MADISON Notes

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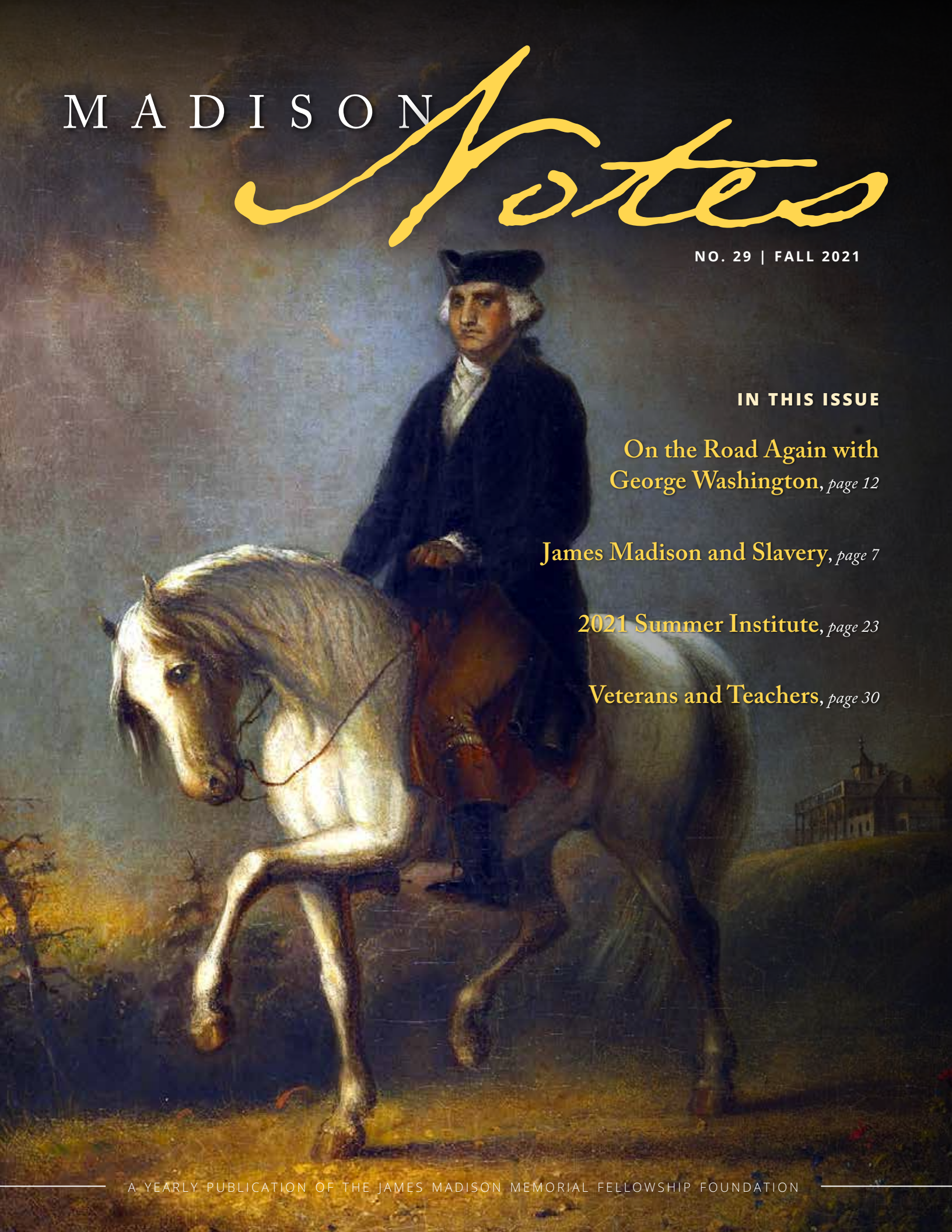

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A YEARLY PUBLICATION OF THE JAMES MADISON MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP FOUNDATION

Our Mission

MISSION

The James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation was established by Congress in 1986 for the purpose of improving teaching about the United States Constitution in secondary schools. The James Madison Fellowship program strengthens the teaching of the history and principles of the Constitution by supporting master-of-arts level graduate study for secondary school teachers of history, government, and civics.

MADISON Notes

Send updates to
Guy F. Burnett, Ph.D.
gburnett@jamesmadison.gov

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From the President

As we close 2021, we are still living with the COVID-19 pandemic. America's teachers are feeling the effects of the pandemic more than most. Safety precautions, student protocols, and how teaching is being conceptualized continue to be adjusted as the school year progresses. We at the James Madison Foundation, as well as the entire nation, see the essential work teachers are doing and the successes being made in the lives of individual students. Time will march on and the pandemic will be relegated to the past, but the students won't forget what their teachers taught them and did for them. We are grateful for your hard work during this difficult time, and we hope you can feel the gratitude of millions throughout the nation.

As many of you know, Georgetown University, and thus the Foundation, had to cancel the Summer Institute in 2020 due to safety concerns about COVID-19. In 2021, we made the decision to hold the Summer Institute in person once again, incorporating safety measures such as masks, vaccines, and other protective measures, in order to keep all participants as safe as possible. Once more, Georgetown University would not allow us to return to the campus, so we switched our physical location to Marymount University in Arlington, Virginia. I am proud to write that the 2021 Summer Institute was a phenomenal success. We had our summer faculty back again (and even added one more), we toured Monticello, Mt. Vernon, Montpelier, and other historic landmarks, and were privileged to hear from Dr. David W. Blight, recent winner of the Pulitzer Prize, on Frederick Douglass and the Constitution.

The Foundation continues its mission of strengthening the teaching of history and the principles of the Constitution by awarding fellowships each year. This year marked the first selection of an applicant for our newly-created Frederick Douglass-James Madison Fellowship. As I write this, we have awarded a total of 1,706 Fellowships to Fellows in over 350 universities throughout the nation. Thanks to the hard work of Fellows like you, it is estimated that over 2 million students have been expertly taught the history and principles of the Constitution. Our nation is stronger for it, and the principles of freedom that come from the Constitution will continue to be exercised and defended by the students you have taught and continue to teach.

As we look forward to 2022 and holding an even larger Summer Institute, we are grateful for your example, support, and hard work as James Madison Fellows. You continue to be the reason we have such a strong and respected presence throughout the nation. Thank you for all you do and for teaching the nation's students about the indispensable Constitution.

Lewis F. Larsen
President

JAMES MADISON FOUNDATION News

2020 Summer Institute Suspended due to COVID-19

The James Madison Foundation was forced to suspend the Summer Institute due to COVID-19 concerns over the 2020 summer season. Fellows who needed the Institute to graduate were asked to plan instead on attending in either 2021 or 2022. Due to the suspension, more Fellows attended in 2021 than in any previous year. Over 65 Fellows attended this past year, with even more scheduled to attend in the upcoming 2022 Institute. By adding one more full-time faculty member (Dr. Guy F. Burnett), the faculty was able to accommodate the influx of James Madison Fellows without any major changes. The 2021 Summer Institute continued the tradition of excellence from previous years with guest lectures by Dr. Abbylin Sellers, Dr. William Allen, Dr. Danielle Allen, Dr. Rosemarie Zagarri, Former Secretary of Education Dr. John King ('95), Dr. Kerry Sautner, Steve Livengood, Lee Ann Potter, and Supreme Court Justice Elena S. Kagan. The James Madison Lecture was delivered by Pulitzer-Prize-winning author and scholar Dr. David W. Blight, who spoke to the Fellows about his work on Frederick Douglass.

2021 Summer Institute held at Marymount University

In 2021, Georgetown University was still locked down and was not accepting students on campus. Instead, the Foundation held its Summer Institute on the campus of Marymount University in downtown Arlington, Virginia. The beautiful, recently-built Rixey Towers were an incredible venue for the Fellows and the location was next to the Metro, shops, and restaurants.

Katie Robison leaves the Foundation, succeeded by Dr. Guy F. Burnett

In August 2021, our dear friend Katie Robison left the James Madison Foundation after four years of service. Katie is a James Madison Fellow '00 (VA) and served as Director of Special Programs. She will be missed! In the same month, the Foundation hired Dr. Guy F. Burnett, who also serves as a member of the Summer Institute faculty, as the Director of Education and Research. He will be responsible for coordinating and carrying out research for the Foundation, public outreach, promoting the Fellowship, coordinating alumni relations, editing Madison Notes magazine, coordinating academic articles and book reviews for the Foundation, and identifying and coordinating special projects.

Clare Iglesias joins the Foundation

In October 2021, Clare Iglesias joined the Foundation as the new Administrative Officer. Clare has had over 20 years working in real estate. Having lived in the D.C. area, she developed a fondness for the nation's history and is excited to be part of the James Madison Foundation family. She is also excited to work with the Fellows who will bring back all that they've learned to the nation's students.

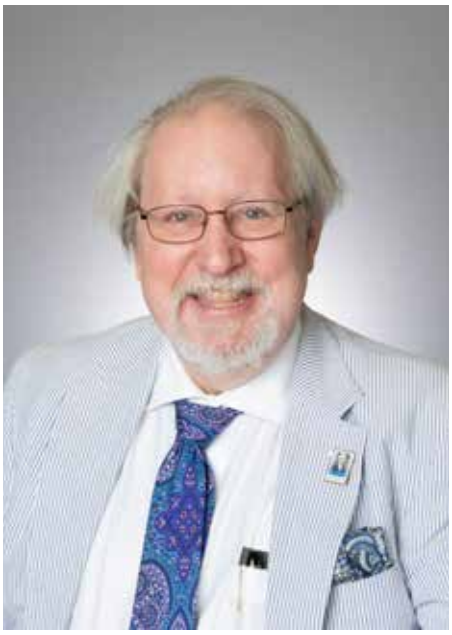
James Madison, Slavery, and Federalist 54

KEVIN R. HARDWICK, PH.D.
James Madison University

Editor's Note: This article is a shorter version of a full-length academic article being written and developed by Dr. Hardwick on James Madison and his views on slavery. This article was written by Dr. Hardwick for Madison Notes Magazine.

In the aftermath of the Philadelphia Convention, James Madison joined forces with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay to offer a systematic defense of the proposed constitution, writing famously under the pseudonym "Publius." In early February 1788, Madison undertook an extended discussion of the House of Representatives. He turned in *Federalist 54* to the "apportionment of its members to the several States," which, he noted, "is to be determined by the same rule with that of direct taxes." He referred here to the "federal ratio," by which the Continental Congress had proposed in 1783 to allocate requisitions among the states. In 1783, the challenge was to find a fair basis for allocating taxes, in the absence of accurate assessments of wealth. The delegates proposed to use population as a surrogate, and proposed to evaluate enslaved persons as equivalent to three-fifths of a free person, in part as an acknowledgement that the labor of enslaved persons was less efficient than that of free. At the Philadelphia Convention the delegates adopted the "federal rule" both for allocation of taxes as well as for determining how many members of Congress would represent each state. Under the proposed constitution, each enslaved person would count as three-fifths of a person, for these two purposes.[1]

Madison took some pains to distance himself from the arguments he made in this essay. He began much as each of the three authors began their other essays, writing in the first person. He carefully articulated what he took to be the antifederalist objection to the three-fifths clause. "Slaves are considered as property, not as persons," Madison wrote, stating the position against which he wished to argue. "They ought therefore to be comprehended in estimates of taxation, which are founded on property, and to be excluded from representation which is regulated by a census of persons." According to this position, an opponent of ratification might well conclude that the three-fifths compromise represented an illegitimate bonus to those states with large populations of enslaved people, for apportionment of representatives. Southern states received an unfair boost to their congressional delegations, because the three-fifths rule granted additional representatives to which they otherwise were not entitled. This, of course, was an argument advanced by future generations of abolitionists.[2]



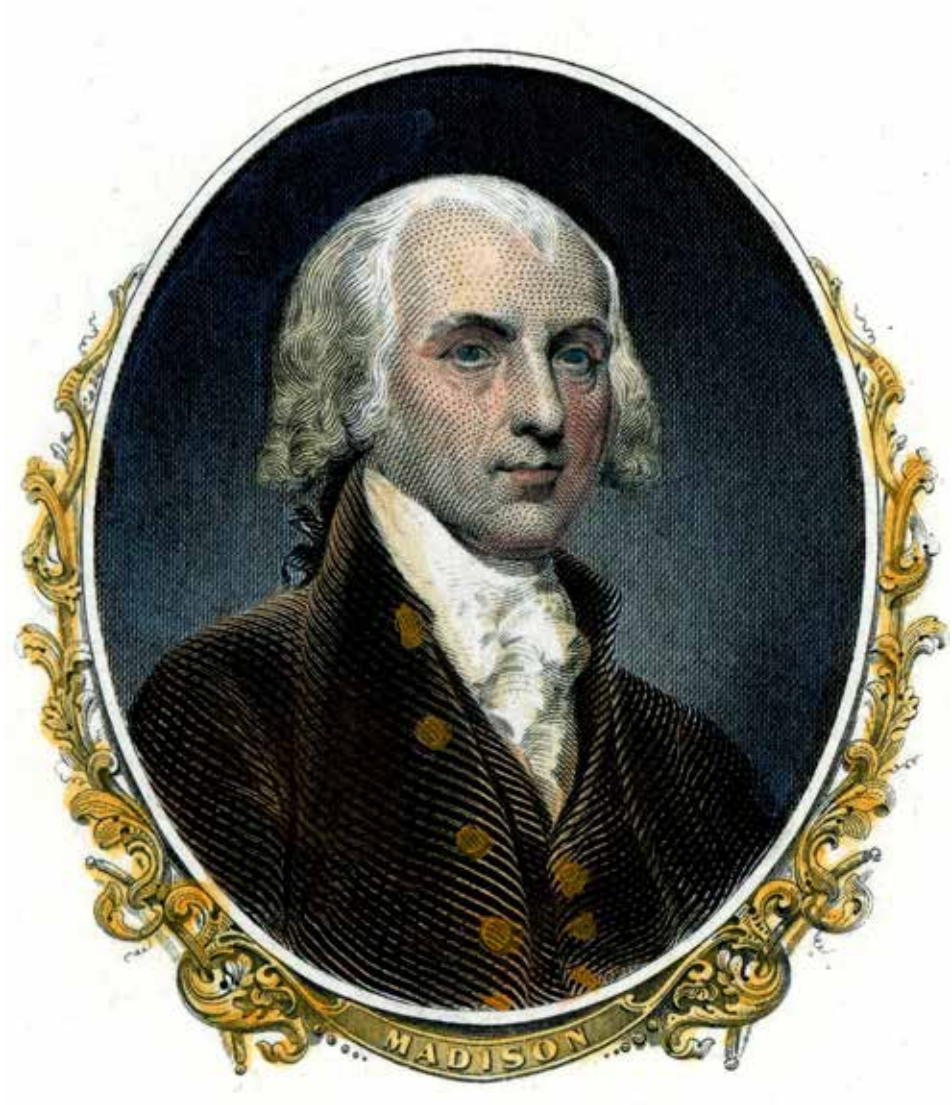
But then, after three introductory paragraphs, Madison shifted voice. "We subscribe to the doctrine, might one of our southern brethren observe, that representation relates more immediately to persons, and taxation more immediately to property, and we join in the application of this distinction to the case of our slaves." Madison ceased directly to address the reader and conjured instead the voice of an imagined advocate for southern interests. The bulk of the essay continued in this carefully detached voice. Only at the conclusion did Madison resume the first person. "Such is the reasoning which an

[1] [James Madison,] "Federalist 54," in Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist*, ed. by J. R. Pole (Hackett Publishing Company, 2005), 295. On the origins of the 3/5 clause, see Howard A. Ohline, "Republicanism and Slavery: Origins of the Three-Fifths Clause in the United States Constitution." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (1971): 563-84; and Jan Ellen Lewis, «What Happened to the Three-Fifths Clause: The Relationship between Women and Slaves in Constitutional Thought, 1787–1866." *Journal of the Early Republic* 37, no. 1 (2017): 1-46. Madison referred to this history in the second paragraph of Federalist 54: the 3/5 rule, he wrote "has reference to the proportion of wealth, of which is in no case a precise measure, and in ordinary cases a very unfit one. But notwithstanding the imperfection of the rule as applied to the relative wealth and contributions of the states, it is evidently the least exceptional among the practicable rules, and had too recently obtained the general sanction of America, not to have found a ready preference with the convention." [James Madison,] "Federalist 54," 295.

[2] [James Madison,] "Federalist 54," 295. See for example the discussion of the three-fifths clause and abolitionist critiques of the Constitution in Manisha Sinha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition* (Yale University Press, 2016). On the contested interpretations among historians of the intent and effect of the three-fifths clause, see Alan Gibson, *Understanding the Founding: The Crucial Questions*, second edition (University Press of Kansas, 2010), 183-184, and note 64, p. 355.

advocate for the southern interests might employ on this subject," he wrote, before endorsing in the first person the reasoning of the imagined southern advocate. Given the awkward framing of the essay, it seems plausible that Madison was somewhat embarrassed to have to find himself defending this provision in the Constitution. But since the constitution did in fact compromise on the question of slavery, and provided securities for it, Madison found himself in the awkward position of defending slavery.[3]

Madison emphasized the importance of law in defining the status of enslaved persons. Slavery was the product of positive law enacted by society and did not derive from the essential nature of the enslaved. It was only because of the operation of law that enslaved men and women might not be considered fully persons. "We must deny the fact that slaves are considered merely as property, and in no respect whatever as persons," he wrote, adopting the voice of "one of our southern brethren." Considered as property, "the slave may appear to be degraded from the human rank, and classed with those irrational animals, which fall under the legal denomination of property." But, Madison continued, "in being punishable himself for all violence committed against others; the slave is no less evidently regarded by the law as a member of the society; not as a part of the irrational creation; as a moral person, not as a mere article of property." Thus, according to Madison's imagined southern spokesman, the composite nature of the slave—part property, part self-governing moral person, responsible for his or her own actions—derived solely from legal convention. "It is the character bestowed upon them by the laws under which they live," he argued.[4]



Critics of ratification misunderstood the nature of slavery, at least according to Madison's imagined southern advocate. Antifederalists wished to argue that the proposed constitution was flawed because it artificially inflated the number of representatives from states where there were many slaves. But this argument derived it force from the denial of the personhood of the slave. "It is only under the pretext that the laws have transformed the negroes into subjects of property," Madison pointed out, "that a place is disputed them in the computation of numbers; and it is admitted that if the laws were to restore the rights which have been taken away, the negroes could no longer be refused an equal share of representation with the other inhabitants." The position adopted by critics of the proposed constitution, Madison suggested, perversely had the effect of denying the humanity, and the capacity to possess rights, of other humans.[5]

Madison veered closely here to the doctrines that Lord Mansfield had established in the Somerset Case, with which he surely was familiar. In the 1772 case Somerset v. Stewert, Mansfield, chief justice of the highest common-law court in England, reportedly had declared that "the state of slavery is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, moral or political; but only positive law, which preserves its force long

[3] [James Madison,] "Federalist 54," 295-296. The accommodations for slavery in the proposed constitution prepared by the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 have received considerable scholarly attention. For an excellent overview, see Michael J. Klarman, *The Framer's Coup: The Making of the United States Constitution* (Oxford University Press, 2016), esp. 257-304.

[4] [James Madison,] "Federalist 54," 296.

[5] [James Madison,] "Federalist 54," 296.

after the reasons, occasion, and time itself from whence it was created, is erased from memory: It's so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law." Slavery was not a natural status, and absent an act of positive law, slaves were entitled to the same rights as any other rational adult. Slavery only existed when a local law created the status, by abrogating or annulling the natural freedom that all humans rightfully possessed. This case was widely discussed in colonial newspapers, including in Virginia. Even in the guise of an imagined advocate for slavery, Madison hewed to the enlightenment liberalism of social contract thinkers like John Locke. Civic capacity derived from possession of adult rational faculties, which enabled consent, and which all humans potentially possessed. In arguing this way, Madison acknowledged the essential humanity of enslaved persons.[6]

Throughout his life Madison clearly understood slavery to be a political and social evil. In his earliest writings however, he empathized more with owners of enslaved people than with the enslaved. By the time he embarked on his defense of the Constitution, first writing as Publius and later speaking at the Virginia Ratifying Convention, Madison's understanding of slavery evolved, and he began to articulate an abstract understanding of slavery as a moral wrong. This continued to be Madison's position in the aftermath of ratification, and indeed throughout the rest of his life. Like numerous other Virginians of his generation, Madison understood slavery as a fundamental contradiction to the principles on which the American republics were founded (even as he foresaw little immediate prospect to do anything about it). At the conclusion of *Federalist 54*, Madison confessed that the reasoning of his imagined southern spokesman "may appear to be a little strained in some points," an acknowledgement perhaps of the deeper contradictions between Madison's intellectual principles and his personal practice.[7] In *Federalist 54*, as elsewhere in his mature writings, he maintained a subtle, consistent unwillingness to condone slavery as a moral good, even while speaking self-consciously in the voice of a spokesman for Southern interests. Madison owned slaves throughout his life, but just as consistently argued it was impolitic and imprudent to manumit them. "On the level of principle," as historian Drew McCoy has concluded, "Madison's anti-slavery credentials can be described as impeccable."[8]

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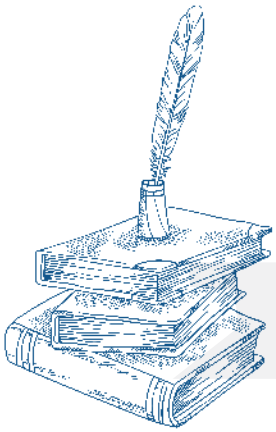
6 On the Somerset decision, and its influence in American jurisprudence, see William M. Wiecek, "Somerset: Lord Mansfield and the Legitimacy of Slavery in the Anglo-American World," *University of Chicago Law Review* 42:1 (Autumn, 1974), 86-146, quote is from 86. Mansfield rendered a narrow judgment, and thousands of enslaved men and women remained enslaved in England in the years following the decision. Abolitionists both in England and the United States celebrated the decision nonetheless as a clear judgment that slavery was incompatible with English law. See also George William Van Cleve, "Founding a Slaveholder's Union, 1770-1797," in John Craig Hammond and Matthew Mason, eds., *Contesting Slavery: The Politics of Bondage and Freedom in the New American Nation* (University of Virginia Press, 2011), 117-137, esp. 118-121; and more broadly, James Oakes, *The Crooked Path to Abolition: Abraham Lincoln and the Antislavery Constitution* (W.W. Norton, 2021), 1-25.

7 [James Madison,] "Federalist 54," 298-299.

8 Debates in the U.S. Congress: House of Representatives, February 12, 1790, in Howard L. Lubert, Kevin R. Hardwick, and Scott J. Hammond, eds., *The American Debate over Slavery, 1760-1865* (Hackett Publishing Company, Indianapolis, 2016), 47. Drew McCoy, *The Last of the Founders: James Madison & the Republican Legacy* (Cambridge University Press, New York, 1989), 260.



BOOK *reviews*

Book reviews will be incorporated as a permanent feature into our magazine. Each year, many books are released on the Founding Period of America, including those examining history, politics, and civics. We would like to give Fellows, and our summer faculty, the chance to review and recommend (or not recommend) books that would be of interest to teachers and scholars.

We encourage all Fellows to inquire about submitting a review. Our stipulation for the next annual issue (November 2022) is that you review a book that will be released between December 2021 and December 2022. You will be able to submit pre-approved reviews at any time in the following year up until the second week of October. In most cases, we can supply you with a review copy of the book to read, review, keep, and use. Please contact Dr. Guy Burnett at gburnett@jamesmadison.gov to inquire about a book or to submit an idea for a book review you think would be of interest.

Requiem for a King

By Guy F. Burnett, Ph.D.

The Last King of America: The Misunderstood Reign of George III

BY ANDREW ROBERTS

Viking Press | 784 pgs. | $30

In June 1785, the ambassador from the newly independent United States, John Adams, was given an audience with King George III of Great Britain. Quite understandably, neither man was looking forward to the meeting so soon after the conclusion of the Revolutionary War. The King formally received Adams and the two men spoke on a variety of topics, including politics, their families, and the American Revolution. The King told Adams, "I wish you, Sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do by the duty which I owed my people."

George III has remained one of the most misunderstood figures in history, but thanks to more than 200,000 newly digitized papers available to the public through the Georgian Papers Programme, Professor Andrew Roberts' *The Last King of America: The Misunderstood Reign of George III* (Viking Press, 2021) seeks to correct the record. He is one of the few equipped for the task, having written extensively on the era, including a bestselling biography of Napoleon (*Napoleon: A Life*, 2014), as well as a book on the relationship of Napoleon and Wellington (*Napoleon & Wellington*, 2002) and one on the Battle of Waterloo (*Waterloo: Napoleon's Last Gamble*, 2005). Having spent years combing through the papers of George III, Roberts has decided that history has been too cruel to George, and in many ways he is right.

George was a pious man, eschewing the general practice of the previous British monarchs of collecting mistresses and living indulgently. His boyhood was anything but ideal, with his grandfather King George II physically abusing him and registering an open dislike for him and his father, who died prematurely. Perhaps because of his

childhood, he grew to be a devoted father and husband, enjoying his wife (he was the only Hanoverian monarch of the era not to take on a mistress), and his children. He was an austere man preferring lemonade to wine. He also loved to play sports, including rounders (the forerunner of baseball), which, Roberts points out, "George III played but George Washington did not."

From the beginning of his reign at age 22, George had to restore the dignity of the monarchy. On the way to his six-hour coronation, which Benjamin Franklin attended, crowds cheered much louder for his prime minister than for him. The coronation itself was a debacle: officials had to use a substitute ceremonial sword (they had mislaid the Sword of State), had forgotten to bring the king and queen chairs to sit on, left the Westminster clergy outside for ninety minutes, and almost dropped the crown from its cushion. At one point the crowd decided to have picnic lunches brought in, and "at solemn moments a clattering of knives, forks and plates and a tinging of glasses could clearly be heard." Disgusted by the spectacle, Horace Walpole wrote that it was "a foolish puppet-show."

Financial issues dominated the early years of George's reign. Thanks in large part to lessons learned from his father, the abstemious monarch worried excessively about public debt. After the expensive French and Indian War had concluded, it became his, and his prime minister's, chief task to raise funds for defense. Parliament, with the assent of the king, pushed forward unpopular taxes on America, specifically noting that all money collected would go towards America's defense. As Britain soon found out, however, America had quickly grown over the past two centuries -- doubling its own population every quarter-century -- and had developed an understanding of representation and of the British constitution.

Roberts closely scrutinizes the thoughts and actions of George on the road to, and up through, American independence, which is a welcome addition to the field. He is concerned with the modern perception of George, however, and this greatly colors his narrative. At one point, Roberts focuses on disproving the grievances found in the Declaration of Independence, instead of taking the Americans' arguments seriously. The Americans' grievances were real, and they understood what would happen if Parliament continued to undermine their rights with the consent of the king and without representation. Writing two years before the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson wrote in *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (the king himself purchased a copy of the pamphlet) that "If the pulse of his people shall beat calmly under this experiment, another and another will be tried, till the measure of despotism be filled up." George never let up on the colonies, believing they should be subject to parliamentary authority, and his relentlessness cost lives and ultimately cost Britain the colonies themselves. Nevertheless, Roberts presents a solid case that Parliament was far more to blame than George for the Americans' grievances and the prosecution of the war.

Once Britain lost the American colonies, George's popularity was at its lowest point, and he turned his attention elsewhere, including vitriolic partisan battles in Parliament. In the world of eighteenth-century politics (characterized by Roberts as a "brutal contact sport") the king was forced to make and break uneasy alliances with parties in Parliament for continued support. The turning point for his popularity was when the French Revolution and terror erupted in the 1790s. Once Louis XVI was beheaded, George's popularity received a colossal national boost. The economical, steady, and pious man stood for everything the French Revolution was not, and English subjects rallied around the monarch. As in the American Revolution, George was unrelenting in his views, but unlike that contest, his unrelenting attitude towards Revolutionary France and Napoleon eventually carried the British to triumph at Waterloo. Unfortunately for him, by that time he had completely succumbed to mental illness, and news of the battle never reached him.

Perhaps the best-known thing about George is his "madness," which plagued him at different times throughout his life. Over the past half-century, scholars have diagnosed his condition as porphyria, but Roberts writes that George's mental illness was more likely a bipolar disorder with severe bouts of manic depression. One can't help but feel sorry for the king, who "knew that he was not behaving normally." Amidst one of his most severe episodes, the suffering, but temporarily lucid, George knelt down and "prayed that God would be pleased either to restore him to his senses, or permit him that he might die directly." During his episodes, he was confined to rooms in his palace, given emetics, and put into a straitjacket. As the episodes came to last longer throughout his life, the king was less on the national stage and was eventually alienated from his wife and children, whom he loved dearly. By the end of his tragic life, he had gone blind and deaf, and was completely insane.

Roberts' probing, exhaustive, and entertaining book is a fascinating read, and it fleshes out the life and thought of the last king of America. Two centuries after independence, Roberts argues that Americans should reconsider their continual smearing of the "tyrant" George III. He was not a tyrant in the true sense of the word, and Roberts makes it difficult to argue that his intentions were not, in many respects, honorable.

While John Adams was speaking to George in 1785, their conversation turned to which country Adams preferred: France or England. Choosing his words carefully, Adams replied, "I must avow to Your Majesty I have no attachment but to my own country." The king, impressed with the answer, replied, "An honest [man] will never have any other."

Dr. Guy F. Burnett is Director of Education and Research at the James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation. He was formerly Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Government and Foreign Affairs at Hampden-Sydney College.

On the Road Again

By Katie Robison '00 (VA)

Travels With George: In Search of Washington and His Legacy
BY NATHANIEL PHILBRICK
Viking Press | 400 pgs. | $20

Nathaniel Philbrick's new and enjoyable book, *Travels with Washington: In Search of Washington and His Legacy*, is not a biography or even a dense history of Washington's presidential travels, but rather a local history travelogue mixed with personal memoir. The book is styled after John Steinbeck's 1962 book, *Travels with Charlie: In Search of America*, and sees Philbrick take his wife Melissa and their adorable dog Dora (a Nova Scotia Duck-Tolling Retriever) along for the journey. The Philbricks follow the steps of George Washington as he traveled to all 13 states during his presidency, including a four-week tour through New England in 1789 and a very difficult trip through the South in 1791. The book reminds us that Washington is a historical figure that all Americans should learn about, and to ignore him would be to ignore the complex beginnings of the United States. An underlying message in this book serves us well--we cannot remake our country's past, but we can learn from it. James Madison Fellows will enjoy this book for many reasons. Here are three that stand out:

First, this book is a reminder that after Washington was elected, the work of unifying and strengthening the young republic under the Constitution had just begun. The ratification of the Constitution was not a given in all the states. The newly elected president "hoped to use the power of his immense popularity to foster a sense of unity and national pride that had not previously existed." Philbrick illustrates this through Washington's experience with Massachusetts Governor, John Hancock, when he visited Boston. During the colonial era, governors were the end-all and be-all in terms of power and prestige. Washington's visit to the young states was an important demonstration of national power, the power of the presidency over governors, and the power of the federal government over the states. Washington had chosen to stay in taverns throughout his travels, rather than staying in personal homes, most likely in an effort to connect with the people. Hancock was offended when Washington turned down his offer to stay in his mansion on Boston's ritzy Beacon Hill. Hancock wrote to Washington wondering why they had not yet met, Washington made it clear that he would only meet the governor at the lodgings where he, Washington, was staying. Hancock finally gave in and made a visit to Washington on his terms and learned, as Philbrick writes, that "it didn't pay to mess with George Washington."

Second, Philbrick highlights the importance of local history, historical preservation, and the continued work of local historians. Washington's visits are famous throughout the country - "Washington slept here" is a cliche - but if you visit the towns and local history libraries and museums, you will see that the story behind those words is almost always well documented and preserved. Along with these informative tidbits, there are often other, humanizing, anecdotes and pieces of information available. For example, it isn't generally known that Washington often wore a plain brown suit rather than his general's uniform when he made local visits. His choice to stay in taverns rather than homes meant that many "common people" had the chance to interact with the celebrity president. These people wrote journals, letters and local journalists chronicled the visits. The written record gives us so much precious and fascinating detail. As Madison Fellows and teachers, we can encourage our students to get to know their local history and visit local history sites, museums and libraries. They are treasures that should not be overlooked. We can take a step further and encourage our students to record their own stories and their families' history, too.

Third, history, storytelling, and teaching are all interconnected. I have enjoyed many of Philbrick's books because he is a great storyteller. Reading In the Heart of the Sea, I had to regularly remind myself that I was not reading a novel, but a history. Not all historians are great storytellers, but when it comes to teaching, we need to channel Philbrick and the other great storytellers. It's not a question of entertaining our students but inspiring them. The why of teaching history comes out when we relate stories that the students can connect with. Our students live in divided times. How we relate to our history is at the center of that division.

Philbrick's little book makes the excellent point that we tend to forget this is not the first time America has faced division and upheaval. He writes, "In 1776 the old values that once guided this country (such as deference to a distant monarch) were upended and a new order created. America was born in a revolution and will continue to be defined by that revolution as each generation renews the struggle to measure up to the ideals with which this country began--that of all being created equal." Our job as teachers is to teach the history, tell the story, and help the next generation live up to that ideal.

Katie Robison was former Director of Special Programs at the James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation and is a James Madison Fellow '00 (VA).

A Review of Household Gods: The Religious Lives of the Adams Family

By Jeffry Morrison, Ph.D.

Household Gods: The Religious Lives of the Adams Family
BY SARA GEORGINI
Oxford University Press
296 pgs. | $40

John Adams, that American revolutionary par excellence, attributed the Revolution that he helped make to religion. It was "effected before the war commenced," because the "Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people; a change in their *religious* sentiments of their duties and obligations" (emphasis added). Who would believe, Adams asked Jedidiah Morse in 1815, that fears of English control over American churches had contributed "as much as any other cause" to urge all Americans, elite and common, "to close thinking on the constitutional authority of parliament over the colonies? This, nevertheless, was a fact as certain as any in the history of North America." Although Adams had by this time moved away from the Calvinism of his Puritan forebears (and of Dr. Morse), he could still see Christianity as a powerful force—and perhaps the force—behind the American Revolution.

This sort of connection is precisely what Sara Georgini has uncovered in this excellent volume, and she shows "how pivotal Christianity—as the different generations understood it—was in shaping their decisions great and small about the course of the American republic that they served for three centuries" (p. 2). Georgini is series editor of *The Papers of John Adams*, and she makes full use of the vast archival trail left by the globe-trotting, multi-generational Adams family. Tracing the ten generations of Adamses in the Massachusetts archive has given the author "a unique opportunity to offer a new history of how and why Americans experiment with religion in a democracy" (p. 3).

This new and valuable history uses the trope of "household gods," six busts of men of letters from the classical past purchased by John Quincy Adams in Paris in 1815, the year his father was recounting the influence of religion on the Revolution. The busts were passed down the generations, "always guarding the Adamses' cache of Bibles and letterbooks," and serving as "the best symbols of the family's Christian service and civic sacrifice" (p. 2). The book unfolds a narrative of church (and no church) and state through a chronological series of chapters of religious, political, and cultural biography. They recount, successively, "The Providence of John and Abigail Adams," "John Quincy and Louisa Catherine Adams at Prayer," "Charles Francis Adams on Pilgrimage," the "Cosmopolitan Christianity of Henry Adams" (he of the *Education*), and "Higher Than a City Upon a Hill," on the circuitous journey of Brooks Adams. An Epilogue ends with a fitting vignette of Brooks signing a church covenant that ushered him into the Unitarian Church, the latest member of the three-hundred-year family to trust that "Christianity yet steered the American republic" (p. 204). An appendix of the Adams Family Genealogy, extensive end notes, and a selective bibliography round out the scholarly apparatus of the volume. Students and teachers of American religious history and political culture alike should find this factually rich, insightful, and artfully written study interesting and profitable.

Note: This review essay first appeared in the Journal of American History *and is reprinted with permission.*

Dr. Jeffry H. Morrison is Professor of American Studies at Christopher Newport University and Director of Academics at the James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation.

Building a Rights Tradition in the New Nation

By Daniel L. Dreisbach, Ph.D.

Bills of Rights before the Bill of Rights: Early State Constitutions and the American Tradition of Rights, 1776–1790

BY PETER J. GALIE, CHRISTOPHER BOPST, BETHANY KIRSCHNER

Palgrave Macmillan
408 pgs | $100

If there is one portion of the U.S. Constitution the typical American is at least superficially acquainted with and even makes occasional appeals to, it is the Bill of Rights. It is almost certainly the most celebrated feature of the national charter, often spoken of in reverential tones. This is not without irony given that the Bill of Rights was not framed by the Constitutional Convention. Indeed, George Mason's September 12, 1787 motion at the Philadelphia convention to "prepare a Bill of Rights" was unanimously rejected by the state delegations voting on it. Rather, the initial amendments to the Constitution, now known collectively as the Bill of Rights, were hastily deliberated by the first federal Congress and tacked on to the end of the ratified Constitution to assuage its critics and silence calls for sweeping revisions.

Who needs a bill of rights, and what does one look like? What did Americans of the founding era mean by "rights," and what was their conception of a declaration or bill of rights? What is a bill of rights' standing in law, especially in relation to a jurisdiction's constitution and other expressions of fundamental law? Who or what authorizes, frames, and legitimizes a bill of rights? These questions were apparently on the minds of Americans in the newly independent states in the wake of independence and the years leading up to the framing and ratification of a national constitution.

Early State Expressions of Rights

These are also among the questions considered by Peter J. Galie, Christopher Bopst, and Bethany Kirschner in Bills of Rights Before the *Bill of Rights: Early State Constitutions and the American Tradition of Rights, 1776–1790 (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020)*. Their study is a comprehensive, systematic documentary history and analysis of the character and content of the early declarations of rights and an emerging "rights tradition" in the former colonies and Vermont in the 15 years or so following independence. Their interest in these documents and other expressions of rights in the new republics is not merely as "dress rehearsals for the national Bill of Rights" framed by the first federal Congress in 1789 and ratified by the states in 1791; rather, they examine these declarations on their own terms as developments in the new nation's heritage of rights. They consider what these declarations communicated to the societies for which they were framed and how they functioned in these polities.

Did these declarations, the authors ask, reflect common themes and reveal a coherent moral and political philosophy? Several characteristics, they argue, demonstrate a coherence in these declarations: the articulation of specific constitutional principles upon which the political community was founded and which were essential for a new republican order to succeed; the expression of fundamental rights upon which other liberties depended; and the affirmation of rights rooted in the English constitutional tradition that the former colonists believed had been infringed by Crown and Parliament. Among the rights frequently mentioned in these declarations were the freedom of the press, trial by jury, the sacred rights of conscience, due process of law, the right to petition the government for redress of grievances, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures, and a cluster of rights available to the criminally accused, including the right to be informed of criminal charges, the right to confront accusers, and a privilege against self-incrimination.

An introductory chapter provides an overview of the study of rights and declarations of rights in the founding era. This is followed by two illuminating chapters that discuss the sources of rights in the colonies and give a brief survey and comparative assessment of the emerging rights traditions in the first constitutions of the former colonies and Vermont. These chapters are prologue to fourteen chapters examining the expressions and protection of rights in each state following independence, looking first at the eight states that prefaced their constitution with a declaration of rights, then the four states that lacked stand-alone declarations, and finally the two states that retained their colonial charters as their state constitutions.

Each chapter profiling a specific state begins with a summary of the history and content of colonial expressions of rights and fundamental and statutory laws regarding rights protection prior to independence, devoting special attention to the institutions and processes of self-government, religious liberty and church-state arrangements, and political developments leading to independence. This is followed by an examination of constitutional developments after independence (including, in most states, the framing of a declaration of rights). These sections are especially attentive to the scope of suffrage rights, structural restraints imposed on civil government and its officers, methods for revision of fundamental law, and reception of common law. Relevant portions of key documents are then reproduced with notes and commentary reflecting a close reading of the documents. These notes, inter alia, comment on continuity with and departure from English and colonial antecedents, identify unique features and innovations, and trace sources of influence on specific provisions (including the influence of other state declarations). These valuable annotations document the lineage of ideas and emerging themes in constitutional thought.

The documentary evidence marshaled in this sourcebook indicates that in

17th- and 18th-century America, leading up to the separation from Great Britain, the words "rights" and "liberties" encompassed an expansive range of meanings. And, as Americans reconstituted their polities in the aftermath of independence, they debated the nature of rights—their sources, meanings, and scope.

Do Republics Need Bills of Rights?

In *Federalist 84*, Publius (Alexander Hamilton) answered those who criticized the proposed Constitution because it "contains no bill of rights" and countered calls for the addition of such a bill. He made nine or ten distinct arguments, with hints of others. One argument is that bills of rights are, in their origin, stipulations between kings and their subjects, abridgments of prerogative in favour of privilege, reservations of rights not surrendered to the prince. . . . It is evident, therefore, that according to their primitive signification, they have no application to constitutions professedly founded upon the power of the people, and executed by their immediate representatives and servants.

Other Federalists similarly argued that bills of rights are inapt (and unnecessary) in republics, where power is derived from the people, insofar as bills of rights only protect the people from themselves. This may be a clever argument, but it apparently found little currency in the eight newly independent republics that framed declarations of rights in the decade between 1776 and 1786. (Perhaps they would have been more convinced by the Federalists' other arguments for why a bill of rights was more appropriate to check governments of general powers—like those of the states—than ones of expressed, delegated powers like the new national government.)

The history recounted in this volume also confirms that there was no consensus regarding who or what was authorized to frame and adopt a declaration of rights. Some declarations were crafted by special conventions, others were framed by revolutionary-era legislative assemblies. Most were approved by the body that drafted them, and a few were ratified by the people

in conventions or town meetings. Some declarations were free standing in a state's organic law, others were folded into the body of a state's constitution, and, in some states, expressions of rights were sprinkled throughout a constitution or adopted by way of ordinary legislation. Declarations in a few states were written and adopted before attention was turned to framing a plan of government; in other states, they prefaced or were incorporated into a constitution; and in still other states, there was no declaration of rights at all.

Looking to Virginia for Examples

In Virginia, the first of the former colonies to adopt a declaration of rights (June 12, 1776), the sequence in which its declaration and constitution were framed seems deliberate. On May 15, 1776, the Fifth Virginia Convention passed a resolution instructing the Commonwealth's delegates at the Continental Congress to press for a declaration of independence from Great Britain. This bold initiative raised questions about the nature of civil authority extant in the Commonwealth. Believing, perhaps, that they had reverted to a state of nature, the delegates thought it necessary to frame a new social compact, beginning with a declaration of humankind's natural rights, followed by a new plan of civil government.

The Virginia declaration, largely the work of George Mason, proved to be among the most influential constitutional documents in American history. As many as seven states framed their declarations with a copy of the Virginia declaration in hand, along with scissors and pastepot. (Interestingly, a widely circulated preliminary draft of the declaration, it turns out, proved more influential than the final draft.) With remarkable clarity and brevity, it distilled the great principles of political freedom inherited from the English constitutional tradition, including principles extracted from Magna Carta (1215), Petition of Right (1628), English Bill of Rights (1689), and the long struggle to establish parliamentary supremacy culminating in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. It combined a commitment to fundamental liberties with a brief expression of constitutional principles and political ideas expounded by John Locke, Baron de Montesquieu, and other political philosophers.

These sources, along with colonial charters and codes, natural law/rights ideas, and theological traditions, informed the emerging rights tradition in the states. Each of these sources—none more so than the due process principles in articles 39 and 40 of Magna Carta (1215)—found expression in the state declarations.

A True Bill of Rights

While Americans in the 20th and 21st centuries have grown accustomed to thinking of a bill of rights as an enumeration of individual rights enjoyed by citizens, it was not always so. Bills of Rights Before the Bill of Rights reminds readers that, as evidenced in the English Bill of Rights and Virginia Declaration of Rights, a bill of rights could include both an enumeration of individual rights and, perhaps more important, structural features (such as separation of powers implemented in manifold ways) designed to restrain the powers of civil government

that might otherwise tyrannize the people's liberties. The Virginia declaration, for example, separated legislative and executive powers from judicial power; promoted term limits; required free, frequent, and regular elections; and discouraged standing armies in time of peace.

In the constitutional ratification debates, partisans on all sides argued that a true bill of rights was to be found in structural provisions that would restrain the powers of civil government. A bill of rights that enumerates individual rights absent structural restraints, they warned, may prove to be a mere parchment barrier. When leaders of the so-called Anti-federalists, like George Mason and Patrick Henry, complained that the proposed national Constitution lacked a bill of rights, they were arguing that the proposed government, with its consolidated powers, lacked real, meaningful structural checks on its powers. As Patrick Henry declared with rhetorical flourish in Virginia's ratifying convention on June 5, 1788, "[t]here will be no checks, no real balances, in this government. What can avail your specious, imaginary balances, your rope-dancing, chain-rattling, ridiculous ideal checks and contrivances?" Thus, the Anti-federalists agitated for a bill of rights that focused as much, if not more, on structural restraints as on individual rights. This volume is appropriately attentive to both individual rights and structural restraints in early state constitutions and declarations of rights.

Bills of Rights Before the Bill of Rights dispels the notion that the early state declarations of rights should be read and studied merely as "dress rehearsals" for the national Bill of Rights. Aspects of the state and national bills of rights emerged from a rights tradition that drew deeply on English and colonial antecedents. The early state declarations, however, were, in important respects, different in kind from the national Bill of Rights insofar as they were crafted for different political communities, functioned in a different context, and were designed for different purposes. Yes, those Americans who subsequently debated, framed, and ratified the U.S. Bill of Rights drew on the articulation of rights in colonial documents and in early state declarations of rights; nonetheless, these state declarations merit scrutiny on their own terms as distinct and noteworthy contributions to the nation's heritage of rights. Bills of Rights Before the Bill of Rights appropriately acknowledges and examines, with extraordinary attention to detail, the distinct contributions these early declarations of rights made to a developing rights tradition in the newly independent states; and for this reason, it is recommended reading for students of constitutions, rights, and bills of rights.

Note: This review essay first appeared in Law & Liberty (https://lawliberty.org/) and is reprinted with permission.

Daniel L. Dreisbach is a professor in the School of Public Affairs at American University in Washington, D.C. Among his published works are Reading the Bible with the Founding Fathers (Oxford, 2017), Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation between Church and State (NYU Press, 2002), and The Sacred Rights of Conscience (Liberty Fund, 2009) (co-editor).

Powerful Scholarship on U.S. Constitutionalism

By Richard Vanden Bosch '03 (CA)

Power and Liberty: Constitutionalism in the American Revolution
BY GORDON S. WOOD
Oxford University Press
228 pgs. | $20

Gordon Wood adds another masterpiece to his fifty years of scholarly work, illuminating the ideological origins of the founding documents. He provides extensive historical background related to the Founders' constitutions, declarations of independence, and bills of rights as sources of identity and unification for an evolving nation. "Lacking any semblance of a common ancestry, Americans had to create a sense of nationhood out of the documents," documents that framed and continue to reframe the conceptions of our republic's institutions and natural rights. The book is brilliant in its brevity and simplicity, and yet it is exceptionally insightful and scholarly. He deftly illuminates critical events in the nation's founding, such as debates leading to independence, of the creation of post-Revolutionary state governments, the aggrandizement of the power of their legislative institutions, and the eventual call for a national convention to "render the constitution of federal government adequate to the exigencies of the union." Wood also examines slavery, the emergence of an independent judiciary, and the evolving relation between state and society—public and private. Although thorough, Wood concedes the incomplete nature of his book as it relates to historically marginalized groups, acknowledging that "this book makes no claim to possessing any final truth."

Wood evaluates the evolving and often inconsistent debate regarding sovereignty and representation between the colonial elite and Great Britain after the conclusion of the French and Indian War until 1776. By 1774, the colonial elite had

positioned themselves outside the authority of Parliament and only under the authority of the king in a "Dominion Theory" of empire. This noticeable shift occurs by leaders of the patriot cause, focusing their assertions on violations of their natural rights as examples of tyranny by the monarch, not by Parliament. Wood's occasional digressions of referring to the "colonists" as a monolithic ideological group do not distract from Wood's high-quality analysis of the imperial debates. Within the colonial empire there were a multiplicity of opinions as it related to matters of taxation, sovereignty, and pursuing independence as a viable option.

Describing the constitution-making process employed by the thirteen independent republics, Wood writes that "The Revolutionaries central aim was to prevent power, which they identified with the governors, from encroaching on liberty." States had created institutions that overwhelmingly concentrated power in legislative bodies, even unicameral legislatures such as Pennsylvania and Georgia. Wood evaluates how state ratifying conventions utilized for state constitution adoptions established the modus operandi by which the eventual Federal Convention would distribute its final draft of the Constitution to the states for ratification, and how these conventions "made the people the actual constituent power." Considering the extralegal nature of the Constitution produced in September of 1787 (they were simply instructed to revise the Articles of Confederation), it was imperative that "We, the people" had the final say in its adoption.

The Articles of Confederation Era was extremely fragile, which led to the eventual assembly of delegates to a Federal Convention in 1787. Wood dispels some of the prevalent narratives about the deficiencies of the Articles of Confederation as it relates to credit, commerce, and foreign policy, thus creating a perceived urgency and necessity of calling the Convention due to "excessive democracy." However, he also concedes and elucidates Madison's claim that the American Revolution "turned out to be much more revolutionary and radical than many of the leaders expected," empowering state legislatures too much, and opening the door for more middle-class legislators who were so "narrow-minded, so parochial, and so illiberal" as to necessitate a change of government to check this new excess in democracy. The precarious nation seemed poised to move beyond the limitations of the firm league of friendship provided by the Articles of Confederation.

The inability of many of the potential delegates to pay their own expenses to attend the Philadelphia Convention of 1787 produced an assembly of men of greater financial means, who were generally better educated, and more politically influential. Wood takes us through the traditional debates over representation, the creation of the Executive Branch, the implications of an independent judiciary, the fears of consolidation, and the absence of a national bill of rights. He articulates the ideological origins of Madison's proposals, such as David Hume's ruminations about large republics and the diffusion of power through a heterogeneity of interests. Wood draws a keen parallel to Thomas Jefferson's Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom in which the multiplicity of religious institutions within Virginia allowed for the adoption of this legislation, thus safeguarding religious pluralism.

Wood carefully examines the major inconsistency of the revolutionary rhetoric of freedom as it relates to slavery. Wood juxtaposes indentured servitude and race-based slavery, and how, "for the first time in American history, the owning of slaves was put on the defensive." The institution of slavery was challenged and eventually abolished in the northern states by 1804, but safeguards from slave importation remained for twenty years.

Wood argues that the judiciary saw the greatest transformation during this time, becoming an equal and independent part of our national and state governments with the authority to invalidate legislative acts that violated the constitutions, but not in the traditional way we view judicial review today. Both Madison and Jefferson believed judges might be the best safeguards of natural rights and might best resist encroachments on those rights, but like most constitutional scholars today, they believed all departments maintain a concurrent right to expound the constitution.

One of the major consequences of the Revolution was a clarification of the demarcation between private and public. Social hierarchy was traditionally a precondition to political authority that empowered private persons to conduct public affairs as if they were their own private business, something altered by the revolutionary movement, that ultimately led institutions and those entrusted to maintain them to "assert the primary of public good over private interest."

Wood's short epilogue explains why Rhode Island declined attendance at the Constitutional Convention. Its democratic, egalitarian, autonomous nature produced a flood of paper currency that led to their economic success, but the inhabitants also had the most to lose should the Articles of Confederation be altered to subvert their power and freedoms. Wood theorizes that Rhode Island "anticipated and epitomized developments of the nineteenth-century northern middle-class society more trenchantly, more clearly, than any other northern state."

If the Rotunda in the National Archives in Washington, D.C., is any indication of the deification of our nation's founding documents, Wood finds our identification as a diverse nation there as well. He writes, "No other major nation invokes its two-hundred-year-old founding documents and their authors in quite the way America does." Despite the divisions exacerbated by the media and social media today, the principles expressed in these documents have provided unity in the face of factionalism. This highly recommended, extremely understandable book eloquently explores power and liberty, and offers timely insights on our nation's foundational political documents.

Richard Vanden Bosch is the 2003 James Madison Senior Fellow from California, and the 2015 James Madison Congressional Fellow. He currently teaches United States history and political science at Ripon High School in Ripon, CA, as well as Modesto Junior College in Modesto, CA.

Threading the Peculiar Institution from 1787 to 1860

By Idell Koury '05 (SC)

A House Divided: Slavery and American Politics from the Constitution to the Civil War
BY BEN MCNITT

Stackpole Books
504 pgs. | $20

A *House Divided* by Ben McNitt is an accurate and well-researched historical book that covers the influence of slavery from the Constitutional Convention to the Civil War and the political ideologies from Federalists to Free Soilers to Stephen Douglas and Abraham Lincoln and their debates over the sale, use, and expansion of slavery. The discussion of the economic "interests" relating to the industry of trading and using humans for labor and economics left me wanting further development.

The annexation of Texas must be included in the historical discourse on slavery. Being from New Mexico, purchased in 1848 and bordering Texas, I personally applaud Mr. McNitt's inclusion of Texas in the discussion about the evil, peculiar institution. Mr. McNitt writes, "The road to Civil War ran through Texas." Slavery was outlawed in Mexico in 1829. Texians who followed Moses and Stephen Austin cultivated Northern Mexico in the mid to late 1820's. When slavery was outlawed, it led to conflict. Slavery was, again, legalized in 1836 in the Constitution of the Lone Star Republic of Texas. McNitt writes about annexation becoming a hot political issue, supported by "His Accidency" President John Tyler when he used annexation as a political weapon and sided with the nullifier, John C. Calhoun. In his letter to Britain's Washington Minister, Calhoun revealed "that Britain [who outlawed slavery in 1834] was attempting to make the abolition of slavery in Texas a condition to recognize the Republic's independence… If slavery was abolished in Texas…inroads against it in the white South were sure to follow…" Texas was ultimately annexed which led to the Mexican-American War that ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Mexican Cession of new southwest territories in 1848. This examination of the role of Texas Annexation is well-documented and explained.

A House Divided also highlights the nullification crisis and the great oratorial contributions of former President John Quincy Adams whose "role in the nullification crisis [and repealing of the gag-rule] is often overlooked or underplayed." McNitt shows that Adams stood against Calhoun's ideas on nullification and stood with many of the Founders and, especially, Andrew Jackson on the issue of states rights to nullify a federal law. Adams believed strongly in the indissoluble Union as agreed by 39 delegates from twelve of thirteen states at the Constitutional Convention. Even though Adams' presidency was clouded by the "Corrupt Bargain" charge leveled by Jackson, he agreed with Jackson who proclaimed "the power to annul a law assumed by one state, incompatible with the existence of the Union."

Adams' true moral character was revealed when he excellently and successfully defended the African slaves who had mutinied and taken over their own slave ship, the Amistad. The Amistad case captured national attention and made its way to the Supreme Court where Adams acted as defense counsel while still serving in Congress for seventeen years after his presidency. This discourse is, again, well researched and documented.

The development of "interests" by McNitt left me wanting more. "King Cotton" as James Henry Hammond called the economic interests of "white Southerners" was the explicit, and finally overt, financial interest of the South. This "interest" began at the Constitutional Convention and proceeded to the Civil War. As Abraham Lincoln expressed, "The Framers of the Constitution intended and expected the ultimate extinction of the institution [of slavery]." However, sides

were drawn as acquisitions of new territories were added to the original states. This included the Northwest Territories, the Louisiana Purchase, the 1820 Compromise, the Mexican Cession, and the 1850 Compromise. Sides were drawn over "property" issues including land and humans. The sad and misguided Roger B. Taney ruling about Dred Scott as "property" had an even more divisive effect on the argument about property ownership.

The Apostle Paul wrote that "the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows." Mr. McNitt's review of the causes leading to the U.S. Civil War were detailed in the attitudes about the sale, use, and expansion of slavery. I looked for further development of "interests." Racism exists. I am Hispanic and have faced it. I would have liked the development of "interests" to a greater degree.

Overall, McNitt has written an excellent history of the United States and its relationship to slavery from the Constitutional Convention of 1787 to the Secession Crisis of 1860.

Idell Koury, the 2005 James Madison Senior Fellow from South Carolina, taught history and government at the college and secondary school levels for almost thirty years. Though retired, she still sponsors high school government clubs.

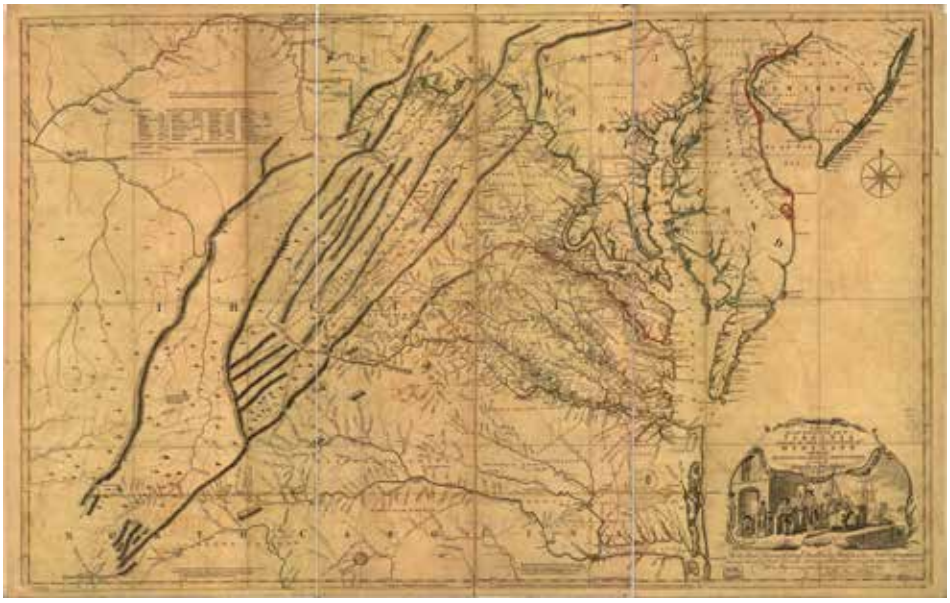
More than Marble Statues

By Abbylin Sellers, Ph.D.

The Virginia Dynasty: Four Presidents and the Creation of the American Nation
BY LYNNE CHENEY
Viking Press
448 pgs. | $20

The American populace generally perceives those who founded our nation as remarkable public figures and statesmen who were ahead of their time. They are immortalized in paintings, statues of marble and bronze, or monuments of great grandeur that rival the Greek Parthenon. Despite our reverence for these great public servants, we have a tendency to forget these men were fallible human beings.

Lynne Cheney's latest work, *The Virginia Dynasty: Four Presidents and the Creation of the American Nation*, provides a thoughtful exploration into the personal and political lives of the of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe. Cheney's approach is not to simply tell each person's historical narrative as a singular individual. She instead demonstrates how interconnected each of these men were with one another throughout their lifetime, in both public service and as private citizens, as they chartered the course for a young American nation. By delving into their interactions from a thematic approach, it provides a fuller picture of how they not only relied on one another, but also experienced conflict to the point of severing relational ties for some. Cheney first focuses on "The Warriors," who are Washington and Monroe and their time leading and serving in the Continental Army. This is followed by "The Intellectuals," who are Jefferson and Madison, who forged a lifelong friendship in their love of books and learning. Cheney weaves together their lives before, during, and after their presidencies. Their experiences, triumphs, and failures give us a glimpse of their all-too-human nature.



Cheney's vivid depictions of the interactions among the members of the Virginia Dynasty bring them to life. The breezy writing is engaging and you get to know the dynasty through their interactions with one another. Beginning with Washington's appointment as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army in 1775, Cheney reveals Washington's character in his commitment to be honorable and pursue the cause of liberty. As a young Lieutenant under Washington's command, the young James Monroe was in awe of Washington's professionalism, calling it "a deportment so firm, so dignified, so exalted, but yet so modest and composed, I have never seen in any other person." Cheney reminds us that while Washington was not a brilliant General, there were indeed moments of brilliance under his command. After his service, Monroe eventually found himself at Williamsburg studying law where he thrived. This was by the invitation of Thomas Jefferson, who was a great source of encouragement for Monroe.

Jefferson and Madison loved to learn, and their giftedness with words penned some of the most important documents for the founding of our country; Jefferson with the Declaration of Independence and Madison with the Constitution. They both defended religious liberty, and Madison's admiration of Jefferson ran deep. Theirs is a friendship sealed in American history, both politically and personally. Cheney chronicles their lifelong connection well, even how both struggled with debts and paying off their creditors during the latter part of their lives.

The dynasty's political careers were rooted in ambition, although, some were better at hiding it better than others. At least initially, they relied upon each other's strengths and talents. Washington enlisted the help of Madison to refine his first inaugural address. Madison's superb writing prowess whittled down a seventy-three page draft to something substantially shorter. Madison and Monroe kept Jefferson abreast of the happenings in the government while he was in France. Monroe became Madison's Secretary of War while also retaining his role as Secretary of State following the disastrous war of 1812. All of them faced tough decisions during the presidencies, sometimes acting against positions they had previously advocated for.

While these men chartered the course for the American experiment, they were

not without fault. Washington was prone to an explosive temper, as was Monroe. Monroe went as far to write a cynical piece about Washington's "self-invention" but thought better of it and did not publish it. Madison's shining star would eventually fade in Washington's eyes. Getting caught up in partisan bickering and publicly denouncing decisions during the Washington administration, Madison lost Washington's trust and was not invited to Mount Vernon again once Washington left office. Jefferson's passionate animus toward those who thwarted his political motives or plans was nothing short of hostile. When Patrick Henry blocked a revision of the Virginia constitution, Jefferson's response to the matter was, "What we have to do I think is devoutly to pray for his death."

The final chapter focusing on Monroe's presidency ends rather abruptly. Unlike the previous chapters where Cheney incorporates life after the presidency of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, Monroe is not afforded the same treatment. While the epilogue wraps up each of their stories, the end of the book has Monroe leave office and nothing further. The reader is left to wonder what type of influence Monroe had on American political thought and policy following his presidency, especially since he is lesser known among the other three Virginians.

Cheney provides us delightful read infused with intentional research and thoughtful writing.

The Virginia Dynasty seeks to celebrate our nation's first presidents while at the same time remind us that the Virginia Dynasty are more than mere marble statues. We can certainly learn from their examples, both their good and fallible traits.

Abbylin H. Sellers is Associate Professor of American Politics at Azusa Pacific University , and guest lecturer at the James Madison Foundation Summer Institute.

A Concentrated History of Constitutional Inspiration

By Matthew Summerlin '20 (AL)

Two Revolutions and a Constitution: How the English and American Revolutions Produced the American Constitution

BY JAMES D.R. PHILIPS

Hamilton Books

190 pgs. | $20

Australian professor James D.R. Philips discusses how the English and American Revolutions influenced the creation of the U.S. Constitution in his new book *Two Revolutions and a Constitution* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2021). As a professor of law, Philips convincingly argues how the English Revolution and English constitution acted as the legal foothold that necessitated the American breakaway from the mother country. Philips also illustrates how British precedent texturized state constitutions in the Early Republic and eventually culminated in the drafting of the U.S. Constitution. He is successful in showing these outlined relationships concisely, but without leaving important historical ideas out. Although an Australian, it is apparent that Philips believes the U.S. Constitution to be one of the world's most outstanding legal documents.

Philips begins his short book in the English colonies and examines the unique way in which they had been practicing self-government whilst sporadically bumping heads with the English Crown

over the period. Throughout the course of the book, he traces the evolution of the British Constitution, starting with the Magna Carta, the English Revolution, and the changing relationship of the monarch to Parliament. Noting each of these developments, Philips lays the background for the arguments in which American Revolutionaries, identifying largely as Englishmen, sought to break from the English Crown and become independent. He carefully considers the often-overlooked drafting of state constitutions prior to the eventual replacement of the Articles of Confederation with the U.S. Constitution. Philips's treatment of the major debates of the Constitutional Convention are bite-sized and filling all at once. He identifies and argues representation of the states, the slave trade, and the election and powers of the Executive ably and coherently. His summary is logical, powerful, and succinct.

The great strength of this book is its ability to skim the cream of several centuries of British political and legal history, taking enough to show its influence on American Revolutionaries and the Constitution, but not so much to mire the reader in unrelated minutiae. The author traces only the key developments between monarch and civil population from the Magna Carta through the American and English Revolutions, noting relationships and differences in the American colonies and on the European continent. Treating the origin of the Constitution as the product of both the English and American Revolutions in tandem is essential, and not always treated as such.

Philips's adoration of argument is apparent at points throughout the book and at one point, while discussing the gap between the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and reality, he catches himself straying a bit tangentially, which may distract those who value strict objectivity. When reading *Two Revolutions and the Constitution*, so much history is traversed that it is advised to have a working knowledge of the subject matter. That being said, he does not leave the novice in the dark, and he explains what readers need to know in order to make his argument. For James Madison Fellows and other educators, the book is a powerful read for anyone teaching U.S. History, European History, or Government courses, but it is a must-read for those teaching about the origins of the Constitution. It can be easily read in a sitting or two, but be sure and take notes (in true James Madison fashion), because there are sure to be topics that Philips discusses which warrant further investigation. The author's concentration on legal precedent and governmental documents inspire primary source ideas for the classroom that may not have been on the radar as of late. Philips does his scholarly duty in providing ample annotations and citations, which make it very easy to add layering and sourcing for further research. Overall, Philips's exploration of constitutional thought in Early America is a fantastic short book that I would highly recommend.

Matthew Summerlin is the 2020 Senior James Madison Fellow from Alabama and teaches American history at Auburn High School.

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Main House, Marymount University, Arlington Campus

2021 James Madison Memorial Foundation Summer Institute

It's hard to accurately describe the last two years for all of us. Every part of life has been affected by the virus and we have learned to adjust accordingly. Due to COVID-19 precautions, the Foundation's Summer Institute was canceled in 2020, which left many of our Fellows with no option for finishing their degree. Requiring vaccinations and observing COVID protocols, the Foundation was able to hold the Summer Institute in 2021 and the turnout was much larger than previous years with over 65 Fellows in attendance. Although our main campus, Georgetown University, was closed this summer, we were able to adjust and hold the Institute at Marymount University in Arlington, Virginia.

We were able to visit many of the same locations visited in previous years, including on-site visits to Monticello, Montpelier, Mt. Vernon, and Gunston Hall. Other venues, such as the Library of Congress, the National Museum of African-American History and Culture, and the U.S. Capitol, were visited virtually and were discussed and interpreted by docents who joined us at the Summer Institute. As usual, we had an impressive list of guest lecturers visit (in-person and virtually) and talk to the Fellows, including Dr. Abbylin Sellers (Azusa Pacific University), Dr. Danielle S. Allen (Harvard University, author of *Our Declaration: A Reading of the Declaration of Independence),* Dr. William Allen (author of *George Washington: America's First Progressive* and *The Personal and the Political: Three Fables by Montesquieu*), Former Secretary of Education Dr. John B. King, Jr., Dr. Kerry Sautner (National Constitution Center), Steve Livegood (U.S. Capitol Historical Society), and Lee Ann Potter (Library of Congress). The 24th Annual James Madison Lecture was delivered by Pulitzer-Prize winning scholar, Dr. David W. Blight (Yale University) on his most recent book *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*.

James Madison Fellows at George Washington's Mt. Vernon

Katherine Corrado, '19 (MD), Angel Ledbetter, '19 (NC), Mallory Langkau, '20 (NH), and Alona Whitebird, '20 (OK) at Marymount University.

Dave Gordon, ‘21 (NY), Alyssa Logan, ‘20 (AK), Latalata Samuelu, ‘19 (AS), Amy Palo, ‘18 (PA), Dr. Daniel Dreisbach, and Bonnie McCarthy, ‘19 (FL) in a break out discussion room.

Geoffrey Wickersham, ‘19 (MI), Dave Gordon, ‘21 (NY), and Michael Gillette,‘19 (TX) at Marymount University.

Rebecca Stoltzfus, ‘19 (IN), Jordan Dietrich, ‘19 (CA), Ann Shanahan, ‘20 (AZ), and Bobby Harley, ‘18 (SC) at the James Madison Lecture.

Marc Turner, ‘19 (SC), Larry Dorenkamp, ‘19 (PA), Daniel Warner, ‘19 (TN), Latalata Samuelu, ‘19 (AS), Derrick Lindow, ‘19 (KY), and Megan Thompson, ‘19 (MN) at George Washington’s Mt. Vernon.

Jordan Dietrich, '19 (CA), Sari Chabot, '19 (MT), and Amani Altwam, '20 (SC) at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello.

Mary Ward, '20 (HI), Isabel Russell, '19 (MD), and Lucas George, '19 (OH) at Marymount University.

Lois MacMillan, '21 (OR), Kimberly Ferraro, '19 (IL), and Alexis DeNeice, '20 (CO) at Marymount University.

Nick Hegge, '20 (NE), Jesseb Adam, '21 (CO), Dave Gordon, '21 (NY), Landen Schmeichel, '21 (ND), and Tony Perry, '20 (MI) at the James Madison Lecture.

Isabel Russell, '19 (MD), Mary Ward, '20 (HI), Alise Pape, '19 (NE), Alona Whitebird, '19 (OK), and Latalata Samuelu, '19 (AS) at Arlington Cemetery.

Kymberli Wregglesworth, '11 (MI), Elizabeth LeBrun, '04 (VT), Idell Koury, '05 (SC), Dr. David W. Blight, Georgette Hackmann, '15 (PA), and Maria Savini, '08 (PA) at the James Madison Lecture.

Andrew Seavy, '20 (MO), Lucas George, '19 (OH), Daniel Warner, '19 (TN), and Landen Schmeichel, '21 (SD) at George Washington's Mt. Vernon.

Latalata Samuelu, '19 (AS) and Barbara Taylor, '19 (CO) at Marymount University.

Rob Schulte, '19 (NJ), Bonnie McCarthy, '19 (FL), and Rebecca Stoltzfus, '19 (IN) at Marymount University.

Alyssa Logan, '20 (AR), Dave Gordon, '21 (NY), Michael Gillette, '19 (TX), Amani Altwam, '20 (SC), Clifford Strieby, '19 (UT), Kevin Gleeson, '19 (WI), Lucas George, '19 (OH), and Alexis DeNeice, '20 (CO) at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello.

Lois MacMillan, '21 (OR) and Bobby Harley, '18 (SC) at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello.

James Madison Fellows at Monticello with President Lewis F. Larsen at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello.

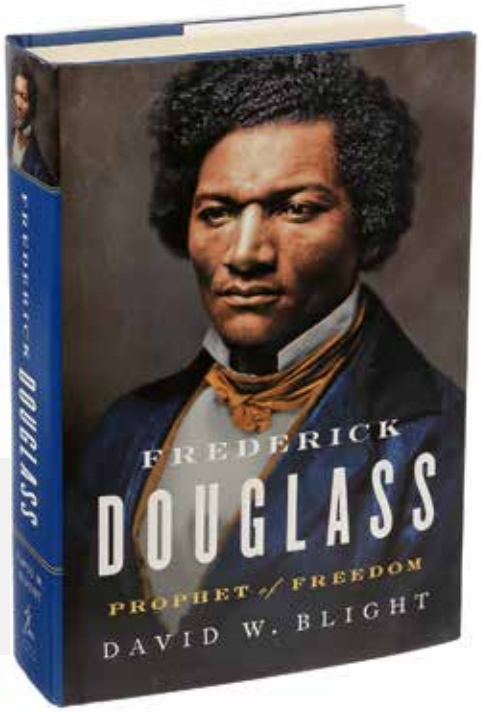
Sari Chabot, '19 (MT), Angel Ledbetter, '19 (NC), Camilo Condis, '21 (Cuba), Derrick Lindow, '19 (KY), and Dave Gordon, '21 (NY) in a break out discussion room.

Riley Keltner, '19 (IL) and Marilyn Orseno, '19 (OH) at the James Madison Lecture.

The 24th Annual James Madison Lecture

The James Madison Memorial Fellowship Foundation was privileged to have Dr. David W. Blight, winner of the Pulitzer Prize in History, deliver the James Madison Lecture this year. Dr. Blight's recent book on Frederick Douglass probed Douglass's views on the intentions of the Framers who wrote the Constitution. More specifically, whether or not the Constitution was written and was to be interpreted as a pro-slavery or anti-slavery document. Blight's lecture was fascinating and brought up a lot of discussion both inside and outside the classroom.

Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom
BY DAVID W. BLIGHT
Simon and Schuster | 912 Pages | $20



To watch the lecture, please visit

www.c-span.org/video/?513108-1/author-david-blight-constitution

What to a Veteran (and Teacher) Is Veterans Day?

BY LAURA WALLIS WAKEFIELD, '00 (FL)

Before I was a teacher, I served my country as an officer in the U.S. Army. That's me, age 22, pictured for an Army "Equal Opportunity Week" poster. I am on the poster because I was the only female officer in my battalion. When the Stars and Stripes photographer found me outside my platoon's barracks in Darmstadt, West Germany, he told me he had come to take my picture. I asked him if I had a choice and he said no, so I smiled for the camera. A few weeks later I spotted copies of this posted around base.

I couldn't help but grimace when I saw the poster's caption, "Given Equal Opportunity, Women Are Achievers," because I believe women achieve even without equal opportunity! Ironically, equal opportunity was one of the main reasons I entered the military. After college, I worked on a political campaign and when my candidate won, I received a promised job in the state capitol. However, I was paid less than the male campaign workers with the same experience. A few months later, I learned the military was offering direct commissions to qualifying women because there were no female graduates from West Point yet, and they desperately needed women officers in the post-Vietnam all volunteer army. Lured by the promise of equal pay and my desire to travel abroad, I applied and was accepted. Within a year, I found myself leading a platoon of 65 men on field training exercises in West Germany and providing combat communications to the headquarters of all the United States air defense for Europe.

I served during the Cold War and thankfully never saw combat, but we trained every day to be ready if war should come, knowing we would be on the front lines. It was a long time ago, but my military experience remains an important

influence in my life. I met my husband through the military and our first child was born on an air force base. But just as important were the lessons I learned in the military that helped me become a good teacher after my time in service.

What to a Veteran is Veterans Day? It's caring. As a military leader, you learn quickly to take care of your troops. Their needs come first, and you don't ask them to do something you aren't willing to do. To care for them, you get to know them. I learned about their background and family situation, their talents, and shortcomings to assess how I could help them become better soldiers. As teachers, we do the same thing with our students to help them learn and prepare them to become better citizens. The saying "they won't care what you know until they know you care" is an expression of this principle for teachers.

What to a Veteran is Veterans Day? It's adaptability. Military conditions can be tough, and soldiers must persevere to accomplish their mission. Adaptability is just as important for teachers who deal with circumstances that aren't ideal. I recall teaching students in a roach-infested, moldy portable classroom and recognize the challenges of teachers juggling hybrid classes during a pandemic, for example. Teachers, like soldiers, must adapt and reach goals despite the situation, lack of support or the noise around them. Why? Because what teachers do matters!

What to a Veteran is Veterans Day? It's being accountable, no excuses. As a young officer, I was responsible for millions of dollars of equipment and, more importantly, for the lives of 65 men. It was important that I did what I said I would do and acted with integrity. Like all military officers, I swore an oath to support and defend the Constitution (not the President or any person). While there is no oath for teachers, we commit to teach a diverse group of students and help them become involved citizens of our country and we are accountable to students, parents, and our school community. Every citizen has obligations and responsibilities to maintain a representative democracy.

For teachers, part of building better citizens should include teaching about rights and responsibilities in the Constitution.

On Veterans Day, we honor all those who have served in the military. Statistics show that the share of the U.S. population with military experience is declining. Today, less than 10% of Americans are veterans. Gulf War-era veterans now surpass Vietnam-era veterans, and soon all the World War II and Korean War veterans will be gone. There hasn't been a war in our own land for 150 years and so Americans have a limited sense of its effects. Many Americans don't know a single person who serves on active duty. Why does this matter and what can teachers do about it? It is important for people to understand what veterans go through and to help them when they return. This is a way of giving back to those who serve.

What to a Veteran is Veterans Day? Not all veterans agree about their experiences, and individual people bring different memories to their time in service. Teachers don't have to encourage students to serve in the military, but we can educate them about the sacrifices veterans make for their country. One year, I had my students interview a veteran and create a poster honoring them. These were displayed and the whole school participated in a Veterans Day walk to view them. The Library of Congress has a wonderful Veterans History Project that collects personal stories of American war veterans and has developed a terrific primary source set with a teacher's guide. Teachers can invite a veteran to class (not just on Veterans Day) to speak to students about their time in service. If you know a soldier on active duty, you might arrange for students to write to them when they are deployed.

It doesn't have to be complicated. When there's a veterans event in your community, show up and support it. Inspire students by reading stories or essays of bravery or sacrifice (here is a list of picture books). Provide opportunities and guidance to help students serve their community. We certainly need courageous, empathetic kids willing to give of their time to make this nation better. I would like to think that celebrating Veterans Day helps each of us think about our own obligations to our country and how we can make it a better place with equal opportunity. Happy Veterans Day!

Laura Wallis Wakefield (Florida 2000 Senior Fellow) served four years on active duty in the U.S. Army and left the service with the rank of Captain. She taught history for more than 20 years in Florida before joining the National Council for History Education in 2018 as Interim Executive Director and now works as a Program Coordinator for NCHE.

IN THEIR WORDS

The 2021 Summer Institute participants had enthusiastic praise for the Summer Institute on the Constitution. They remarked on the academic rigor, the enriching perspectives of faculty and colleagues, and the once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for on-site instruction regarding the Founding and the Constitution. Read, in their own words, why the Fellows loved the Summer Institute.

The Summer Institute was an intensive dive into the creation of the United States Constitution. It has given me a new perspective on teaching the content of this period in my courses, and I will forever be thankful for the fellowship to improve my classroom practices.

— Brandon Eldridge, '20 (TN)

The support of teacher scholarship is unmatched. The Foundation staff tends every detail with care and finesse so that teachers can take a life-changing month as students.

— Barbara Taylor, '19 (CO)

IN THEIR WORDS, *continued...*

The combination of educational material, historical adventures and collegiality made this a once in a lifetime experience.

— Mark Seivley, '20 (WY)

A month of full-time study on the origins and developments of the U.S. Constitution with engaging scholars was an incredible opportunity made all the more meaningful by spending that time with dedicated, passionate educators from throughout the US.

— Joe Lewerk '21 (CT)

"This was the most rewarding academic experience I have ever had the privilege to partake in. I will enter the school year with much more confidence incorporating constitutional primary sources in my middle school classroom. Additionally, I have met friends from all around the country that I will have for the rest of my life."

— Mallory Langkau, '20 (NH)

"This was the experience of a lifetime. It was a tremendous professional honor to be surrounded by so many incredible teachers and students of history and government from all geographic and demographic corners of the country. Students around the country with these teachers are extremely lucky, and the high level of teachers in this fellowship says such great things about the profession. I will never forget the impassioned and nerdy debates about the Constitution, and I'm grateful for the lifelong relationships built with like-minded colleagues."

— Matt Buckles, '19 (MO)

Being a Madison Fellow is the capstone of my career in the teaching of the humanities. The program has not only given me the ability to complete my Masters in American History and Government, but has deepened my passion for teaching the Constitution and the Founding of the United States. Becoming a Fellow means joining a special family of scholars that will serve as a resource for the remainder of my career. I'm so grateful for the Foundation and the benefactors that support it.

— Michael Gillette, '19 (TX)

IN THEIR WORDS, *continued...*

The Summer Institute has been the highlight of my professional experiences to this point in my career. The academic discourse between the top history and social studies teachers in the country has been something that will be difficult to match in future professional opportunities. I learned more from my peers and professors in one month of immersive study than I had thought possible and these experiences will guide my practice and future academic work for the remainder of my life. I am forever grateful to the James Madison Memorial Fellowship for providing me with this invaluable opportunity to further my own understanding of the United States and the Constitution in order to help my students reach their academic and personal goals.

— Jonathan McGlynn, '19 (CT)

The Institute was first rate with respect to curated readings, lectures/guest lecturers and excursions. What is more, the living arrangements lent to collegiality that was very helpful in digesting highly complicated material. I grew professionally in terms of both content knowledge and in terms of my professional network. By far, the institute provided the most well rounded and enriching professional development experiences that I have had as an educator.

— Jeffrey Natoli, '20 (NC)

Meet the Fellows' Fellows

10 Questions for 2020 Fellows' Fellow Thomas Rooney

1) What made you want to become a James Madison Fellow?

I applied for the junior fellowship 30 years ago as a senior in college. As a Constitution nerd since 7th grade, the idea of the Madison Fellowship captured my imagination. (In retrospect, I wouldn't have selected me for it back then either. ;)) In late 2019, I had recently hit a point in my career where I was back teaching APUSH and looking for a new direction. When my boss (2010 Madison Fellow David Elbaum) mentioned the application process in his weekly departmental email, I thought, "Hey! I remember that Fellowship! I really wanted to do that back then; maybe I'll take another shot at it."

2) How did you hear about the James Madison Fellowship?

See #1 ;)

3) A bit of background.

(a) Where did you grow up?, (b) What got you into the field of education and teaching?, (c) What are your primary interests in the field of history or government?, (d) Where did you get your undergraduate degree?, and (e) Why do you love teaching the Constitution?

a) I grew up in Evanston, Illinois.

b) I made up my mind during my junior year of high school that I wanted to be a college history professor. When I spoke with my APUSH teacher, Arch Bryant, about my goal, he responded by asking, "Well, don't you think that college history teaching is preaching to the choir? College history students already know they like history. Why don't you do what I do – teach people who don't yet know that they like history and get them to see that they do?" Once I made up my mind that he was right, teaching high school was my goal.

c) My passion is economic history; it's the marriage of the two disciplines that completely fascinate me. I've been lucky enough to spend time in the summers teaching with economic historians from around the country, and they have passed on to me a love for the field.

d) I did my undergraduate work in history thirty years ago at Loyola University.

e) See below.

4) Any awards you've received for teaching or scholarship, including your own secondary school experience and undergraduate experience.

In 2001, I won the Excellence in Economic Education award from the Foundation for Teaching Economics. It was a nationwide competition that involved submitting a portfolio, writing original lessons, and being observed for two days in the final round. Winning that award opened up an entire world of professional development that has been the cornerstone of my entire teaching career.

5) Who is your favorite Founder and why?

Benjamin Franklin is my favorite Founder, as a major figure in the creation of both the Declaration and the Constitution. Not only did he have the gravitas to help build America's reputation in Europe, he also possessed a wit and down-to-earthiness that likely made him quite approachable.

6) Any thanks you have for the Fellows for selecting you personally.

Nobody knows better than Fellows how tremendous this opportunity is. That spirit injects a lot of meaning into this fellowship. In sincere gratitude, I will continue to help provide the experience to others.

7) What is your favorite thing to teach about the U.S. Constitution?

I never get tired of teaching the triad of federalism, checks and balances, and the separation of powers. To me, that's where the true genius of Constitution is found – and I literally mean genius.

8) What do you find the most challenging thing to teach about the U.S. Constitution?

The most challenging thing to teach about the Constitution is conveying its world-changing example to people who have grown up figuring a constitution is just a matter of course. The problem is somewhat akin to the "fish discover water last" analogy.

9) What was the last book on U.S. history you read?

I've read over a dozen books on U.S. History recently for my graduate classes,

but the history book I recently read just for the joy of it was Stephen Kinzer's *The True Flag*, about the conflict between imperialists and anti-imperialists at the last turn of the century.

10) Who is the most overlooked figure in early American history and why?

The most overlooked figure in early American history is George Wythe. He was a Founder in his own right, but he had far wider influence as an instructor to the likes of Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, and Henry Clay and many more. Traces of the mind of George Wythe are sewn into the entire Early Republic through his students. It's only a little exaggerated (and a little dated) to say that constitutional law in America is "Mr. Wythe's Opus."

10 Questions for 2021 Fellows' Fellow Lois MacMillan

1) What made you want to become a James Madison Fellow?

It is well-known that being a James Madison Fellow is a club with the best teachers in the country. Frankly, I wanted to be in the "cool kids club"!!! This summer, each James Madison Fellow I met exceeded my expectations in regard to being a great teacher. I can't express my endless gratitude to be with these great teachers!!!

2) How did you hear about the James Madison Fellowship?

Since 1996, I have worked with a James Madison Fellow, Andy Frye, who was one of our early fellows from 1998. He and his wife are dear friends, so it is from him I first heard of the James Madison Fellowship. For two decades, he has emphasized that his James Madison Fellowship experiences was the very best thing he has done in his teaching life. His James Madison Fellowship has also led to much fun with our students!!! Andy and I have shared the same students since 2000, (Andy taught at the high school and I taught at the middle school.) We've had a friendly argument and intentional banter through our students on who was the best of our founding fathers and who did the most for America democracy. Andy has been "Madison's little brother" over the years. (Andy is much more loyal where I am mercurial and flighty.) I had read Richard Brookhiser's *Alexander Hamilton: American* in 2000, so I started as "Hamilton's girlfriend." (Yes, I have many "boyfriends from history" which includes US Grant, Winston Churchill and Paul Robeson.) When I was a Baringer Fellow at Monticello, I claimed to be "Jefferson's girlfriend." When I was on my one-year sabbatical as the first Hamilton Education Senior Fellow, I went back to being "Hamilton's girlfriend." Andy and I declared that neither of us could attach ourselves to Washington because he's a little above both of our "stations." In 2019, I moved to teach at the high school after my sabbatical in NYC. Andy and I teach next to each other with a movable wall between us. His joy when I became a James Madison Fellow was expressed with these exact words, "Lois, welcome to the family."

3) A bit of background.

(a) Where did you grow up?, (b) What got you into the field of education and teaching?, (c) What are your primary interests in the field of history or government?, (d) Where did you get your undergraduate degree?, and (e) Why do you love teaching the Constitution?

I grew up in Missoula, Montana and Boise, Idaho. My father earned his PhD in history in 1972 from the University of Montana and published his dissertation was published posthumously, *Smoke Wars: Anaconda Copper, Montana Air Pollution and the Courts*, 1890-1924. When I was in high school, we moved to Idaho for my father's appointment to head the state's underground petroleum storage tank insurance department. (My father also had an MBA.) My mother is a registered nurse and still holds her license at age 85 years old! I attended the University of Idaho on a swimming scholarship, but finished my undergraduate at Idaho State University after getting married. I got into teaching from coaching swimming with the Special Olympics. Those Special Olympians were full of such joy and excitement when learning, I had to become a teacher. I have taught at every level, elementary, middle and high school, but I still approach my students like I did with my "Olympians," First, I just love on my students, because it's all about love. That's truly what Special Olympians teach all of us.

What is best about teaching the Constitution is that it introduces to students the complexity of peoples' stories, motives, and conflicts. I always start the study of the Constitution with Madison's quote, "If men were angels, no government would be necessary." Yet, after teaching

the structure of the Constitution, students most enjoy analyzing court cases. Most often, the discussion of court cases leads to the richest of classroom discussions and leads to strong argumentative writing. (I realized at this summer's classes on the Constitution I could have fostered much better discussions and guided student writing in the past.)

4) Any awards you've received for teaching or scholarship, including your own secondary school experience and undergraduate experience.

I don't remember that far back! Here is a list of teaching awards excluding the James Madison Fellowship:

- 2004 - National Board Certified Teacher: Early Adolescence: Social Studies
- 2006 - Oregon's History Teacher of the Year
- 2010 - Master Teacher for Gilder Lehrman (Paired with historians and have facilitated twenty-four summer teacher seminars for GLI over the past decade)
- 2013 - "Understanding Lincoln" Award from Gettysburg College (The Global Lincoln)
- 2014 - Oregon's Civil Teaching Award from Delta Kappa Gamma (Bayard Wilkeson Project-Fallen Oregon soldiers memorial since 9/11)
- 2017 - Monticello's Barringer Fellow
- 2017 - Ford's Theatre Catherine B. Reynold Fellow
- 2018 - Grammy Museum's Jane Ortner Award (National Teacher of the Year for teaching music in the non-music classroom-hip hop and rap)
- 2019 - Hamilton Education Senior Fellow (a one-year sabbatical with Gilder Lehrman where I traveled to fourteen cities around the country working with Title I high school teachers and students on a Founding Era curriculum culminating in their attendance to the Broadway show, Hamilton. I also help develop the Hamilton Education Program Online website. I had met one of our fellows at our summer institute, Amy Palo, when I helped her and her students attend Hamilton in Pittsburgh.)
- 2021 - Southern Oregon Teacher of the Year

5) Who is your favorite Founder and why?

Hamilton was my first love when I read Brookhiser's Alexander Hamilton: American. I then attended the exhibit in 2005, "Alexander Hamilton: The Man Who Made Modern America" at the New York Historical Society. I bought a replica locket that Hamilton bought his wife with the inscription, "I meet you in every dream" and I always wear it when I lecture on Hamilton in the classroom.

6) Any thanks you have for the Fellows for selecting you personally.

I want the James Madison Fellowship folks to know how honored I am to be chosen as their Fellows' Fellow. The James Madison Fellowship has made me a much better teacher not only because of the scholarship I have learned, but because of the teachers I have met through the James Madison Fellowship. Georgette Hackman (2015) and Larry Dorenkamp (2019), both from Pennsylvania, strongly encouraged me to apply for the James Madison Fellowship. I had both of them in my GLI teacher seminars and then became close friends with both of them. Larry was in my 2017 Civil War GLI seminar at the UVA with Gary Gallagher and Georgette was in my 2015 Lincoln GLI seminar at Oxford in England with Richard Carwardine. I thought I was too old to be chosen because I am 61 years old, but Georgette and Larry assured me that I am still young! I still have at least a solid decade left in the classroom.

7) What is your favorite thing to teach about the U.S. Constitution?

Right now, it is the Fourteenth Amendment. I find it absolutely fascinating how it has changed and been used over time.

8) What do you find the most challenging thing to teach about the U.S. Constitution?

I find the most challenging thing to teach about the Constitution is the justification for the electoral college because for students it seems, at the least, archaic.

9) What was the last book on U.S. history you read?

I just finished *Espionage and Enslavement in the Revolution: The True Story of Robert Townsend and Elizabeth* by Claire Bellerjeau and Tiffany Yecke Brooks. Townsend was a spy for George Washington and second to Hamilton, George Washington is my guy in the founding era. Of course, I don't think he'd have me! He's a little above my station!

10) Who is the most overlooked figure in early American history and why?

By far, George Marshall! Eisenhower said of Marshall, "Our people have never been so indebted to any other soldier." Churchill warned that "He has always fought victoriously against defeatism, discouragement, and disillusion...succeeding generations must not be allowed to forget his achievements and his example." Marshall is closer to George Washington than any man in our history.

Supreme Court of the United States of America

CLASS NOTES

1994

Milton Hyams, '94 (NV) Won the 2021 PBS Reno Extraordinary Educator Award. He was nominated and chosen for this special award by the community for his work and service.

2002

Catherine M. Saks, '02 (OR) Catherine was named the 2020 History Teacher of the Year for Oregon by The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.

2007

Christina Cote-Reinhart, '07 (MT) Christina was named the 2020 Gilder Lehrman Teacher of the Year for Montana. Christina is a teacher at Reinhart Gardiner Public School in Gardiner, Montana.

2008

Karen Dz. Cox, '08 (NM) Karen has been named the DAR New Mexico State Outstanding American History Teacher. She will be honored at a State Conference, Saturday, April 4, 2022.

Jennifer Jolley, '10 (FL)

2010

Jennifer Jolley, '10 (FL) Jennifer was named the 2020 History Teacher of the Year for Florida by The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.

2011

Adena Barnette, '11 (WV) Adena has been named Teacher of the Year for West Virginia by the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.

2012

Trish Everett, '12 (FL) Trish has been named the 2021 Teacher of the Year by The American Lawyers Alliance (part of the American Bar Association).

Lindsey Charron, '13 (CA)

2013

Lindsey Charron, '13 (CA) Lindsey was named the California Teacher of the Year by the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. She also received the Outstanding Middle School Teacher of the Year Award from the California Council of Social Studies.

Patrick Sprinkle, '13 (NY) Patrick has been selected to be a C-SPAN Education Fellow where he will create videos and lesson plans using the C-Span's archival recordings of Congress and other federal agencies.

Melissa Blair Tracy, '13 (DE) Melissa was given the 2020 Delaware Sanford Teacher Award.

2014

Jennifer Zirbel, '14 (MT) Jennifer has been named the Montana Teacher of the Year by the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History

Amy Martin Page, '14 (NM) Amy was named the 2020 History Teacher of the Year for New Mexico by The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.

2015

Rhonda Watton, '15 (WI) In the fall of 2019 she led an 8th grade student trip to Washington DC. The students toured the US Capitol, laid the wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, visited Mount Vernon and many of DC memorial sites. She is also a member of the iCivics Educator Network and continues to collaborate with other teachers around the country, as well as many of the iCivic resources with my students. She attended a weekend session with the Bill of Rights Institute focusing on using Socratic Seminars in class and the White House History Teacher Institute.

Kim Grosenbacher, '15 (TX)

Lisa Smith, '16 (TX)

Kim Grosenbacher, '15 (TX), Kim was named Secondary Teacher of the Year by the Association of Texas Professional Educators.

Jake Goodwin '15 (NH) Jake was named the New Hampshire Teacher of the Year by the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.

2016

George J. Hawkins, '16 (SD) was nominated (4th year in a row) as teacher of the year in his district (2000+ teachers) and was a finalist (2nd year in a row). He attributes some of that success to the passion he brings to the classroom that stems from being a Fellow and participating in the Summer Institute.

Lisa D. Smith, '16 (TX) In recognition of her outstanding work as a social studies teacher at Cross Timbers Middle School, Lisa has received the distinction of being entitled a Teacher-Scholar of the Constitution by the Grapevine-Colleyville School Board.

Brittany Sylvester, '16 (UT) Assisted with the statewide Social Studies Conference as a board member of the Utah Council for the Social Studies. In October of 2019 she was honored as the Utah Council for the Social Studies High School Teacher of the Year for outstanding work and dedication to the social studies.

Olivia Lewis, '16 (AR) Was named President of the Arkansas Council of Social Studies in July 2019. She attended NCSS House of Delegates as the Arkansas representative as well as helped organize professional development for the social studies teachers in Arkansas

2017

Karen Wagner, '17 (WY) She organized the local Cody High School We the People competition this year in which the judges were local community members, attorneys, elected officials, business owners, school board members, and teachers.

Mark Wiese, '17 (MN) He had the ability to start a Street Law course at his high school. "This class has been an amazing experience and opportunity to bring the constitution to students in a realistic and practical way. Students have had the ability to talk to lawyers, judges, and police officers and explore the world of criminal and civil law." During the year he had the opportunity to bring his Street Law class to see the Minnesota Court of Appeals, argue cases, and talk to the judges about Minnesota Constitution and the court system as a whole. The students loved the experience and he had multiple students talk to him about how they want to become lawyers and judges in the future.

2018

Stephanie Kaufman, '18 (SD) She continues to be part of the SD Department of Education's Civic Education Workgroup. They met with the state Secretary of Education about legislation and budget items related to civic education during the 2021 legislative session. Ultimately, the state legislature funded an additional $900,000 for professional development and instructional materials related specifically to history and civic education. As a result of that new funding, she served on a SD Department of Education committee to score grant applications for a Civic Education and History grant for K-12 schools.

Margaret Shadid, '18 (OK) She was honored to have the opportunity to give a TedXTalk at the University of Illinois

Please send us your news and updates! We want to know all about James Madison Fellows' exciting adventures in teaching the Constitution and making a difference in communities across America! Send updates to Dr. Guy F. Burnett at **gburnett@jamesmadison.gov**.

Are you a veteran? Many of our James Madison Fellows have served in the Armed Forces. Director of Development, Kimberly Alldredge, wants to hear from you! Send Kimberly Alldredge an email at **kalldredge@jamesmadison.gov.**

Springfield in March of 2021. Her talk was titled "How do you Combat One-Sided Facts" and reflected her experience as an educator and citizen. In preparing this talk, she is even more inspired to teach information literacy to her students, which is increasingly important in our digital age.

Jessica Shattuck, '18 (FL) Every year she does a mock campaign, students have begun to look forward to the senior year as they have seen upper classmen campaigns. "This year was awesome, the students created amazing platforms and campaign videos." Unfortunately the threat of COVID interrupted some of the plans we had during Q4 but we were still able to have some really great Socratic discussions regarding the Constitution, Federalist Papers, and current events via Zoom."

Jessica Shattuck, '18 (FL)

2019

Michael Gillette, '19 (TX) Received the 2021 Humanities Texas Teacher of the Year Award from Humanities Texas.

Alona D. Whitebird, '19 (OK) Alona was named the Oklahoma History Teacher of the Year by the Gilder Lehrman Institute. She was also selected as the Southmoore High School 2021-2022 Teacher of the Year.

Alona D. Whitebird, '19 (OK)

Rob Schulte, '19 (NJ) Rob was named the New Jersey Council for the Social Studies Teacher of the Year.

Rob Schulte, '19 (NJ)

Barbara Taylor, '19 (CO) Barbara was named the 2020 History Teacher of the Year for Colorado by The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.

Marcee Treadway Hinds, '19 (AL) Marcee was named the 2020 History Teacher of the Year for Alabama by The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.

2021

Issac W. Farhadian, '21 (CA) Isaac has been awarded the Champion of Civics Award, which is co-sponsored by Chief Justice Tani G. Cantil-Sakauye and State Superintendent of Public Instruction Tony Thurmond, recognizing outstanding leaders and educators throughout California for their commitment to civics education inside and outside the classroom.

New Book Release

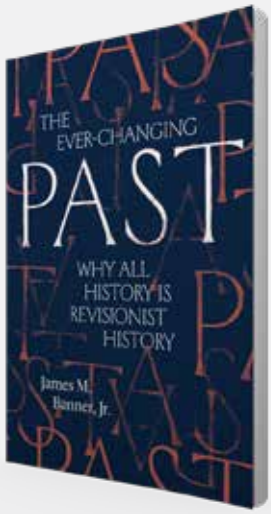
The Ever-Changing Past: Why All History is Revisionist History

BY JAMES M. BANNER, JR.

Yale University Press

299 Pages | $23

James M. Banner, Jr., Ph.D., former Director of Academics at the James Madison Foundation, has released his newest book entitled *The Ever-Changing Past: Why All History is Revisionist History.* Dr. Banner's book was praised by Gordon S. Wood as a "wise, erudite, and perhaps most important, a clearly written examination of the ways historians go about their craft of interpreting and reinterpreting the past." *The Ever-Changing Past* is now available from Yale University Press.



American History Videos: *Constitutional Conversations!*

Did you know we have a YouTube page?

James Madison Fellows, other teachers, and people from around the world are viewing multiple episodes of the Foundation's video series, Constitutional Conversations. Funded by generous grants from the Fairleigh S. Dickinson Jr. Foundation as well as the James Madison Education Fund, Inc., each of these videos replicates one or more lectures of the Summer Institute course, Foundations of American Constitutionalism. Find them on our Youtube page, American History Videos, at **www.youtube.com/user/MadisonFoundation**.

Check out our two newest *Constitutional Conversations*:

Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom

Featuring Dr. David W. Blight interviewed by Dr. Jeffry Morrison

Dr. David W. Blight speaks to Dr. Morrison about about the life and thought of Frederick Douglass. Blight acquired new letters by Douglass from a private collector which helped inform his thoughts and write a new book on how Douglass perceived the Constitution. During the interview, Blight speaks about the notions of the Constitution being pro- or anti-slavery, and which Douglass believed was the correct understanding of the document. Blight and Morrison also discuss Douglass's views, friendships, feuds, and interactions with other famous figures of the era, including William Lloyd Garrison, Abraham Lincoln, and Susan B. Anthony.

Friends Divided: John Adams and Thomas Jefferson

featuring Dr. Gordon Wood being interviewed by Dr. Jeffry Morrison

Dr. Wood discusses the topic of his most recent book: the friendship and subsequent falling out of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. The two were initially united in their radicalism, eager to break from Britain well before most, and they became good friends when they served diplomatic missions together in England and France. However, they fundamentally differed as to the function of the national government, and their rivalry was cemented with the rise of their respective political parties—the Republicans and the Federalists—and the Revolution of 1800. Dr. Wood goes on to analyze both the similarities and differences in Jefferson's and Adams's manner of thinking, political views, and legacies.

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