own current book project, *The Race for Finance, The Gender of Money: The Cultures of Inequality*.

A third award, to support KICD Postdoc **Constantine Vassiliou’s** trip to the Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting in Los Angeles, where he was scheduled to present his paper on “Montesquieu’s Moderation” and chair a panel on “Rethinking Contracts, Rethinking Subjects,” was declined due to conference cancellation.







## M.A. IN ATLANTIC HISTORY & POLITICS

After celebrating the theoretical launch of a pair of new degree programs in the Fall 2019 newsletter, we’re excited to, at least on one front, bring some tangible proof of their existence to the table. See below for a roster of the students who will collectively break a champagne bottle over the bow of our M.A. in Atlantic History & Politics in AY 2020-21. Two quick notes: (1) This roster is still in a semi-state of flux, with latecomers having the option to join in on the fun through June; (2) While the original plan was for these students to kick the program off with a month of study at Oxford in July 2020, that trip will now provide a capstone to their M.A. experience in July 2021. Students marked with an \* are past participants in one of our Kinder Institute undergraduate programs.

**William Bloss** (MU Class of 2020, History and Geography)\*  
**Courtney Bullard** (MU Class of 2020, Political Science)  
**Ian de Boer** (MU Class of 2020, History and German)\*  
**Kirsten Ehlers** (MU Class of 2020, Political Science)  
**Alex Galvin** (MU Class of 2019, History and Political Science)\*  
**Trent Hall** (MU Class of 2020, History)  
**Sijan McGinnis** (MU Class of 2020, Political Science)\*  
**Riley Messer** (MU Class of 2020, Economics and Political Science)\*  
**Mary Grace Newman** (MU Class of 2020, Political Science and History)\*  
**Jack Schappert** (MU Class of 2020, History)\*  
**Claire Smrt** (MU Class of 2020, Strategic Communication)\*  
**Cíará Staveley-O’Carroll** (Middlebury College Class of 2020)  
**Anne-Marie Stratton** (University of Wyoming Class of 2020)  
**Tyron Surmon** (Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford)  
**Morgan Tripamer** (Truman State University Class of 2018, History)

In addition to these 15 M.A. candidates, three other students—**Ben Creech** (M.A. in History Candidate), **Marcel Gomez Jaentschke** (Ph.D. in Romance Languages), and our inaugural Holness Fellow—will be joining students for the Summer 2021 study abroad month at Oxford.

*Continued from page 1*

## UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAMS

fully fund a year of graduate study in Oxford’s MA program in Global and Imperial History. Students who passed through Kinder Institute programs also made up almost 20 percent of this year’s Mizzou ’39 cohort (see pp. 23-25 for more news on that) and will comprise almost half of the inaugural cohort of the new M.A. in Atlantic History & Politics (see p. 16 for that roster).

And then, of course, are jobs and graduate programs that lead our seniors far afield from Columbia (or, in some cases, keep them home). While what follows isn’t at all a comprehensive list of the Class of 2020’s next chapters, it is definitely indicative of the impressive trails that students who pass through Kinder Institute programs continue to blaze, so join us in congratulating these (and all of) our seniors.



**Lane Burdette** (2019-20 Fellow): M.A. in International Affairs at Texas A&M University



**Mackenzie Elliott** (2018 Kinder Scholar): VMLY&R Global Branding, Detroit Office



**Aaron Carter** (2019 Kinder Scholar): FTI Consulting, Corporate Reputation Division



**Gage Grispingo** (2018-19 Fellows, 2019 Kinder Scholar): Mizzou Med School



**Siobhan Connors** (2018-19 Fellows, 2019 Kinder Scholar): Teach for America-Kansas City



**Alex Hackworth** (2019 Kinder Scholar, 2019 Oxford Traveler, 2019-20 Fellow): Peace Corps (Lesotho)



**Maxx Cook** (2019 Kinder Scholar, 2019-20 Fellow, 2018 Oxford Traveler) and **Josh Eagan** (2019 Kinder Scholar): University of Missouri Data Fellows Program (M.A. in Economics + State Government Work)



**Kaitlyn Sawyer** (2019 Oxford Traveler, 2019-20 Fellow): Bank of America/Merrill Lynch (Chicago) Wealth Management Associate Development Program

And for more information on alumni from past years, see pp. 20-22 for a quick Q&A with **Jane Kielhofner** (Class of ’19), who will be lighting out east in July to attend Harvard Medical School.



# KINDER SCHOLARS

This usually happens in the winter, but since two newsletters had to be compressed into one in order to have enough material fit to print, we’re thrilled to finally have a chance to announce the 2020 class of the Kinder Scholars, even though they won’t be making the trek east to D.C. for another calendar year. In addition to names and majors, we included internship sites where a handful of students received placements before the world was turned upside down.

- Ethan Anderson** (History & English)—National Endowment for the Humanities
- Logan Boone** (History & Economics)
- Kadie Clark** (Geography & Economics)
- Olivia Evans** (Journalism)
- Sidne Fonville** (Journalism & French)
- Cameron Furbeck** (Political Science & Economics)—The Office of Congressman Sam Graves
- David Garcia** (History)
- Shannon Marie Holmes** (Sociology)
- Catherine Hutinett** (Anthropology & History)—Mount Vernon
- Hope Johnson** (Strategic Communication & Art/Graphic Design)—Smithsonian Museum of American History
- Caleb Long** (Political Science & History)—The Office of Senator Roy Blunt
- Emily Lower** (Statistics & Political Science)—National Women’s Political Caucus
- Cassie Marks** (Economics & Political Science)
- Evan Moylan** (Economics & Political Science)
- Grant Poppe** (History)
- Katie Reich** (Communication & Political Science)
- Zoe Rich** (Business/Marketing & Art/Graphic Design)
- Isabelle Robles** (Strategic Communication)—The Urban Institute
- Alexandra Sharp** (Journalism & International Studies/Peace Studies)—*Street Sense*
- Austin Stafford** (History)
- Zach Taylor** (Journalism, Psychology, & Political Science)
- Kendall Tucker** (Political Science)—Georgetown Institute of Politics and Policy
- Becca Wells** (Political Science & Statistics)—The Potomac Institute

# SOCIETY OF FELLOWS

It’s likely redundant at this point in the newsletter to (re-)mention this, but like so many other things, unveiling our new class of the Society of Fellows didn’t play out as it typically does, with a reading day reception where old Fellows welcome the incoming class and new Fellows jumpstart the yearlong process of forging a vibrant intellectual community that spans all years and majors at Mizzou.

All that said, the 2020-21 Fellows cohort is as strong and as curious as its predecessors, so while we couldn’t shower them with appetizers in person, we’re thrilled to be able to introduce them on paper here.

- Lauren Bayne** (Political Science/Elementary Education)
- Logan Boone** (History/Economics)
- Andrew Deyoe** (Business/Political Science)
- Jack Dubois** (International Studies/Economics)
- Brendan Durbin** (Philosophy/Political Science)
- Julia Gilman** (History/Constitutional Democracy)
- Jacob Hager** (Economics/Math)
- Samantha Hole** (Political Science/Economics)
- Abigail Hunt** (International Studies/Geography)
- Aravind Kalathil** (Biology/Psychology)
- Claudia Levens** (Journalism)
- Caleb Long** (Political Science/History)
- Bailey Martin** (Constitutional Democracy)
- Rachel Miner** (History/Political Science)
- Brett Newberry** (Health Science)
- Paul Odu** (Politial Science/Economics)
- Luke Pittman** (Political Science/History)
- Isabelle Robles** (Journalism)
- Alexis Seals** (Undecided)
- Maddie Sieren** (Politial Science)
- Michael Todd** (Political Science)
- Becca Wells** (Political Science/Statistics)
- Claire Wilkins** (Journalism)

In addition to these 23 Fellows, our largest class yet, **Sidne Fonville** (Journalism/ French) will be joining the group as an Affiliate Fellow before graduating in December 2020.



## ALUMNI Q & A

The first ever future medical doctor to pass through our undergraduate programs, **Jane Kielhofner** (Health Science, Class of 2019) was kind enough to take time out of her quarantine schedule to answer a few questions at the intersection of medicine, politics, and inedible cornbread.



### *Love of Medicine in a Time of Pandemic*

Q: First a little background, and then we'll get into the heavy-hitters. What have you been doing in the gap year between graduating MU and starting med school at (!!!!) Harvard?

I wanted to spend this year to the fullest, knowing I probably wouldn't have much time off until my training is over (anywhere from 7-12 years, only counting medical school and residency). I was able to complete more research as a lab assistant in Dr. Cummings's lab at Dalton Cardiovascular Research Center and work as a scribe at Missouri Orthopaedic Institute. I also took Physics II and Calculus, which are both pre-requisites for medical school that I couldn't fit into my schedule as an undergraduate. On the side, I filled out my medical school primary application, secondary applications, and then travelled to interviews. Behind the scenes, I was able to get through some great books and films (thanks Ragtag and Daniel Boone Public Library!), and return to baking, cooking, running, and painting—a few hobbies I hadn't been able to visit much in my last two years of undergrad as I tried to complete all of my graduation and pre-med requirements!

Q: At Fellows events, I always loved the perspective that you brought as a STEM/STEM-adjacent student in a room full of (mostly) Poli Sci and History majors, so I want to start in the vicinity of this fond memory. As a public, and sometimes not always a fully informed public, when we think about the intersection of constitutional democracy and medicine, our minds often—and really understandably—gravitate toward health care policy and equity. As someone with the unique perspective and knowledge base I mentioned above, what are some of the maybe more sub-surface things or questions that you think about when you're operating at this intersection?

Today, our conversations surrounding healthcare often become sticky and unpleasant, as the majority of data on healthcare policy is easily skewed or cherry-picked by partisan groups. During my time in Kinder, I had hoped to explore how the values of the founders could be used by politicians to guide future bipartisan healthcare policy. Instead, I learned that originalism and founders' intentions have minimal space in our healthcare conversations, considering the vast difference in societal needs and structure from 1787 to 2020. One could try to interpret the works of the founders and read between the lines, extrapolating their findings to try to guess what they would advise 200 years after their deaths, but this would likely create ahistorical findings. But that doesn't mean the history of our constitutional democracy is irrelevant to modern medical questions. Instead, a unique intersection emerges in which important discourse and research awaits medical professionals and political scientists/historians alike. For example, how could Thomas Jefferson's proposal to rewrite the Constitution every 19 years so that it remains in tune with our country's current needs contribute to answering some of today's healthcare questions? Rather than sifting through the Constitution to find what the founders gave us permission to do, medical professionals and political scientists/historians should instead discuss how the Constitution can help us improve how we treat the ill, elderly, differently-abled, and low-income patients of our country.

Q: I want to pick up where you left off, with the vital task of improving how we treat the ill, elderly, differently-abled, and low-income patients in our country. As a Health Science major with a passion for public health—and as someone with a dexterous intellect—you had the opportunity to go the policy route or the med school route. Having had the privilege of reading some of your med school materials, I kind of know the answer to this question, but for our readers: What was it that led you toward medicine, vs. policy, as the career path that would allow you to best advocate for at-risk groups and best improve treatment?

Growing up, I witnessed the negative impact that shame and taboo had on my family's and friends' health. Through these experiences, I became interested in public health/healthcare policy's impact on patient outcomes and community health. I was so excited to follow this passion as a Kinder Scholar. During my internship on Capitol Hill, I was lucky to attend several physician-run briefings on issues such as the opioid crisis, Alzheimer's, and immunotherapy. I found the policy side of these discussions interesting, but I was even more drawn to the doctors' interactions with patients and how these interactions enabled them to intervene and advocate for patients on a personal level. My career goals began to shift as I realized how this personal level of patient advocacy appealed to me much more than policy. The energy I feel cultivating human relationships and participating in health interventions drives my vision to become a physician, and I am so excited to begin my training in this field.

Q: Since politics and medicine are so intertwined, do you have any thoughts about how these communities (doctors and politicians) could more fruitfully collaborate with each other in order to improve health care delivery, particularly to vulnerable populations?

Physician-politician collaboration is lacking—that much is obvious just by looking at our recent crisis. In the last few years, some politicians have taken pride in denouncing science, medicine, and evidence-based facts as “hoaxes.” Reviving trust in scientists, medical professionals, and other educated specialists would be a vital step in creating better-informed politics in America. It is especially vital to listen to those who have experiences working with vulnerable populations, or people who belong to vulnerable populations.

There is an interesting paradox happening in our country. In the field of education, humanities and social sciences are being cut or supported less in favor of promoting STEM fields such as medicine or engineering, even as respect for and adherence to science or medical knowledge in local, state, and national politics decreases. As our country's policies become increasingly complex, though, it is important that students and citizens understand the system they live in. We should thus be supporting humanities and social sciences and requiring students (even STEM majors) to take, for example, advanced level political science and history courses.

Additionally, for better collaboration, we need to begin forging a system that is not so strictly built for political scientists and lawyers alone and inviting other specialists to the table. We should begin considering the vast number and variety of experts that may bring valuable input to the decision-making process, such as scholars of women & gender studies and black studies, historians, environmental scientists, physicians, nurses, and computer programmers. Our country is multifaceted with diverse needs and interests. It is only appropriate that we all make efforts to have a diversity of voices contributing to the process of shaping and promoting better policies in the future.

*During my time in Kinder, I had hoped to explore how the values of the founders could be used by politicians to guide future bipartisan healthcare policy. Instead, I learned that originalism and founders' intentions have minimal space in our healthcare conversations, considering the vast difference in societal needs and structure from 1787 to 2020.*



Q: Breaking out the crystal ball for this one: What non-class related aspects of med school are you most excited to jump into when you get to Harvard?

There are so many things! Just to name a few—at the beginning of the year, each member of the M1 class is assigned to one of the school’s 5 academic societies, and I’m excited to figure out my own placement. Every spring the med and dental students put on a show called FABRIC to celebrate the diverse backgrounds and talents of students. I’ve heard wonderful things, and I’m looking forward to it. I can’t wait to check out the interesting library exhibits, medical artifacts, and other quirky items living at Harvard Med, like Phineas Gage’s skull! Overall, I am still in disbelief that I get to go to school there, and my excitement, like my bucket-list, is practically endless!!

*Lightning Round*

—You say you’ve been baking lately: Biggest baking success and most incredible baking disaster of the last year?

*Best Successes: Either chocolate chip banana crumble muffins or cinnamon rolls from scratch! Worst Failure: Cornbread (It tasted like sand. Will be sticking to a box mix from now on...)*

—Mizzou accomplishment you’re most proud of?

*Passing organic chemistry and kind of liking it by the end*

—Boston landmark that you’re most excited to visit when you get there?

*Again, too many to choose! Definitely a tie between Boston Public Market, Fenway, Freedom Trail, and the Symphony Hall (Med students get a huge discount!)*

—The science/science-adjacent class that every humanities major at Mizzou should take and a few words on why?

*Microbiology 2800 by Dr. Jason Furrer! Furrer does a great job at explaining complicated topics including the immune system, infectious diseases, public health concepts, and mechanisms behind medications. If everyone had to take this class, health literacy would improve ten-fold and unnecessary ER visits would decrease exponentially.*

—Top-three best TV Doctors and top-three best doctors in history?

*TV: J.D., Dr. Cox, and Dr. Kelso from Scrubs! In my opinion, all other medical shows < Scrubs Seasons 1-8*

*Real Life: Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell (first female physician in America), Dr. Paul Farmer (creator of Partners in Health), and Dr. Jonas Salk (creator of the Polio vaccine)*

*Bonus doctors: Dr. Abraham Varghese, author of Cutting for Stone—great fiction read; and Michael Crichton—Harvard Med alum, although he left medicine later on to write Jurassic Park*

MIZZOU ’39

Every year, to celebrate the cornerstone of service on which the University was founded, the MU Alumni Association honors 39 seniors as members of the prestigious Mizzou ’39. Chosen for their academic excellence, leadership, and service to the community, these students come from all corners of the campus. This time around seven of the 39 had passed through the Kinder Institute in some way, shape, or form. **Thomas Cater** was a member of the 2018-19 Society of Fellows; **Hope Johnson** was on her way to D.C. with the Kinder Scholars program in Summer 2020 before the world stopped; **Kaitlyn Sawyer** was a 19-20 Fellow and made the Spring Break trip to Oxford in March 2019; and **Jennifer Sutterer** was a 2018 Kinder Scholar.

Rounding out the Kinder corner of the Mizzou ’39 cohort were three students—**Alex Hackworth**, **Riley Messer**, and **Bryce Fuemmeler**—who did more or less everything that we have to offer (Riley made up for missing out on the Oxford Spring Break trip by signing on for the M.A. in Atlantic History & Politics). Each of them not only named a Kinder Institute faculty member as their mentor for Mizzou ’39 but were also kind enough to share a quick testimonial about what their time at the Kinder Institute meant to their Mizzou careers. Read on for those, as well as for the tidbits of praise that each faculty mentor sent to the Alumni Association for the Mizzou ’39 celebration.

**Alex Hackworth** (2019 Kinder Scholars, 2019 Oxford Spring Breaker, 2019-20 Society of Fellows, 2019-20 *Journal on Constitutional Democracy*)

My transition into college was not easy by any means. As I drifted through the first two years, I struggled to develop self-assurance and felt stranded without a place I could call home. Thanks to a one-off invite by a friend, I found myself at one of the Kinder Institute’s free Friday colloquia. It was in that moment that I first felt truly comfortable at Mizzou—I decided to dive into the Kinder Institute’s programs headfirst. From studying global history at the University of Oxford to learning about American politics in Washington, D.C., I have never been more challenged, yet also inspired, in my life. What is extraordinary about the Kinder Institute is that it isn’t necessarily the programs that create this growth. In fact, I believe that the space for this growth is created by the people within the Institute. The Kinder Institute intentionally surrounded me with people of different upbringings, beliefs, and ideologies, knowing that these differences were most conducive to challenging pre-conceived notions and producing productive dialogue. I had also finally found a place on campus where professors taught for the sake of teaching and challenged their students to realize their greatest selves. Without the brilliant and empowering professors, or the outstanding and driven students, I would not have developed the leadership, confidence, and curiosity that I will enjoy for the rest of my life. The Kinder Institute is more than just a corner of Jesse Hall where constitutional democracy is studied and celebrated. The Kinder Institute is *the* home for our world’s new generation of thinkers and leaders who want to both learn from each other and from the past in the hopes of leading us into a better—and more informed—future.

*from* faculty mentor **Jay Sexton**: It has been an absolute privilege to work with Alex Hackworth. What separates him from his peers is how he seeks out challenges, always pushing himself to acquire new experiences and perspectives. This trait was on full display in the global history class I taught him in last year: he challenged himself to be the best student in the class, overcoming some rocky patches along the way. And this trait is not limited to the classroom. Alex is a special dude who will be







challenging himself in new ways in his post-Mizzou career. I consider myself lucky to have been part of his development!

**Riley Messer** (2017-18 Society of Fellows, 2017-18 *Journal on Constitutional Democracy*, 2018 Kinder Scholars, November 2019 gift announcement speaker)

When I arrived at MU as a first-year student, I was overwhelmed: on a campus with more than thirty-thousand undergraduate students enrolled that year, I was concerned about whether I would be able to make Mizzou my home and community. However, my fears were short-lived: I was quickly welcomed to the community on the fourth floor of Jesse Hall, and Mizzou more broadly, after reaching out to the Kinder Institute's Director of Undergraduate Studies, Dr. Carli Conklin, to discuss what the Institute was all about. After a few minutes in her office, my concerns about college dissipated, and I began to instead experience new feelings of ambition and newfound opportunities. We discussed the things that Mizzou had to offer, and I quickly realized my dreams for undergrad would be much broader than I had ever imagined. So, I quickly delved into the opportunities available on campus. I signed up for courses provided by the Kinder Institute and applied for programs such as the Society of Fellows. Luckily, I was accepted. As a Fellow, I was provided with a formal opportunity to learn more about constitutional democracy with a cohort of bright and curious minds from various disciplinary backgrounds. For a year, we worked together to write and perfect our dream essays, and before I knew it, I was a part of a team of published writers whose hard work was exhibited in the *Journal on Constitutional Democracy*. My experiences at KICD built upon each other. Following my time as a Fellow, I utilized my expertise and professional connections as a Kinder Scholar in D.C. As someone who had seldom lived outside of the state of Missouri, the prospect of spending a summer in Washington as an undergraduate—without worrying about the cost of living expenses—was inconceivable to me before the program. Yet, Kinder made it possible. Reflecting upon the last four years made me realize that I selected a university that would be a welcoming place for me. Each experience and opportunity solidified the fact that KICD was my home here on campus.

*from* faculty mentor **Thomas Kane**: Riley is one of the most naturally gifted students I've come across in a dozen years of teaching at MU, and her transcript absolutely reflects this. But it's not the grades that impress me most, and that's because it's not the grades that Riley's after. She embraces the idea that indulging one's intellectual curiosity is very much its own reward; she learns for learning's sake, because, well, it's fun for her. One time at a Society of Fellows dinner, Marvin Overby and I recommended John Williams' masterful (if also intensely bleak) novel *Stoner* to Riley. The following Monday when I got to work at 8 a.m., Riley was already there at the table outside our offices, devouring the book and taking particular joy in the opportunity to read it in Jesse Hall, where much of the novel is set. That's just the kind of student Riley is.

**Bryce Fuemmeler** (2018 Kinder Scholars, 2018-19 Society of Fellows, 2018-19 *Journal on Constitutional Democracy*, 2019 Oxford Spring Breaker)

In all honesty, I'm not sure where I'd be without the Kinder Institute. It's no underestimation to say that Kinder completely altered my undergrad trajectory. As a sophomore with very little direction, I took Dr. Conklin's "Intellectual World" class, and many things changed for me. I became interested in multiple disciplines of academia, began to think about complex historical and political questions, and, most importantly, found an atmosphere in which students and faculty became my peers in excitedly learning. I've eagerly participated in the Society of Fellows, Kinder Scholars, Global History at Oxford, Jefferson Book Club, and the Journal on Constitutional Democracy, each more beneficial than the last. These experiences have allowed me to travel the world, live and work in D.C., explore graduate school in the United Kingdom, and build a network of friends who are stoked to discuss, listen, and learn about a variety of scholarly works and current events. At this moment, I have Kinder alumni friends in England, UVA, Texas, Kansas City, St. Louis, and many more places across the country. Not only that, but I have a network of Kinder faculty who have been so good to me both in the classroom and as friends and advisors outside of it. Guess that's all to say that although undergrad is winding down, Kinder is sure to stay in my life. Can't thank Jesse 410 enough.

*from* faculty mentor **Carli Conklin**: I am always glad to see Bryce's name on my course roster or see him pop by my office. Bryce approaches his classes, work, and extracurriculars with intellectual curiosity, diligence, and a rare sense of empathy, engagement, and public service. It has been a true pleasure to have Bryce as a student in my classes and in our Kinder Institute programs throughout his undergraduate years!





## JOURNAL ON CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY

from “Voice/less: Examining Museums’ Representations of Enslavement”

by Karlee Adler



When Henry Adams visited Mount Vernon as a child, he was first struck by the state of the raggedy roads that took him there. For a New Englander, Adams explained, order was divine, and the disorder that the roads exhibited was clearly a sign of moral decay—moral decay that young Adams connected to slavery. This produced for him a contradiction: “slavery was wicked,” Adams wrote, “and slavery was the cause of this road’s badness...and yet, at the end of the road and product of the crime stood Mount Vernon and George Washington.”

Adams made the trip to Mount Vernon in the decade before the Civil War. It is no wonder that slavery is what struck him about his visit. However, he was not the first to note this tension between the celebration of Revolutionary heroes—and the Revolution they represented—and the fact of slavery. His great-grandmother, Abigail Adams, writing nearly eighty years earlier had expressed dismay at this apparent hypocrisy: “It allways appeared a most iniquitious Scheme to me—fight ourselves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have.” Both adult and child, living at the time of the Revolution and decades after it, knew there was a conflict between the professed ideals of the Revolution and the institution of slavery.

Henry Adams, though, showed little interest in exploring the wrinkles slavery brought to the legacy of Washington. As a boy, Adams “never thought to ask himself or his father how to deal with the moral problem that deduced George Washington from the sum of all wickedness.” This may have been a forgivable oversight for a child to make. However, the adult Adams likewise made no great effort to confront the clash between slavery and the great man figure of Washington when later recounting his trip to Mount Vernon in *The Education*. It is easy, he claimed, to abandon those contradictions for the marble myth of Washington. In fact, to do anything different, he wrote, would be educationally “fatal.” Adams was right in claiming that ignoring those contradictions was easy, but he was wrong to think that exploring them was an intellectually useless exercise.

This summer, I visited Mount Vernon one hundred and sixty-nine years after Henry Adams made his trip over the morally bad roads. Although Adams observed that “such trifles as contradictions in principle are easily set aside,” the Mount Vernon I found was willing to address those contradictions head on. It was, in fact, one of four D.C.-area museums I visited in the summer of 2019 that attempted to do so. The others being Monticello, a plantation museum like Mount Vernon, and the National Museum of African American History and Culture and the National Museum of American History, both “traditional” museums. Unlike the traditional museums, Mount Vernon and Monticello faced the challenge of presenting slavery alongside the accomplished men who enforced enslavement. In other words, they have to tell the history of how Washington and Jefferson both influenced American democracy and perpetuated the institution which so violently contradicted it, American slavery. Mount Vernon and Monticello are necessarily tied to Washington and Jefferson, making it much easier for them to stumble into outright glorification of their respective Founders. For the most part, Mount Vernon and Monticello managed to avoid doing this, although their representations of slavery were still marred by the shining legacies of Washington and Jefferson.

For their part, “traditional” museums get to start from scratch and are able to present any narrative and focus on any actors. NMAAHC and the National Museum of American History are specifically free from the fetters of Founder deification. NMAAHC especially, as a space dedicated to a black-centered narrative, has endless room to criticize the Founders—or to not make the story about them at all.

As I went on tours and walked through exhibits, I took note of the way each individual museum discussed slavery—particularly the relationship between slavery and the Revolution—and whether it was accurate, keeping always in mind that NMAAHC’s willingness to engage with the topic and legacy of slavery would necessarily look different from the plantation museums and even from the National Museum of American History.

After visiting all four places, I decided that I wanted to create a standard for presenting slavery in museums. I had judgments about how each place did so, but those judgments would be hard to articulate without first knowing how museums *should* present slavery. I decided that for a representation of slavery to be constructive, it must do several things...

Pick up Vol. 6 of the *Journal on Constitutional Democracy* in Fall 2020 to continue reading Karlee Adler’s “Voice/less”

*Unlike the traditional museums, Mount Vernon and Monticello faced the challenge of presenting slavery alongside the accomplished men who enforced enslavement. In other words, they have to tell the history of how Washington and Jefferson both influenced American democracy and perpetuated the institution which so violently contradicted it, American slavery.*





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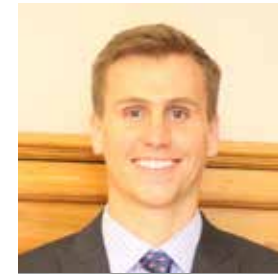
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Allows us to expand the scope of programming designed to engage our constituents in thoughtful dialogue about the nation's experience with democratic governance, from the founding of the United States through the present day. These programs are essential to attracting the very best students and scholars to the University of Missouri and to heightening the quality and civility of discourse about matters of the utmost national importance on our campus and in our community.

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)

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## NEWS IN BRIEF

The university may have shut down, but scholarly production at the Kinder Institute didn't. **Justin Dyer** recently published an article on James Wilson's *Lectures on the Law in American Political Thought*, **Jen Selin** weighed in on federalism and the covid-19 crisis for *Raw Story*, and **Jay Sexton** contributed his thoughts about labour, leisure, and teaching elementary school math to Read Hall's *Reflections* blog . . . Not only did an ex-Kinder Institute undergrad receive the 2020 Mark Twain Fellowship, but two others, **Bryce Fuemmeler** and **Christian Cmehil-Warn**, were named finalists for that distinguished award . . . The Missouri Crisis at 200 Twitter account continues to take us on a tour of bicentennial history, so make sure that you're following along @MO\_Crisis200 . . . Belated congratulations to 2019-20 Kinder Institute Postdoctoral Teaching Fellow and former KICD Ph.D. Fellow **Zachary Dowdle**, who earlier this spring accepted a tenure-track position in the History Department at William Woods University . . . **Abby West**, a student in Prof. **Al Zuercher Reichardt's** "Revolutionary Transformation of Early America" course, won the MU Library's highly coveted Undergraduate Research Award . . . And last but certainly not least, congratulations to Kinder Institute all-around Swiss Army Knife **Caroline Spalding** on graduating from MU Law and The Truman School of Public Affairs with a joint J.D./MPA . . . and **Thomas Kane** for being named a finalist for the 2020 Mick Deaver Memorial Award for Student Relations Excellence, something all students, faculty, and staff on the fourth floor have been well aware of for years!

