

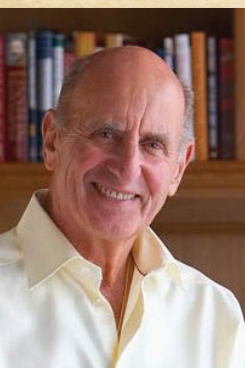


The DECLARATION

"An investment in knowledge pays the best interest." Benjamin Franklin

Summer 2014

CHAIRMAN'S MESSAGE



Teaching Liberty

By Jack Miller

Almost every day there is an article or two in the paper about how our education system is failing. It is not uncommon to see headlines such as "American Students are Falling Behind the Rest of the World in Math and Science."

The latest complaint is that our universities are overcharging and not preparing students for the world of work. As a result, young people are graduating with a mountain of debt and poor job prospects. And on and on they go. And they might be right. But what I haven't seen is a single article on the success or failure of our schools teaching "liberty."

Our most important document, the Declaration of Independence, clearly lays out our mission, our core beliefs, in the few brief words, "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." And of those three, liberty is the linchpin, the basis on which all else depends. Freedom of the individual is what differentiated our country from every other country back in 1776 and, to a large degree, still does.

Continued on page 22

Opportunity Fund Anchors New Growth Strategy

JMC to Invest in Campuses with the Greatest Opportunity to Advance Studies in America's Founding Principles and History

Thanks to a generous gift from Dick Uihlein, JMC established the Opportunity Fund earlier this year.

Mr. Uihlein is the CEO of Uline, a leading distributor of packaging materials with headquarters in Wisconsin.

Mr. Uihlein's \$10 million lead gift is a significant first step in our effort to raise \$40 million to vastly expand major campus programs dedicated to the study of America's founding principles and history. JMC is seeking the help of other donors to reach the \$40 million goal and ensure the success of this aggressive growth strategy.

The Opportunity Fund will allow JMC to support the evolution of the most promising campus programs into major hubs for the study of the Founding era.

"This fund will not only place programs

on solid footing long-term, it will allow us to help programs expand to become a significant presence on college campuses, their communities, and serve as a model for schools across the country," said Dr. Michael Andrews, JMC executive officer and vice president of academic programs.

Money in the fund will be invested in carefully selected programs across the nation that demonstrate the most potential to grow and have a substantial impact.

Through research and analysis, JMC's academic staff has identified programs that have faculty committed to these studies, support from administration, and significant donor interest in investing in these programs.

The Opportunity Fund will also support the creation of new programs on additional campuses where a strong potential for success exists.

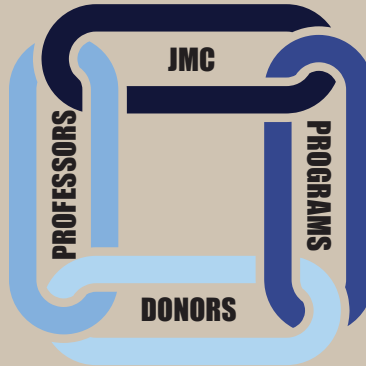
Continued on page 19



JMC STRATEGY

BUILD A COMMUNITY OF

PROFESSORS committed to providing this education. These professors will be the primary engines for change, expanding student access to courses and other opportunities to learn. Miller Summer Institutes, our postdoctoral fellowships, regional seminars such as our Jeffersonian Seminars, as well as programs including reunions and panels at national professional conferences allow us to expand and deepen our relationships with these professors.



CONDUCT NATIONAL PROGRAMS

that no individual professor or campus would be able to do independently. These include the Constitution Day Initiative to focus attention on this education and its advocates; the journal, *American Political Thought*, that provides a platform for the scholarship of professors who dedicate their careers to this teaching; and annual summits that provide occasions for the directors of Miller campus partner programs and others to learn from one another and to work together.

DEVELOP A NETWORK OF PARTNER PROGRAMS

that will sustain this teaching on individual campuses. As the number of partner programs grows, we can leverage their impact through the “network effect” as professors find opportunities to work together to advance this vital education and scholarship.

SUPPORT A COMMUNITY OF DONORS with research and services that allow them to invest in this higher education intelligently with an expectation of both doing good and achieving their individual goals.



The Jack Miller Center partners with faculty, administrators and donors to transform student access to education in American political thought and history, an education that is necessary for informed and engaged citizenship.

IN THIS ISSUE:

Chairman's Message	1
President's Message	3
Partner Program Conferences	4
Q&A with Amity Shlaes	6
2014 Summer Institutes	8
Q&A with Robert Wilburn	10
Scholar's View: Equality	12
Book Reviews	16
Profile: George Washington Forum at Ohio University	18
JMC Fellow Awarded Distinguished Teaching Chair	19
New Equality Video	20
New JMC Website Launched	21
JMC Impact: Phase III Research	22
Constitution Day 2014	23



To Move Academic Programs Forward, JMC Needs to Invest in Growth

Much of the Jack Miller Center's success is the result of a carefully developed and carefully followed business plan from the start of the Miller Project in 2004. In this sense, we are similar to a business start-up.

We secured funding from investors, hired fifteen talented staff members, eight with advanced degrees, six of whom have university teaching experience. Now that we have more than 700 faculty partners on more than 250 campuses, we have a viable project.

And like a successful business start-up, we have reached an inflection point: donor and faculty demand for our products and services exceeds our capacity to deliver. To provide them the support that brings real value to their work, we must take the next step: invest in growth.

We must grow significantly to move forward in our mission to transform student access to education in America's founding principles and history.

We need additional support from donors who believe that JMC brings value to their interests in supporting higher education.

In this issue, you will read about one donor who has made a serious commitment to invest in programs dedicated to the study of the Founding. Earlier this year, Mr. Dick Uihlein made a \$10 million pledge to launch our new JMC Opportunity Fund.

We estimate that another \$30 million will be needed to maximize the potential of the Opportunity Fund. Money from the fund will be used to significantly expand select programs that demonstrate the capability to have major impact on their respective campuses. The fund will also be used to start new programs where we believe there is the highest potential for success.

You will read more about the progress of the Opportunity Fund in the fall edition of *The Declaration*. In the meantime, if you would like to learn more, please contact me. I can be reached at 484-436-2065, or mratliff@gojmc.org.

Very respectfully,

Mike Ratliff, president
Rear Admiral, United States Navy, ret.



"...we have reached an inflection point. We estimate that another \$30 million will be needed to maximize the potential of the Opportunity Fund."



JMC and Huntington Library Hold International Conference on Science, Religion and the Founding



Sir Francis Bacon

With the generous support of the Historical Society, the Jack Miller Center and the Huntington Library held a major international conference in March, “Sacred and Secular Revolutions: The Political and Spiritual Legacies of the Atlantic Enlightenment in the American Founding.”

The conference was the culmination of a two-year collaborative research project on the roles of science, religion, and politics in shaping the American Founding. This project is part of the Historical Society’s international research initiative on “Religion and Innovation in Human Affairs.”

Scholars and guests from across the U.S. and Europe explored how new scientific discoveries and changing notions of faith

and politics during the 17th and 18th centuries had profound significance for the new American republic.

“Jefferson, Franklin, Rush and other framers of the Constitution were preoccupied with the relationships between scientific enquiry, commercial innovation, and the expansion of civil contract and education,” said Dr. Pamela Edwards, JMC director of academic programs.

“Thomas Jefferson named Bacon, Locke and Newton as the three greatest men who ever lived and described America as establishing a new order of the ages. The American experiment expanded and refined the Baconian project as it established the foundations of the modern commercial republic.”

Twelve leading scholars whose research is on the intellectual roots of the American Founding received one-month fellowships to make use of the extensive collection of rare books and manuscripts at the Huntington Library. Scholars presented their findings at the conference, and their research papers will be compiled into an edited volume of essays planned for publication.

The JMC fellowships at the Huntington Library provide scholars the opportunity to explore unparalleled collections of documents from the Founding era. Such opportunities enable scholars to advance the study of American political thought and history while benefiting the next generation of citizens with a deeper understanding of the foundation on which our country was built.

“Such opportunities enable scholars to advance the study of American political thought and history while benefiting the next generation of citizens with a deeper understanding of the foundation on which our country was built.”



“The conference promoted the formation of many new relationships within the academy, introducing scholars to each other who, as many of them commented, ought to have met and collaborated long ago.”

CHRISTENA NIPPERT-ENG, IIT



Genevieve Bell, director of Interaction, Experience and Research at Intel

Conference Explores 18th and 21st Century Innovation and Ideas of the Founding

Creates model for 2015/16 conferences at University of Wisconsin and MIT

“Infrastructures of Creativity: A Conference on Institutions and Innovation in the 18th and 21st Centuries,” was hosted by the Benjamin Franklin Project at the Illinois Institute of Technology in partnership with JMC, and co-sponsored by Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

The conference was made possible through the generous support of the John Templeton Foundation and the Brinson Foundation.

“The event was a model of interdisciplinary exploration of the life of ideas, particularly of the ideas at work in the American Founding and their continued relevance for us today,” said Dr. Pamela Edwards, JMC director of academic programs.

The conference featured anthropologists, historians, legal scholars, sociologists, economists, political scientists, museum curators, and research directors at Intel and Google. Speakers included Michael Scrage, MIT; Paul Starr, Princeton; Adrian Johns, University of Chicago; and Peter Onuf, University of Virginia.

Genevieve Bell, anthropologist and Director of Interaction, Experience and Research at Intel closed the event with an engaging “Silicon Valley” style lecture. Topics involved the connection between the ideas of the 18th century Enlightenment and our own understanding of technology, creativity, experimentation and innovation today.



Q&A

Amity Shlaes on the Importance of Understanding American History



New York Times best-selling author, Amity Shlaes, is a senior fellow and director of the Four Percent Project at the George W. Bush Institute and teaches economics of the 1930s in the MBA program at New York University. Along with numerous articles and op-ed pieces, she is the author of best sellers, *The Forgotten Man: A New History of the Great Depression* and *The Greedy Hand: Why Taxes Drive Americans Crazy*.

JMC: You graduated from Yale University with a bachelor's degree in English and have devoted your career to writing about politics and economics. What sparked your interest in those fields?

AS: In my first jobs, I found the subjects more interesting than the writing. East German money, for example, was worth nothing – it seemed interesting to figure out why. Writing became for me a tool for conveying economics and law – not the other way around.

JMC: In your 2013 best-selling volume *Coolidge*, you argue that politicians who consider running for president in 2016 could learn a great deal from President Calvin Coolidge's achievements. What are those lessons, and how does Coolidge's presidency shape present-day politics?

AS: Coolidge cut the budget over the years. When he left office, after a full 67 months, the budget was actually lower than when he came in. That's rare – today, when politicians speak of a cut, they often mean "a reduction of an increase."

Coolidge also cut tax rates: his final top marginal rate was lower than Ronald Reagan's.

JMC: Why is the Schechter Poultry Case a landmark Supreme Court decision? How is it still relevant to constitutional issues America faces today?

AS: The most far-reaching government agency in the troubled times of the Great Depression was the National Recovery Administration—its codes ran the private economy. In 1935 the High Court overturned the NRA. The case was a small chicken slaughterhouse, Schechter Poultry. After the court found for the Schechters, the NRA itself fell. The justices even punned about that saying the code must go "bone and sinew."

The Schechters themselves compelled, too. They are a good story. They were new immigrants, and their English was not strong. Theirs is the improbable story of an underdog prevailing.

JMC: Why do you believe it is important for college students to learn about American constitutional history and political thought?

AS: Everything we do is based in history. We walk among edifices – the criminal code, or the SEC, or the NLRB, that are the products of history.

So if you operate solely from an engineering, law, or accounting perspective, you are like a blind person. You can manage a familiar path, but on a new path, you trip, because you can't see these recognizable landmarks.

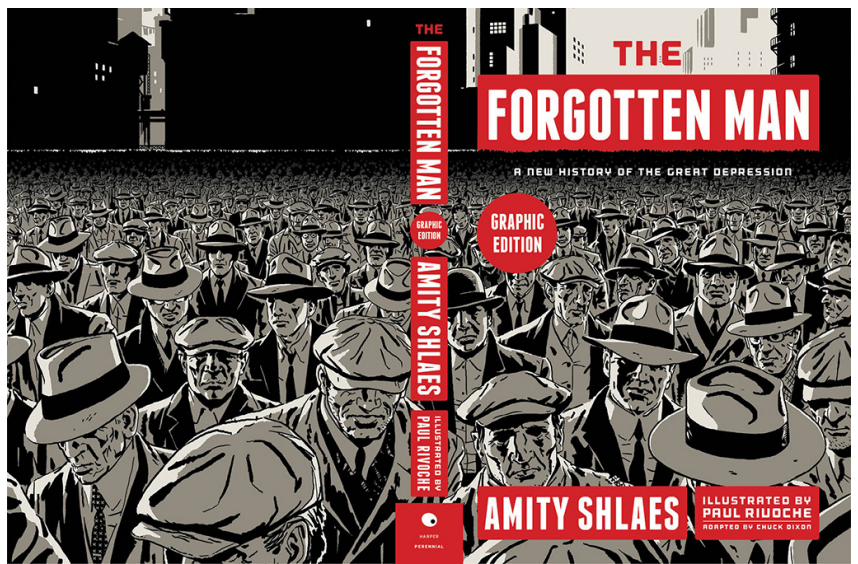
“Everything we do is based in history. We walk among edifices – the criminal code, or the SEC, or the NLRB, that are the products of history.”

JMC: How do you think that American liberal arts institutions could do more to prepare students for citizenship?

AS: Learning the facts, in chronological order, is a good start! Thematic teaching gets confusing. Everyone should shoot for a score in the 600s on the SAT Achievement for US history, or some equivalent, at the END of college, if not in high school. New citizens often know more than native-born Americans, but at least they study for the citizenship test. Our hat is off to them.

It’s good to know how American government works. So, basic civics, the kind you get in high school, but perhaps a more serious variety, would benefit us all. Statistics – if Americans knew them, they’d be less gullible. Four years of history would be great. I favor multiple-choice knowledge, by the way.

Reading isn’t for everyone. Recently we made a cartoon Dick Tracy version of *The Forgotten Man*, my history of the 1930s. *The Forgotten Man Graphic Edition* is for adults, too. I hope people like it.



The Forgotten Man Graphic Edition, available at Amazon.com

A great resource is the material of the Jack Miller Center. Every computer I work on has them book-marked. Nothing is like the original source, which Mr. Miller saw.

JMC Economics and Liberty Lecture Series

“To understand and respect our founding principles and Constitution requires exposure to the history of the United States and a basic understanding of economics,” said Thomas Smith, managing partner, Prescott Investors and a member of JMC’s board of directors. Mr. Smith is providing the funding for a JMC lecture series on economics and liberty that includes Ms. Schlaes as one of the speakers.

It is this kind of generous support from many donors that is critical to JMC’s ambitious plans to help campus partner programs significantly grow. As Jack Miller writes in this issue’s Chairman’s Message, *Teaching Liberty*, beginning on page 1:

“For major expansion of campus programs, we ask donors to consider making substantive, long-term commitments to allow these programs to become a serious presence on campuses and provide models for others across the nation.”

JACK MILLER



John Templeton Foundation Supports JMC Summer Institute to Enrich Pre-Professional Education

Integral Component of JMC’s National, Interdisciplinary Project

ABOUT SUMMER INSTITUTES

The JMC Summer Institute is an intensive ten-day program featuring seminars and panel discussions led by renowned scholars in the fields of American political thought and history, and professional development workshops on topics including research methods and publishing.

The Summer Institute serves as the entry point for young scholars into the JMC community of professors. Nearly 350 scholars have participated to date. These professors are critical to expanding student access to courses on the American Founding and Western tradition.



JMC’s 17th Summer Institute was held June 30 – July 11 in Pasadena in partnership with UCLA. The Pasadena institute was uniquely designed to be an integral component of the Commercial Republic Initiative, JMC’s national, interdisciplinary project with the generous support of the John Templeton Foundation.

The Commercial Republic Initiative aims to broaden pre-professional education to include a vital understanding of the sources and ideas that have shaped the American constitutional order. The institute brought together directors and postdoctoral fellows from each of the six universities participating in the Commercial Republic Initiative—Yale, Northwestern, University of Wisconsin-Madison, UCLA, Illinois Institute of Technology, and MIT—with professors and young scholars who study the Atlantic Enlightenment from the perspectives of American history, political science, law, and economics.

The theme was “Science, Enterprise, and Law in the Making of the Modern Commercial Republic.” Speakers and participants discussed the central ideas of capitalism, commerce, law, science, and enterprise from the views of the American founders and the thinkers who influenced them.

“One of the key outcomes of the Commercial Republic Initiative will be the creation of a national working group of scholars who will be able to re-ground pre-professional education in the humanities,” said Dr. Pamela Edwards, JMC director of academic programs.

“Students graduating in science, engineering, business, and law will form the corporate leadership of the 21st century. A deeper understanding of the moral foundations of markets and law tied to a richer conception of innovation and invention will make students not only more creative entrepreneurs and professionals, it will make them more thoughtful and ethically reflective citizens.”

“Students graduating in science, engineering, business, and law will form the corporate leadership of the 21st century. A deeper understanding of the moral foundations of markets and law ... will make students more creative entrepreneurs and professionals, and more thoughtful and ethically reflective citizens.”



The Summer Institute in Philadelphia will include sessions at the National Constitution Center and the American Philosophical Society.

JMC to Hold New Summer Institute for Graduate Students in American Political Thought and History

JMC's new Summer Institute for graduate students will be held July 29 - August 8 in partnership with the University of Missouri's Forum on Constitutional Democracy and the University of Pennsylvania's Program on Democracy, Citizenship and Constitutionalism.

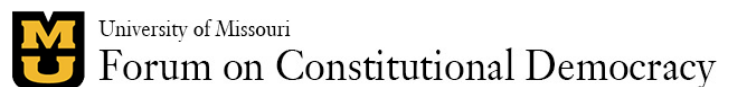
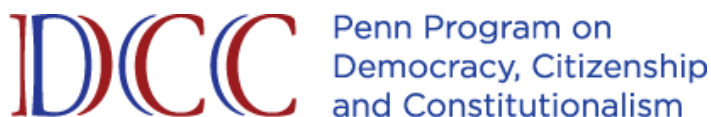
This Summer Institute has been made possible through the generous support of the Kinder Foundation and the Earhart Foundation and will feature special programming at the National Constitution Center and the American Philosophical Society.

For this Institute, JMC tailored a program specifically for graduate students in the fields of American political thought and history. The theme is entitled "Modern Revolutions and the Emergence of the Constitutional Republic."

In addition to the intensive schedule of seminars, workshops, and lectures, this unique program will help new scholars enter the academic job market already integrated into an extensive community of professors and will prepare them for the rigors of academia.

"At JMC, we strive to design programs tailored to the specific needs of students and scholars at every point in their academic careers," said Dr. Michael Andrews, JMC executive officer and vice president.

"In this case, we have devised a Summer Institute to meet the needs of graduate students. This is a great opportunity for them to learn from leading scholars in their fields, to interact with their peers from graduate programs across the country, and to gain practical knowledge about publishing and navigating the academic job market, all of which will be of great benefit to them as they finish their dissertations and embark upon a career in higher education."





Robert Wilburn

Former CEO of the Gettysburg Foundation, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Joins JMC Team



Dr. Robert Wilburn formerly served as CEO of the Gettysburg Foundation, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh; President of Indiana University of Pennsylvania; and Pennsylvania's Secretary of Education. He most recently served as Distinguished Service Professor at Carnegie Mellon University's Heinz College in Washington DC.

Following graduation from the Air Force Academy, he went to work in the Department of Defense and then moved to the White House working on policy development. He earned a master's degree and a PhD in economics and public policy at Princeton.

Dr. Robert Wilburn joined the JMC team late last year as senior counsel and programs advisor. As former CEO of the Gettysburg Foundation, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, and the Carnegie Institute, and having served on numerous non-profit boards, he brings an innovative vision and extensive experience helping non-profit organizations make a profound impact. Dr. Wilburn shares his thoughts on JMC's unique partnership strategy and its potential to significantly impact higher education.

JMC: Dr. Wilburn, your distinguished career has included leadership roles in education, state government and non-profits. How does the work of the Jack Miller Center fit into this impressive background?

RW: This opportunity builds upon everything I've done in the past. My career, although varied, focuses on education and the understanding and appreciation of our past. The JMC and its partners around the country represent great promise to both understand and appreciate what we enjoy in this country today. The programs help us appreciate how we began, how far we've come and where we have to go to truly embrace our country's founding principles.

JMC: Why does JMC's mission—advancing the teaching of America's founding principles and history—resonate with you?

RW: At the Gettysburg and Colonial Williamsburg Foundations, we were painfully aware of the limited knowledge our visitors had of the history of our country, and the interest in history was in steady decline. JMC provides an opportunity to reverse that trend.

JMC: What do you think is JMC's biggest challenge?

RW: Overcoming the disappointing experiences that donors have had with many colleges and universities, especially those that they love. Many have concluded that change is impossible.

JMC: What do you believe are our most promising opportunities?



RW: We have the opportunity to help others invest in higher education and institutions that they love to fund and in programs that they are passionate about. JMC’s talented academic staff can help guide programs to achieve the intended results. We do have an opportunity for transformational change that will result in future generations who are active, informed and involved citizens.

JMC: You successfully engineered a public-private partnership with the National Park Service and the Gettysburg Foundation. What do you think about private investment in public education?

RW: It is important that we focus on the JMC mission. Donors who are investing in public or private education have a right to ensure that the funds are being used as intended and consistent with the mission.

JMC: You most recently served as Distinguished Service Professor at Carnegie Mellon University, teaching graduate students about the interaction between theory and practice in the public sphere. What is your impression of today’s students’ understanding of America’s founding principles?

RW: The ones that I taught were a small, very selected group of graduate students interested in public policy. However, surveys indicate that these students are not representative. At Colonial Williamsburg, we surveyed a cross-section of the population every July 4th, and the results were astounding and depressing. We found that U.S. citizens knew less about the history of the United States than visitors from other countries.

JMC: In your past experiences, organizational growth has been a key objective and accomplishment. How do you view JMC’s record of growth over the past 10 years and what do you see for the future?

RW: I am beyond impressed of what has been accomplished in the past 10 years. If you asked me 10 years ago if a group of scholars put together by Jack Miller could grow into the impressive network of scholars and programs that we have today, I would not have believed it. Not only the rate of growth is increasing, but we can see transformational change in the future.

“If you asked me 10 years ago if a group of scholars put together by Jack Miller could grow into the impressive network of scholars and programs that we have today, I would not have believed it. Not only the rate of growth is increasing, but we can see transformational change in the future.”

Equality

By Stuart Warner

Professor Stuart Warner is one of four leading scholars featured in the new JMC video on Equality (see article page 20). His essay on equality in our Scholar’s View series recounts both his personal experience and academic understanding of the concept.



Stuart Warner

“I remember even when young I had some dim recognition of the disparity between what we were pledging to—liberty and justice for all—and the assumptions of superiority and inferiority that saturated everyday life.”

My birth was coeval with the birth of the Civil Rights Movement. I grew up on New York Avenue, in the Flatbush section of Brooklyn, as a secular Jew, in a predominantly Irish and Italian Catholic neighborhood. Racial and ethnic slurs were plentiful and uttered both with a sense of superiority and impunity. There was only one other Jewish family on the block, but they were an older conservative family, and had almost nothing to do with anyone else.

Thus, among the many boys on the block with whom I played various games, I was singled out for being a *kike*, along with several other derogatory names, and as such there was always more than an undercurrent of understanding that I was inferior to the others.

The most virulent and epithet-laced treatment, however, was reserved for the black family—with one boy around my age, whom I knew as Whit—who lived on the corner. They had had trouble getting a loan and insurance to purchase their house but, through diligent effort, some courage, and a friendly bank, they had managed to break the color barrier of the neighborhood.

LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL

As best I can remember, almost everyone, with the exception of myself and the young black boy, attended parochial and not public schools. At this time, public school days began with the Pledge of Allegiance—*I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all*—and I remember even when young I had some dim recognition of the disparity between what we were pledging to—liberty and justice *for all*—and the assumptions of superiority and inferiority that saturated everyday life.

And while the word equality did not appear, that is exactly what the words *for all*



pointed to: we were pledging allegiance to an ideal in which everyone equally was able to live freely and would be treated justly.

This ideal was articulated somewhat differently, of course, but with greater intellectual acuity, sophistication, and influence, in the *Declaration of Independence*—in particular, the opening lines of the second paragraph: *We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.*

The first truth specified here is about equality—and because we are equal, we share equally in being human, the fundamental rights that we possess are held equally: we are said to be equal with respect to our lives, our liberties, and our diverse pursuits of happiness.

CONCEPT OF EQUALITY

The Declaration binds equality and liberty tightly together: these two ideas are not anathema to each other—rather, they are part and parcel of a certain vision and possibility of political life.

And if one examines the two greatest books written in the English language on political philosophy, Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651) and John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* (1690) (the latter of which had a profound impact on the writing of the *Declaration*), one will see that a discussion of the equality of human beings precedes and grounds the discussions in those works of political liberty.

Now, it is of paramount importance to recognize that the concept of equality is both a relational and relative one. That equality is a relational notion is readily apparent by considering how it functions in mathematics. Both in mathematics and elsewhere it doesn't make sense to speak of equality outside of relationships that things (or people) might have to each other.

But equality is also a relative notion—that is, things are equal to each other in certain respects but not others: so, people might be equal to each other in weight, but not in height; people might be equal to each other in certain of their interests, for example, reading, but not in others, for example, camping, however we might measure this; *et cetera*.

“The Declaration binds equality and liberty tightly together: these two ideas are not anathema to each other—rather, they are part and parcel of a certain vision and possibility of political life.”

Continued

Equality

Continued from page 13

Because equality is both relational and relative, it can be spoken of in an infinite number of ways, with some of these ways being vastly more significant to us than others: indeed, the last fifty years of American life have been marked by an ever growing appreciation of *inequality*, that is, the value of differences among human beings, ways in which we joyfully aren't equal. However, we don't speak of inequality here as much as we speak of diversity, difference, individuality, and, with a nod to popular culture, "doing your own thing."

Connected to the differences we find among human beings and the value we place upon them, throughout our daily lives we look for the best chef, the best tailor, the best barista, the best cell phone, the best ear buds, the best soccer player: in each of these cases, one person is not equal in a significant and relevant respect to the others. Thus, talk of equality *per se*, without indicating the form of equality in question, is almost always empty chatter, and is often a rhetorical device aimed at advancing one ideological cause or another.

So where does equality matter? What are the equalities that matter most? These are the questions anyone interested in the idea of equality must ask.

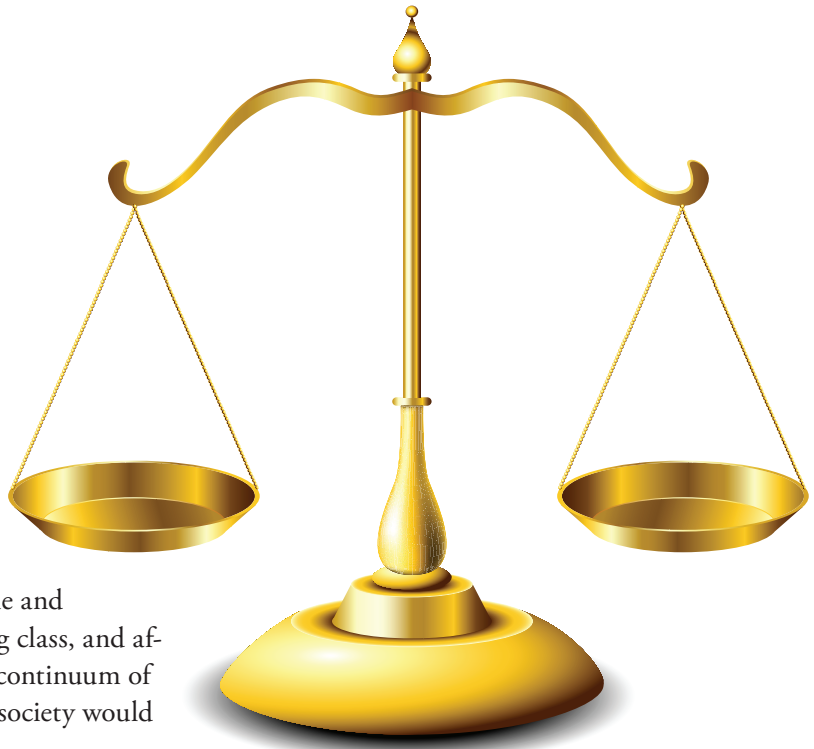
SHIFT IN THE VIEW OF EQUALITY

At the onset of the Civil Rights Movement and prior to that in the decades following the Great War, the equality that mattered most was equality before the law—that is, the liberties and obligations of men and women of all colors, religions, and creeds should be equal—followed by equality of opportunity, which was principally located in matters having to do with public education. It was a well considered understanding that as long as the law applied to all the same (more exactly, that like cases would be treated alike), and as long as public education provided opportunities of learning, that a broad range of opportunities would be open to people to advance their lives, intellectually and materially.

Of course, one thing that has been driven home to us in the last half century is the overwhelming importance of family life (and institutions of local communities) in providing and facilitating opportunities that would be afforded to individuals.

However, over the course of the last three decades or so, and especially in the last five years, the form of equality that has garnered the most attention, and has been the most contentious, has been equality of wealth. A shift from focusing on the *means* of material well-being—equality before the law and equality of opportunity—to equality of material well-being itself has taken place. This shift raises a hornet's nest of issues, empirical and theoretical, and moral, political, and economic, that are pivotal for those who care about free societies.

"Whereas for both Hobbes and Locke, equality and liberty could walk hand in hand, the movement advocating in favor of greater equality of wealth appears to have taken us to a precipice where that union might fall and be rent asunder."



Whereas for both Hobbes and Locke, equality and liberty could walk hand in hand, the movement advocating in favor of greater equality of wealth appears to have taken us to a precipice where that union might fall and be rent asunder. Nevertheless, we would do well to remember that both David Hume and Adam Smith articulated the importance of a middling class, and affirmed the position that without such a class and the continuum of wealth with the rich and poor that it provided, a free society would not be possible.

CHILDHOOD LESSONS

Several years ago a colleague whose field is African-American history recommended that I read John Hope Franklin's autobiography. Franklin had recently been awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, and since I enjoy the autobiographies of professors, I dipped into it. After not too long, I started reading about his young boy, Whit, and then about Franklin's being appointed as chair of the Department of History at Brooklyn College. A few pages later, I found a photograph of Franklin's home in Brooklyn . . . on New York Avenue. As a young boy I just knew there was a black family living on the corner, with a boy named Whit. Imagine my utter shock and surprise to discover, long after the fact, this was the family of John Hope Franklin! Suffice it to say that my neighbors referred to them by terms other than their last names.

In the midst of his narrative, Franklin recounts how he and his wife would frequently take Whit to the various museums of New York City. Whit—more formally, John W. Franklin—attended Stanford, and currently is Director of Partnerships and International Programs for the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of African-American History and Culture. Upon learning who this family was, and the boy who I knew, I became more convinced than I had ever been that the circumstances of my childhood contained many lessons about equality and inequality, and about family and opportunity.

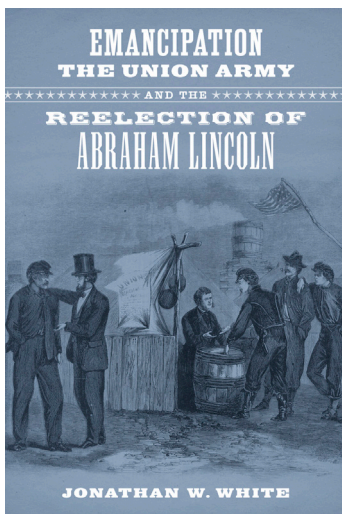
Professor Warner teaches in the philosophy department at Roosevelt University in Chicago. He also serves as the director of The Montesquieu Forum, JMC's partner program at Roosevelt that facilitates and furthers the study of the European heritage informing the American founding period.



Emancipation, the Union Army, and the Reelection of Abraham Lincoln

By Jonathan W. White

Louisiana State University Press, 2014



The Union army's overwhelming vote for Abraham Lincoln's reelection in 1864 has led many Civil War scholars to conclude that the soldiers supported the Republican Party and its effort to abolish slavery.

In *Emancipation, the Union Army, and the Reelection of Abraham Lincoln* Jonathan W. White challenges this reigning paradigm in Civil War historiography, arguing instead that the soldier vote in the presidential election of 1864 is not a reliable index of the army's ideological motivation or political sentiment.

Although 78 percent of the soldiers' votes were cast for Lincoln, White contends that this was not wholly due to a political or social conversion to the Republican Party. Rather, he argues, historians have ignored mitigating factors such as voter turnout, intimidation at the polls, and how soldiers voted in nonpresidential elections in 1864.

While recognizing that many soldiers changed their views on slavery and emancipation during the war, White suggests that a considerable number still rejected the Republican platform, and that many who voted for Lincoln disagreed with his views on slavery. He likewise explains that many northerners considered a vote for the Democratic ticket as treasonous and an admission of defeat.

Using previously untapped court-martial records from the National Archives, as well as manuscript collections from across the country, White convincingly revises many commonly held assumptions about the Civil War era and provides a deeper understanding of the Union Army.

Source: amazon.com



Jonathan White is assistant professor of American Studies and a fellow at the Center for American Studies, a JMC partner program, at Christopher Newport University. His research interests include the US Constitution, the American Civil War and treason in American history. Professor White was a Jack Miller Center postdoctoral fellow, 2009-2011.



Virtue is Knowledge: The Moral Foundation of Socratic Political Philosophy

By Lorraine Pangle
University of Chicago Press, 2014

The relation between virtue and knowledge is at the heart of the Socratic view of human excellence, but it also points to a central puzzle of the Platonic dialogues: Can Socrates be serious in his claims that human excellence is constituted by one virtue, that vice is merely the result of ignorance, and that the correct response to crime is therefore not punishment but education? Or are these assertions mere rhetorical ploys by a notoriously complex thinker?

Lorraine Smith Pangle traces the argument for the primacy of virtue and the power of knowledge throughout the five dialogues that feature them most prominently—the *Apology*, *Gorgias*, *Protagoras*, *Meno*, and *Laws*—and reveals the truth at the core of these seemingly strange claims.

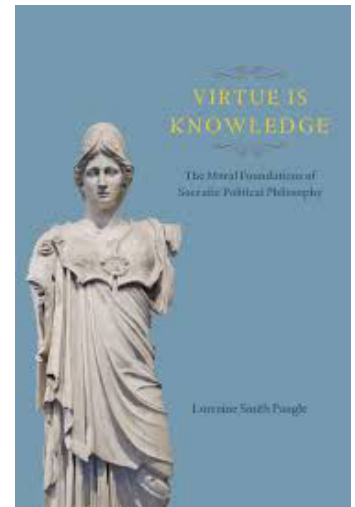
She argues that Socrates was more aware of the complex causes of human action and of the power of irrational passions than a cursory reading might suggest. Pangle's perceptive analyses reveal that many of Socrates's teachings in fact explore the factors that make it difficult for humans to be the rational creatures that he at first seems to claim.

Also critical to Pangle's reading is her emphasis on the political dimensions of the dialogues. Underlying many of the paradoxes, she shows, is a distinction between philosophic and civic virtue that is critical to understanding them.

Ultimately, Pangle offers a radically unconventional way of reading Socrates's views of human excellence: Virtue is not knowledge in any ordinary sense, but true virtue is nothing other than wisdom.

Source: amazon.com

Lorraine Pangle is an associate professor in the Department of Government at University of Texas-Austin. She and her husband, Professor Thomas Pangle, are co-directors of the Thomas Jefferson Center for the Study of Core Texts and Ideas at UT, a JMC partner program. She is a member of JMC's Academic Council.





PARTNER PROGRAM PROFILE



GEORGE WASHINGTON

F O R U M



Robert Ingram

“No Jack Miller Center, no George Washington Forum. It’s that simple. Mike Andrews and Pamela Edwards encouraged our first efforts in setting up the Washington Forum. JMC gatherings, whether at the Summer Institutes or the annual summits, have helped to foster a sense of community that would have been impossible otherwise.”

*Ohio University’s
George Washington Forum:*

Civic Education, Liberal Education, Intellectual Diversity

The *George Washington Forum* (GWF) at Ohio University began operating in fall 2010 under the direction of Professor Robert Ingram. In addition to its role of promoting undergraduate study on the roots of the American Founding, the Forum organizes a variety of conferences and public lectures. Events feature experts on themes from American history and the Founding to politics and current events.

Beyond their impact on students and the local community, a number of scholarly publications are forthcoming as a result of these gatherings.

Later this year, University of Virginia Press will be publishing *Between Sovereignty and Anarchy: The Politics of Violence in the American Revolutionary Era*, a book based on GWF conferences on American and Western history held in spring 2010.

In early 2015, papers that originated from a November 2013 GWF conference on Equality and Public Policy will be published by Cambridge University Press in an issue of *Social Philosophy and Policy* and later as a book.

In addition to its conferences and speaker series, the GWF hosts postdoctoral fellows who teach courses on American politics and the Founding era.

Most recently, Christopher Barker held the Thomas W. Smith Postdoctoral Fellowship position in U.S. Legal and Constitutional History for 2012-2014. Professor Barker has accepted a tenure-track position in political science at Southwestern University in Kansas to begin this fall.

For promising students, the Forum awards undergraduate research fellowships. Undergraduate fellows assist professors with editing and research and are mentored by the professors along the way.

Fellows also have the privilege to meet and have lunch with public servants, professors and other experts brought in by the GWF.

After graduation, GWF research fellows have moved on to fields in public service as well as prestigious graduate programs, such as Yale Law School, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill and Princeton University.

To learn more about the *George Washington Forum*, please visit www.gwfohio.org.



Jeremy Bailey

JMC Fellow Awarded Distinguished Teaching Chair at University of Houston



Jeremy Bailey has been awarded the Ross M. Lence Distinguished Teaching Chair at the University of Houston, where he holds a dual appointment in the Department of Political Science and the Honors College. He is the recent winner of the University's Provost Core Teaching Excellence Award.

Professor Bailey joined our community of professors in 2006 and has participated in a number of JMC conferences and events. He teaches courses on American political thought and development, political theory, and constitutionalism.

Bailey is the author of *Thomas Jefferson and Executive Power* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), "The New Unitary Executive and Democratic Theory," (*American Political Science Review*, 2008), and coauthor of *The Contested Removal Power, 1789-2010* (University Press of Kansas, 2013).

His research has also been published in *Review of Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, *American Politics Research*, *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy*, and *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*.

Professor Bailey is now working on a book on James Madison and the problem of constitutional imperfection, as well as collaborating with colleague Brandon Rottinghaus on a project on unilateral orders and the presidency.

Opportunity Fund Anchors New Growth Strategy

Continued from page 1

"Dick Uihlein has been a consistent supporter from the beginning. His lead gift is a game-changer for our project," said Admiral Mike Ratliff, JMC president. "Now our challenge is to multiply Dick's gift with support of many other donors so that this fund can reach its full potential to help drive transformative change in higher education."

Since 2007 JMC has built a national community of professors, a growing network of partner programs and national programs such as our annual summit and journal that provide support for education on the American Founding. JMC support has helped to launch and/or strengthen more than 50 programs at elite institutions, flagship state universities and leading liberal arts colleges.

DICK UIHLEIN: INVESTMENT AND GROWTH

Liz and Dick Uihlein started Uline from their basement in 1980. Uline has steadily grown and today is a leading distributor of shipping, industrial and packing materials to businesses throughout North America. The company, with headquarters in Pleasant Prairie, Wisconsin, employs more than 3,500 employees and continues to be a family owned and run business.

Mr. Uihlein, a Stanford University graduate with a major in history, has long been a generous supporter of JMC partner programs at the University of Wisconsin, Lake Forest College, Carthage College and Cornell University.

With funding from Mr. Uihlein, JMC established the Uihlein Fellow at its head-

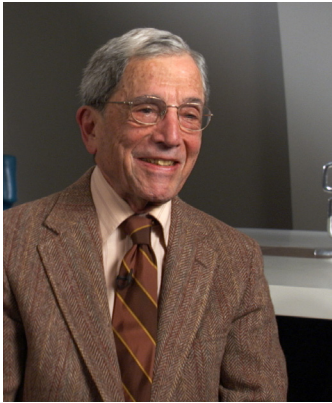
quarters. The position is held by Ms. Emily Koons who leads JMC's unique research and analysis program to determine the potential to successfully launch and grow academic programs on college campuses.

"As Liz and I have learned from our experience in business, continuous growth is critical to long-term success. You have to keep moving forward or you risk falling behind your competition," said Mr. Uihlein.

"I am glad to help the JMC support major growth of programs. I am hopeful that other donors will step up and help in this important project and also take advantage of the kind of donor support JMC has provided me in focusing my investments in higher education over the past decade."



Leading Scholars Featured in New Video on Equality



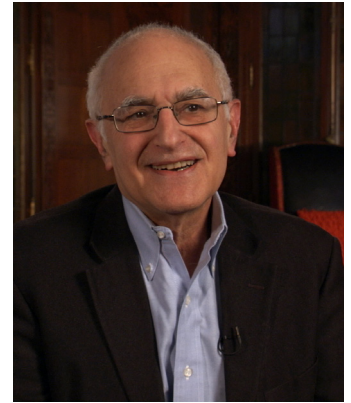
Ralph Lerner, University of Chicago



James Ceaser, University of Virginia



Stuart Warner, Roosevelt University



Michael Zuckert, University of Notre Dame

As part of JMC's growing online resource center, we completed the second video in a series on the Declaration of Independence for use by students, members of the JMC network, faculty members, and anyone interested in America's founding documents.

The theme of our new video is equality, one of the famous "self-evident" truths announced at the beginning of the Declaration of Independence. So, what did the Founders mean by equality? Did they understand it differently than we do? And how might the Founders shed light on our own concerns with equality today?

We put these and other questions to four of the nation's leading scholars of American political thought: James Ceaser, University of Virginia; Michael Zuckert, University of Notre Dame; Ralph Lerner, University of Chicago; and Stuart Warner, Roosevelt University.

"We saw a pressing need for high-quality videos on *the* foundational document in the American political experience, the Declaration of Independence," said Dr. Michael Andrews, JMC executive officer and vice president of academic programs. "We believe that our video series will be of great benefit to students, teachers and life-long learners."

The JMC online resource center provides model syllabi, helpful links, notable videos and essays related to American political and constitutional thought.

Production of the third video in the series will begin later this year.

To watch the video, please visit the JMC online resource center at www.jackmillercenter.org/resources/equality-declaration.

"What the Founders [were] interested in, what the Declaration of Independence was interested in, was not a question of economic equality but of political equality. Because if you were equal under the rule of law and you work hard... you have the capacity to improve your own circumstance."

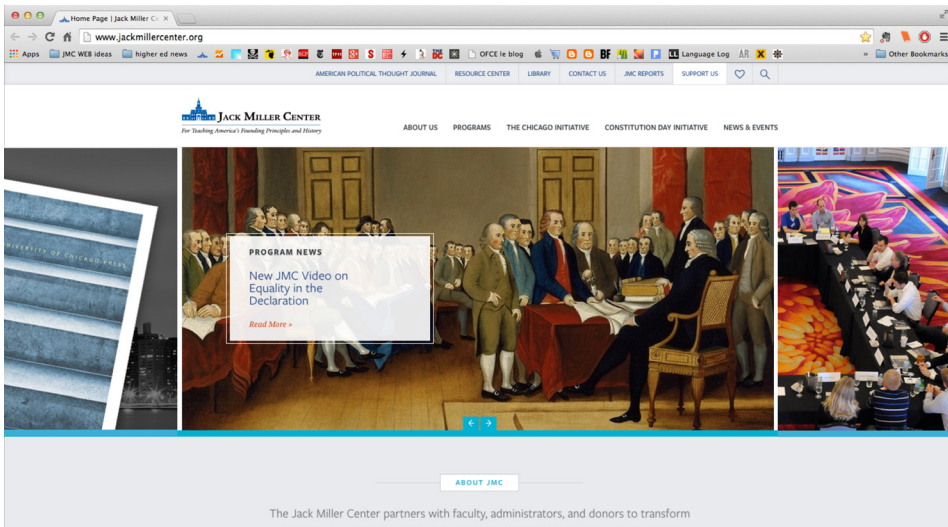
STUART WARNER
JMC EQUALITY VIDEO



Redesigned Website Offers Educational Resources for Faculty, Students and Public

JMC debuted its completely redesigned website in early April. Clarity, organization and ease of use were all priorities in creating the new site.

“There is a great deal of research behind building the site. Along with our own research, we enlisted the help of experts, contracted with Push10 Design Studios in Philadelphia, and got impressions from a sampling of viewers,” said Dr. Randal Hendrickson, JMC director of faculty development. “The result is a website second to none in terms of usability, organization and viewer experience.”



“A great resource is the material of the Jack Miller Center [website]. Every computer I work on has them bookmarked.”

AMITY SHLAES
AUTHOR

The site now employs responsive design, which allows it to adapt to any screen from televisions and laptops down to tablets and phones. Navigation has been made more intuitive by adopting the long scroll method to which most users are now accustomed.

Relevant current events, essays, book reviews and other scholarly publications are featured regularly, and can be found on the home page and in the News and Events section.

Most importantly, the website includes an ever-expanding online resource center that benefits students and scholars alike. Videos and other resource materials are designed to spark interest in and discussion on the Founding among students and provide material for use by professors in the classroom.

The website is now the digital hub for JMC’s educational efforts. And it has great potential for growth. Our supporters, community of professors and the public are encouraged to take full advantage of its resources.

WWW.JACKMILLERCENTER.ORG



CHAIRMAN'S MESSAGE

Teaching Liberty

Continued from page 1

In this on-going discussion of our “failing” education system, we should be just as focused on teaching our young people about the concept of liberty, of living as a free individual, a free people.

I believe that good schools can make a major difference, and we need to do all we can to help them. But it is not just math or science or job skills that they should be teaching. To uphold our freedoms and fulfill the promise of the Declaration of Independence, we must ensure that college students graduate with an understanding and appreciation of our founding principles.

And that is what the Jack Miller Center is all about. Our mission is to get the teaching of America’s founding principles, and the history of our progress toward fully realizing those principles, back into the curricula.

Now, ten years into the project, we can point to tremendous successes:

- More than 700 professors in our nationwide faculty community on more than 250 campuses;

- Support for academic programs of excellence on 53 college campuses;
- Support for 111 postdoctoral fellowships;
- A great website with wonderful content and a growing online resource center.

You can read all about these and many other wonderful programs on our website: jackmillercenter.org.

We are grateful for our many faculty partners, the support of administrators and certainly our many donors whose support is making all of this happen. Our unique strategy of a transparent, close partnership based on our “Steward, Shepherd, Evaluate” system is connecting with donors who want to make sure their money is used as intended and with great effectiveness.

But all of this is just a beginning. We have a long way to go to really make a significant and lasting impact.

For major expansion of campus programs, we ask donors to consider

making substantive, long-term commitments to allow these programs to become a serious presence on campuses and provide models for others across the nation. You can read about one such donor, Dick Uihlein, on page 19.

With that, let me sign off with the wish that all of you continue to enjoy your Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness thanks to the foresight and courage of our founders, and to all who keep that vision alive.

Jack Miller

Chairman

“America will never be destroyed from the outside. If we falter and lose our freedoms, it will be because we destroyed ourselves.”

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Measuring Impact of JMC Programs

Research Firm Completes Phase Three of Evaluation

Continuous improvement is critical for JMC to achieve its goals among its wide variety of academic programs. For the most accurate and objective data, JMC hired Huron Consulting Group, a leading research firm that works with colleges and universities across the country.

In phase three of their four-phase study, researchers interviewed faculty members to get their anonymous views on program effectiveness. We received feedback that included strategies for establishing new programs and expanding existing ones, and suggestions on areas where we should build or improve.

A few of the comments from study participants:

“The impact [the Jack Miller Center] has had on this campus has been overwhelmingly positive and beneficial.”

“[Summer Institutes] are one of the most successful parts of the program...They really help to create a cohort of young people coming out of grad school who can help to make a difference.”

“[The *American Political Thought* journal] is already on solid footing and has filled a vacuum in American political thought.”

Phase four of the study, slated for later this year, will involve a large scale survey administered to faculty nationwide to provide us with statistical analysis of JMC programs.



CONSTITUTION DAY INITIATIVE

JMC to Support Constitution Day Programs on 35 Campuses

“When I met with JMC, it spoke to me on all levels that it was something we wanted to support. It’s about bringing back the teaching of the history of our country...”

ANDREA WAITT CARLTON,
ANDREA WAITT CARLTON FAMILY FOUNDATION



Andrea Waitt Carlton

Thanks in part to the generous support from the Andrea Waitt Carlton Family Foundation, JMC will provide thirty-five grants for Constitution Day programs in 2014.

JMC launched the Constitution Day Initiative (CDI) in 2011 to assist colleges and universities in providing educational programs in observance of Constitution Day, September 17. JMC has supported over 100 programs on campuses across the country since its inception.

By congressional mandate, colleges that receive federal funds are required to hold an educational program each year on Constitution Day. These events are excellent opportunities to involve the larger student body in considering the history and role of the Constitution in American society.

Because many schools lack the resources to mount a substantive program, JMC offers competitive grants and event

production consultation to support their efforts. JMC also assists scholars in raising public awareness of Constitution Day through regional and national publications.

With the additional resources, colleges host leading historians, political scientists, and legal scholars on campuses to engage students in discussions on historical topics, such as the Founder’s constitution and the constitutional legacy of Abraham Lincoln, and on contemporary issues, such as political, economic, and religious liberties and the jurisprudence of the Supreme Court.

“Constitution Day events remind both students and faculty of the centrality of the Constitution in the American experience, both then and now,” said Professor Dan Cullen, JMC senior fellow in constitutional studies. Professor Cullen oversees the Constitution Day Initiative. He teaches political philosophy and the humanities and co-directs The Project for the Study of Liberal Democracy at Rhodes College.

JMC Welcomes New Donor Programs Manager



Qurisha Hendrickson joined JMC in May 2014 as manager, donor programs. She is primarily responsible for production of JMC’s annual report and quarterly newsletters. She also supports a wide variety of communications efforts and other services for donors.

Qurisha spent 15 years in the medical field before joining JMC.



JACK MILLER CENTER

For Teaching America's Founding Principles and History

THREE BALA PLAZA WEST, SUITE 401
BALA CYNWYD, PA 19004

WWW.JACKMILLERCENTER.ORG
484.436.2067

If you are interested in making a donation to the JMC's planned giving program, please contact Mike Deshaies, vice president of donor programs, at mdeshaies@gojmc.org or 484.436.2067.

UPCOMING EVENTS

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| July 29-Aug 8 | GRADUATE STUDENT SUMMER INSTITUTE; Philadelphia, PA |
| August 27-28 | JEFFERSONIAN SEMINAR; Washington D.C. |
| August 28-31 | AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING; Washington D.C. |
| August 29 | JMC RECEPTION AT APSA ANNUAL MEETING; Washington D.C. |
| September 17 | CONSTITUTION DAY EVENTS TO BE HELD ON 35 CAMPUSES ACROSS THE UNITED STATES |
| October 9 | LECTURE, ALISON LACROIX, author of <i>The Ideological Origins of American Federalism;</i> Northwestern University, Evanston, IL |
| October 16-18 | ASSOCIATION FOR POLITICAL THEORY ANNUAL CONFERENCE; University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI |
| October 20 | STEPHEN MOORE DEBATE WITH PROFESSOR ALBERTO COLL on the European Union and its effect on human freedom, Economics and Liberty Lecture Series; DePaul University, Chicago, IL |
| October 23 | AMITY SHLAES LECTURE; Economics and Liberty Lecture Series; Villanova University, Villanova, PA |
| Oct 29-30 | 11TH ANNUAL JMC NATIONAL SUMMIT ON HIGHER EDUCATION; Chicago, IL |
| November 13-14 | CONFERENCE, THE GALILEO-SHAKESPEARE PROJECT, co-sponsors: the <i>Montesquieu Forum</i> , Roosevelt University and the <i>Benjamin Franklin Project</i> , Illinois Institute of Technology; Roosevelt University, Chicago, IL |
| November 20 | CHARLES MURRAY LECTURE, Economics and Liberty Lecture Series; Villanova University, Villanova, PA |