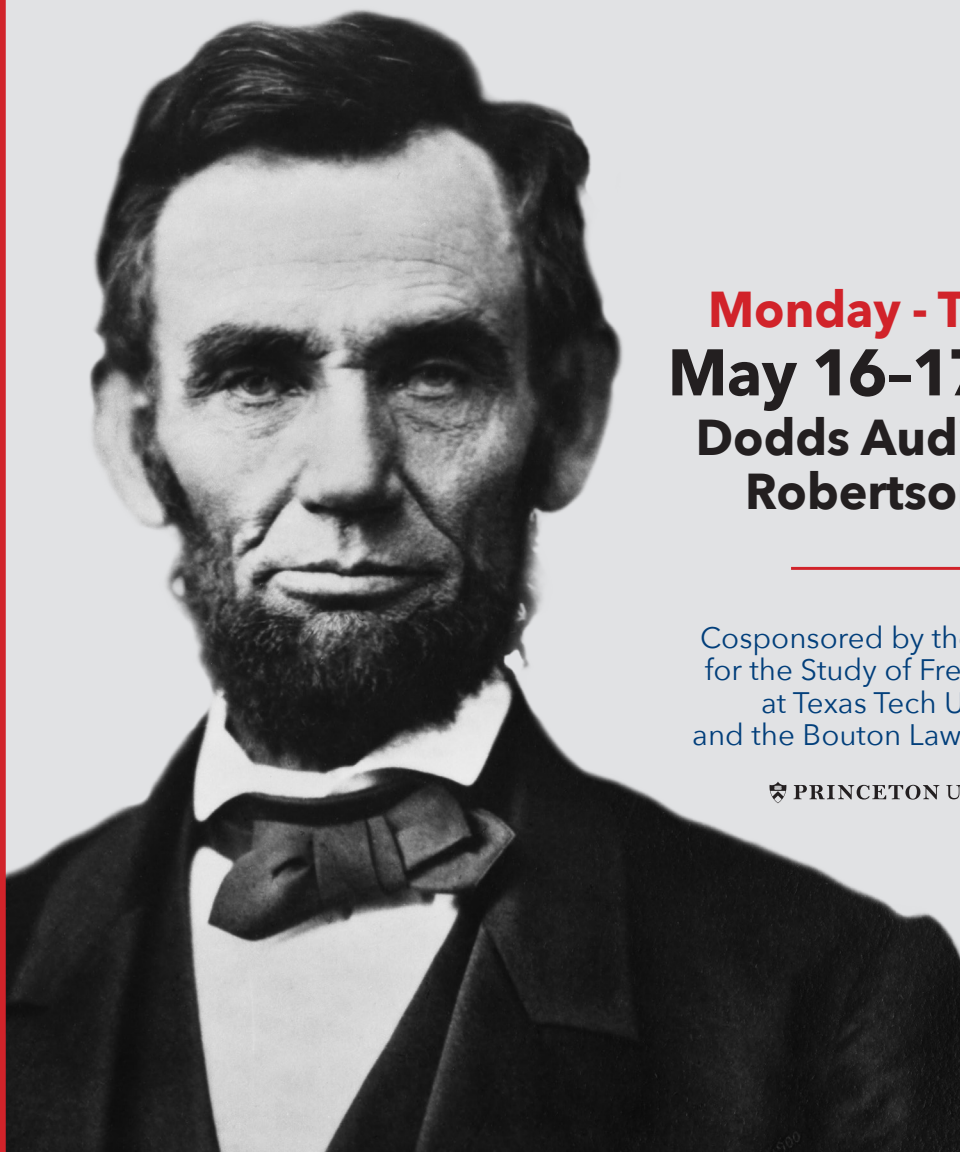


James Madison Program
in American Ideals and Institutions

THE ROBERT J. GIUFFRA '82 ANNUAL CONFERENCE

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND STATESMANSHIP:

Reconstructing the Law of the Constitution



Monday - Tuesday
May 16-17, 2016
Dodds Auditorium,
Robertson Hall

Cosponsored by the Association
for the Study of Free Institutions
at Texas Tech University
and the Bouton Law Lecture Fund

 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

THE ROBERT J. GIUFFRA '82 CONFERENCE ON ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND AMERICAN STATESMANSHIP RECONSTRUCTING THE LAW OF THE CONSTITUTION

It is a sobering reflection that the progress of free institutions has often come at the cost of much blood spilled in the midst of rebellion and civil war. This is true of the great movements toward freedom and self-government in England, France, and America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And it is most spectacularly true of America's movement to limit and then end slavery in the middle of the nineteenth century, which happened only through a civil war that killed more Americans than all of the nation's other wars put together. Each of these eruptions of political violence, however, could advance the cause of freedom only because it was followed by a stable peace to which both of the contending sides could accommodate themselves: the forces opposed to freedom had not only to be defeated but also somehow readmitted as participants in the freer society the creation of which they had labored to prevent. This problem of "reconstruction" is one of the supreme challenges that statesmanship can face, and it is one upon which Abraham Lincoln reflected deeply, even if he did not live to implement the plans that emerged from his reflections. Given the magnitude of the issues with which Lincoln had to deal, his political career and thought are a school of statesmanship to which free people should turn for instruction.

With a view to advancing the education in statesmanship that the study of Lincoln can provide, the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions and the Association for the Study of Free Institutions are pleased to present this conference on Abraham Lincoln and American Statesmanship: Reconstructing the Law of the Constitution. The program includes scholars from a variety of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. We seek to address a number of questions. What principles and aims informed Lincoln's statesmanship? How did Lincoln understand and embody the virtue of prudence as mediating between principles and ideals, on the one hand, and stubborn realities, on the other, with a view to identifying achievable political improvements? How does wise statesmanship manage the difficulties involved in trying to secure new rights while also protecting old rights in a period of reconstruction? What role do courts play in preserving fundamental legal and constitutional principles in the midst of political and social upheaval? Finally, what lessons does Lincoln offer to statesmanship in our own time?

*The James Madison Program would like to thank Robert J. Giuffra '82
for his generous support of this conference.*

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

MONDAY, MAY 16, 2016

10:30 TO NOON **Presentation of the 2016 James Q. Wilson Award for Distinguished Scholarship on the Nature of a Free Society to Allen C. Guelzo**

Presenter: **Alan Charles Kors**, Henry Charles Lea Professor of History, *University of Pennsylvania*, on behalf of the *Association for the Study of Free Institutions*

Keynote Address: **Allen C. Guelzo**, Henry R. Luce III Professor of the Civil War Era, *Gettysburg College*

1:30 TO 3:15 PM **The Historian's Craft: A Consideration of Writings of Allen C. Guelzo**

Panelists: **Peter S. Field**, Garwood Visiting Professor and Visiting Fellow, James Madison Program, *Princeton University*
Matthew J. Franck, Director, William E. and Carol G. Simon Center on Religion and the Constitution, *The Witherspoon Institute*
Lucas Morel, Class of 1960 Professor of Ethics and Politics, *Washington and Lee University*

Chair: **Carson Holloway**, Associate Professor of Political Science, *University of Nebraska at Omaha*

3:45 TO 5:30 PM **Reconsidering Reconstruction, Rights, and Progress**

Panelists: **Pamela Brandwein**, Professor of Political Science, *University of Michigan*
Peter C. Myers, Professor of Political Science, *University of Wisconsin–Eau Claire*
James R. Stoner, Jr., Hermann Moyse, Jr. Professor of Political Science and Director, The Eric Voegelin Institute for American Renaissance Studies, *Louisiana State University*

Chair: **Paul Kerry**, Visiting Scholar, Corpus Christi College, *University of Oxford*; Associate Professor of History, *Brigham Young University*

TUESDAY, MAY 17, 2016

9:00 TO 10:45 AM **What Is the Relationship Between Originalism and Judicial Restraint?**

- Panelists: **Christopher R. Green**, Associate Professor of Law and H.L.A. Hart Scholar in Law and Philosophy, *University of Mississippi*
Earl M. Maltz, Distinguished Professor of Law, *Rutgers University, Camden*
David R. Upham, Associate Professor of Politics and Director of Legal Studies, *University of Dallas*
Keith E. Whittington, William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Politics, *Princeton University*
- Chair: **Joyce Lee Malcolm**, Patrick Henry Professor of Constitutional Law and the Second Amendment, *George Mason University School of Law*

11:15 TO 1:00 PM **The Statesmanship of Abraham Lincoln**

- Panelists: **George Kateb**, William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Politics, Emeritus, *Princeton University*
James M. McPherson, George Henry Davis '86 Professor of American History, Emeritus, *Princeton University*
Diana Schaub, Professor of Political Science, *Loyola University Maryland*
Michael Zuckert, Nancy R. Dreux Professor of Political Science, *University of Notre Dame*
- Chair: **John Agresto**, Former President, *St. John's College, Santa Fe*

2:30 TO 4:30 PM **Roundtable on Lincoln and the Challenges of Statesmanship in Our Time**

- Panelists: **Hadley Arkes**, Edward N. Ney Professor in American Institutions, Emeritus, *Amherst College*
Richard Brookhiser, Senior Editor, *National Review*
Allen C. Guelzo, Henry R. Luce III Professor of the Civil War Era, *Gettysburg College*
- Chair: **Robert P. George**, McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence and Director of the James Madison Program, *Princeton University*

4:45 TO 6:00 PM **ASFI Meeting to Discuss Course Creation**

- Presenter: **Samuel Goldman**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, *George Washington University*
- Chair: **Stephen H. Balch**, Chairman, Association for the Study of Free Institutions; Director, Institute for the Study of Western Civilization, *Texas Tech University*

ABOUT THE JAMES MADISON PROGRAM

Founded in the summer of 2000, the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions in the Department of Politics at Princeton University is dedicated to exploring enduring questions of American constitutional law and Western political thought. The Program is also devoted to examining the application of basic legal and ethical principles to contemporary problems. To realize its mission, the James Madison Program implements a number of initiatives. The Program awards visiting fellowships and postdoctoral appointments each year to support scholars conducting research in the fields of constitutional law and political thought. The Program supports the James Madison Society, an international community of scholars, and promotes civic education by its sponsorship of conferences, lectures, seminars, and colloquia. The Program's Undergraduate Fellows Forum provides opportunities for Princeton undergraduates to interact with Madison Program Fellows and speakers. The success of the James Madison Program depends on the support of foundations and private individuals who share its commitment in advancing the understanding and appreciation of American ideals and institutions.

ABOUT THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF FREE INSTITUTIONS

The Association for the Study of Free Institutions is a scholarly organization seeking to promote multi-disciplinary inquiry into the free society - its philosophic, cultural, and institutional conditions, its character, its strengths and limitations, and the challenges it faces. ASFI works to unite scholars from a variety of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities - political science, history, law, economics, sociology, psychology, anthropology, theology, classics, education - in order to revive the study of freedom as a major concern of American higher education. Mindful that the questions to which freedom gives rise are often controversial, that freedom carries certain costs, and that we have things to learn even from its most determined critics, ASFI welcomes intellectual diversity. It seeks the participation of scholars representing not only a variety of intellectual disciplines, but also a diversity of moral and philosophical positions. Ultimately, ASFI aims to revitalize higher education and our public discourse by encouraging scholarship and teaching that will contribute to the preservation and improvement of our free civilization.

PARTICIPANTS

John Agresto has taught at the University of Toronto, Kenyon College, Duke University, Wabash College, and the New School University. In the late 70's he was both a resident scholar and administrator at the National Humanities Center in North Carolina and, in the 1980's, he served in both senior administrative and policy positions the National Endowment for the Humanities. In 1989, he became President of St. John's College in Santa Fe, a position in which he served for eleven years. In 2003, he went to Iraq, where he was the Senior Advisor for Higher Education and Scientific Research for the Coalition Provisional Authority. He returned regularly to Iraq over the years, becoming, in 2007, Acting Chancellor, Provost, and Academic Dean at the American University of Iraq in Sulaimani, positions he held until he left Iraq in 2010. He was also, at various times, the Lily Senior Research Fellow at Wabash College, Scholar-in-Residence at Hampden-Sidney College, and Visiting Fellow at the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University. Widely published in the areas of politics, law, and education, he is the author or editor of five books, including *Rediscovering America: Liberty, Equality, and the Crisis of Democracy*; *Mugged by Reality: The Liberation of Iraq and the Failure of Good Intentions*; *The Supreme Court and Constitutional Democracy*; *The Humanist as Citizen: Essays on the Uses of the Humanities*; as well as *Tomatoes, Basil, and Olive Oil - An Italian American Cookbook*. Though retired, Agresto remains President of John Agresto & Associates, an educational consulting company, and is member and former chair of the New Mexico State Advisory Committee to the US Commission on Civil Rights. He received his Ph.D. from Cornell University.

Hadley Arkes is the Edward Ney Professor of Jurisprudence, Emeritus, at Amherst College. He was a 2002-03 Visiting Fellow in the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University. He has written five books with Princeton University Press: *Bureaucracy, the Marshall Plan, and the National Interest* (1972), *The Philosopher in the City* (1981), *First Things* (1986), *Beyond the Constitution* (1990), and *The Return of George Sutherland* (1994). But his most recent books have been with Cambridge University Press, including *Natural Rights and the Right to Choose* (2002), and *Constitutional Illusions & Anchoring Truths: The Touchstone of the Natural Law* (2010). His articles have appeared in professional journals, but apart from his writing in more scholarly formats, he has become known to a wider audience through his writings in the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Weekly Standard*, and *National Review*. Professor Arkes has been a contributor, also, to *First Things*, a journal that took its name from his book of that title. For eight years he wrote a column for *Crisis* magazine under the title of "Lifewatch," and he has carried over that concern as one of the band of friends who formed the new web journal *The Catholic Thing*. Professor Arkes has been the founder, at Amherst, of the Committee for the American Founding, a group of alumni and students seeking to preserve, at Amherst, the doctrines of "natural rights" taught by the American Founders and Lincoln. That interest has been carried over now to

the founding of a new center for the jurisprudence of natural law, in Washington, D.C.: the James Wilson Institute on Natural Rights and the American Founding, named for one of the premier minds among the American Founders. Professor Arkes has drawn to this project a cluster of accomplished federal judges who have wanted to get a firmer hold on the natural law, and brought them together with some gifted teachers of philosophy and law. The purpose of this new James Wilson Institute is to teach anew, to lawyers, judges, and students those principles of law that furnished the guide to the American Founders as they set about framing a Constitution. And the hope is to restore, to a new generation, the furnishings of mind of the men who formed this regime. Professor Arkes received his B.A. from the University of Illinois and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, where he was a student of Leo Strauss.

Stephen H. Balch is Director of The Institute for the Study of Western Civilization at Texas Tech University. Before joining Texas Tech, he served for twenty-five years as founding president and chairman of the National Association of Scholars (NAS). During his years at the NAS, Dr. Balch worked to encourage universities and colleges across the United States to develop new academic programming dealing with Western civilization, the Great Books, and the study of free institutions. He also played a major role in the founding of a variety of other academic organizations devoted to enriching scholarship and public discussion of higher education issues, including the Association for the Study of Free Institutions, of which he's chairman. Between 1974 and 1987, he served on the faculty of the Government and Public Administration Department of John Jay College of Criminal Justice in the City University of New York. He was recipient of the National Humanities Medal, bestowed by President George W. Bush in a White House ceremony in 2007. In 2009, he received the Jeane Kirkpatrick Academic Freedom Award. Dr. Balch holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of California at Berkeley.

Pamela Brandwein is Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan. Her fields of research include constitutional law and politics, civil rights, and American political thought. Her work is united by an interest in the political and legal languages of antislavery, and her major projects have retraced discourses of race and rights obscured by twentieth century conventions. Likewise, her work attends to the rise, circulation, and impact of distorted legal-historical knowledge about Reconstruction. She is the author of *Reconstructing Reconstruction* (Duke University Press, 1999), which examines the production and institutional establishment of an error-ridden account of the Fourteenth Amendment's non/incorporation of the Bill of Rights. Her second book, *Rethinking the Judicial Settlement of Reconstruction* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), revises conventional wisdom about the Supreme Court's "state action" doctrine, commonly viewed as an abandonment of blacks to Southern home rule. Unveiling a lost jurisprudence of rights that provided protections for black physical safety and black voting, even as it left public accommodation rights undefended, this law-and-politics treatment of the Reconstruction era unites new political history,

close legal reading, and the study of political institutions. She recently delivered a Leon Silverman lecture at the U.S. Supreme Court, "The Lost History of the Fourteenth Amendment," which aired on C-SPAN. She earned her B.A. from the University of Michigan and her M.A. and Ph.D. from Northwestern University.

Richard Brookhiser is Senior Editor of *National Review* and the author of many books, including *George Washington on Leadership; What Would the Founders Do?*; and *James Madison*. His newest book is *Founders' Son: A Life of Abraham Lincoln*. A columnist for *American History*, he wrote and hosted the PBS documentaries *Rediscovering George Washington* and *Rediscovering Alexander Hamilton*, and appears frequently on the History Channel and the *Colbert Report*. In 2008 President Bush awarded him with the National Humanities Medal in a White House ceremony. He lives in New York City. He earned an A.B. degree from Yale University.

Peter S. Field is Associate Professor of American History at the University of Canterbury in New Zealand, and the 2015-16 Garwood Visiting Professor and Visiting Fellow in the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University, teaching POL 332: Topics In American Statesmanship – American Statesmanship and Symbolism in the Fall 2015 semester. A winner of both the highest university and student-selected teaching awards, he currently serves as associate head of the School of Humanities and Creative Arts. After graduating from Columbia University, he held research posts at Yale, Princeton, and the Gilder Lehrman Institute for American History. In 2009-10 he was a Visiting Fellow at the James Madison Program in American Institutions and Ideals at Princeton University. The author of several books, including *Ralph Waldo Emerson: The Making of a Democratic Intellectual* and *The Crisis of the Standing Order*, he has recently completed a survey of American History entitled *The Promise and Paradox of American Freedom*. He holds a Ph.D. in History from Columbia University.

Matthew J. Franck is the Director of the William E. and Carol G. Simon Center on Religion and the Constitution at the Witherspoon Institute in Princeton, NJ. He is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Radford University in Virginia, where he taught constitutional law, American politics, and political philosophy from 1989 to 2010, and was Chairman of the Department of Political Science from 1995 to 2010. He is also a Visiting Lecturer in Politics at Princeton University. He has taught at Marquette University and Southern Illinois University, and was a Fulbright Professor of American Studies at the Graduate School of International Studies, Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea, in 1998, and a 2008-09 Visiting Fellow in the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University. He is the author, editor of, or contributor to several books on religious freedom, constitutional law, the Supreme Court, and American politics, and has published essays and reviews in numerous academic journals, as well as many general-interest articles and commentaries in newspapers, magazines, and online, including the *Washington Post*, *First Things*, *National Review*, and *Public*

Discourse, the daily online essay publication of the Witherspoon Institute. He is a regular blogger on National Review Online's "Bench Memos" page and the "First Thoughts" page at *First Things* magazine, and has appeared numerous times on Bill Bennett's "Morning in America" radio show, as well as on CNN, Fox News Channel, EWTN, NPR, and Relevant Radio. He earned his B.A. in political science from Virginia Wesleyan College, and his M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from Northern Illinois University.

Robert P. George is McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence at Princeton University, and Director of the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions. He is chairman of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF). He has served on the President's Council on Bioethics and as a presidential appointee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. He has also served on UNESCO's World Commission on the Ethics of Scientific Knowledge and Technology (COMEST), of which he continues to be a corresponding member. He is a former Judicial Fellow at the Supreme Court of the United States, where he received the Justice Tom C. Clark Award. He is the author of *In Defense of Natural Law, Making Men Moral: Civil Liberties and Public Morality*, *The Clash of Orthodoxies: Law, Religion and Morality in Crisis*, *Conscience and Its Enemies: Confronting the Dogmas of Liberal Secularism*, and co-author of *Embryo: A Defense of Human Life*, *Body-Self Dualism in Contemporary Ethics and Politics*, *What is Marriage? Man and Woman: A Defense*, and *Conjugal Union: What Marriage Is and Why It Matters*. His scholarly articles and reviews have appeared in such journals as the *Harvard Law Review*, the *Yale Law Journal*, the *Columbia Law Review*, the *American Journal of Jurisprudence*, and the *Review of Politics*. Professor George is a recipient of many honors and awards, including the Presidential Citizens Medal, the Honorific Medal for the Defense of Human Rights of the Republic of Poland, the Canterbury Medal of the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty, the Sidney Hook Memorial Award of the National Association of Scholars, the Philip Merrill Award of the American Council of Trustees and Alumni, the Bradley Prize for Intellectual and Civic Achievement, and the Stanley Kelley, Jr. Teaching Award from Princeton's Department of Politics. He has given honorific lectures at Harvard, Yale, University of St. Andrews, and Cornell University. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and holds honorary doctorates of law, ethics, science, letters, divinity, civil law, humane letters, and juridical science. A graduate of Swarthmore College and Harvard Law School, he also received a master's degree in theology from Harvard and a doctorate in philosophy of law from Oxford University.

Christopher R. Green '94 is Associate Professor of Law and the H.L.A. Hart Scholar in Law and Philosophy at the University of Mississippi. He was the Fall 2015 Ann and Herbert W. Vaughan Visiting Fellow in the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University. He is the author of *Equal Citizenship, Civil Rights and the Constitution: The Original Sense of the Privileges or Immunities Clause* (Routledge, 2015), and his work on the Equal Protection Clause

was cited by Justice John Paul Stevens in *McDonald v. Chicago*. As the Ann and Herbert W. Vaughan Visiting Fellow in the James Madison Program, he worked on mental reservations, the ethics of oath-keeping as a foundation for constitutional obligation, and the legitimacy of the Fourteenth Amendment. He received an A.B. in Politics from Princeton University (Phi Beta Kappa, summa cum laude), a J.D. from Yale Law School, and a Ph.D. in Philosophy from the University of Notre Dame.

Samuel Goldman is Assistant Professor of Political Science and Director of the Politics and Values Program at George Washington University. He taught at Harvard University and Princeton University before joining the faculty at George Washington University. His areas of expertise are in political philosophy, religion and politics, political theology, and history of conservative political thought. Professor Goldman's teaching interests range from ancient republicanism, to early-modern debates about church and state, to contemporary democratic theory. His research centers the religious sources of political norms and values. He is currently working on a book about Christian Zionism in American political thought. In addition to his academic writing, he is a Contributing Editor at *The American Conservative* magazine, and has written for many other publications. He received his Ph.D. in political science from Harvard University.

Allen C. Guelzo is the Henry R. Luce Professor of the Civil War Era, and Director of Civil War Era Studies at Gettysburg College. He is the author of *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President*, which won the Lincoln Prize for 2000, *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America*, which won the Lincoln Prize for 2005, and *Lincoln and Douglas: The Debates That Defined America*, which won the Abraham Lincoln Institute Prize for 2008. His most recent work in Lincoln is *Abraham Lincoln As A Man of Ideas* (a collection of essays published in 2009 by Southern Illinois University Press) and *Lincoln*, a volume in Oxford University Press's 'Very Short Introductions' series (also 2009). His book on the battle of Gettysburg, *Gettysburg: The Last Invasion* (Knopf, 2013) spent eight weeks on the *New York Times* best-seller list. His articles and essays have appeared in scholarly journals, and also in *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Washington Post*, and the *Los Angeles Times*, and he has been featured on NPR, the Discovery Channel, the National Geographic Channel, and Brian's Lamb's *BookNotes*, and *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*. He is a member of the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic, the Society of Civil War Historians, and the Union League of Philadelphia. In September 2005, he was nominated by President Bush to the National Council on the Humanities, and in December, was awarded the Medal of Honor of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution. He has been a fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies (1991-92), the McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania (1992-93), the Charles Warren Center for American Studies at Harvard University (1994-95) and the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University (2002-03, 2010-11). He

is a Non-Resident Fellow of the W.E.B. DuBois Institute at Harvard University and a Research Scholar at the McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. Together with Patrick Allitt and Gary W. Gallagher, he team-taught The Teaching Company's new edition of its American History series, and has completed four other series for The Teaching Company, *Mister Lincoln*, on the life of Abraham Lincoln, *The American Mind*, on American intellectual history, *The American Revolution*, and *Making History: How Great Historians Interpret the Past*. He lives in Paoli and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, with his wife, Debra. He holds an M.A. and Ph.D. in History from the University of Pennsylvania.

Carson Holloway is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Nebraska at Omaha, where he has taught since 2002. He is the author of *Hamilton versus Jefferson in the Washington Administration: Completing the Founding or Betraying the Founding* (Cambridge University Press), *The Way of Life: John Paul II and the Challenge of Liberal Modernity* (Baylor University Press), *The Right Darwin? Evolution, Religion, and the Future of Democracy* (Spence Publishing), and *All Shook Up: Music, Passion and Politics* (Spence Publishing). He was Visiting Fellow in American Political Thought in the Heritage Foundation's B. Kenneth Simon Center for Principles and Politics in 2014-15, and in 2005-06 he was a William E. Simon Visiting Fellow in Religion and Public Life in the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University. He received a B.A. in Political Science from the University of Northern Iowa in 1991 and a Ph.D. in Political Science from Northern Illinois University in 1998.

George Kateb is the William Nelson Cromwell Professor of Politics, Emeritus, at Princeton University. He taught at Amherst College for thirty years before joining the faculty at Princeton in 1987. An influential political theorist with an international reputation, he is a champion of democratic individuality and a critic of its many challengers. His published books include *Patriotism and Other Mistakes* (2006), *Human Dignity* (2011), and most recently, *Lincoln's Political Thought* (2015). He is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He has also served as vice president of the American Society of Political and Legal Philosophy and president of the New England Political Science Association. He is a recipient of the Behrman Award for Distinguished Achievement in the Humanities from Princeton. He earned his A.B., A.M. and Ph.D. from Columbia University.

Paul E. Kerry is a visiting scholar at Corpus Christi College, University of Oxford, and co-convenes the Seminar in Constitutional Thought and History for the University of Oxford's Rothermere American Institute where he was an associate visiting research fellow. He is Associate Professor of History at Brigham Young University and a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. He was the 2007-08 Ann and Herbert W. Vaughan Visiting Fellow at the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University. His current research projects focus on the transatlantic development of George Bancroft's thought and the concept of virtue in Mozart's *Zauberflöte*. He holds a D.Phil. from the University of Oxford.

Alan Charles Kors '64 is Henry Charles Lea Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania. He is the author of several books and numerous articles on French intellectual history and on classical liberal thought. He was editor-in-chief of the Oxford Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment (4 vols. 2003). He received fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Smith-Richardson Foundation, and the Davis Center for Historical Studies at Princeton University. He taught seminars at the Folger Institute in Washington, DC and at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes at the University of Paris, and he directed seminars on liberty and limited government for state and federal courts, including the Fifth Judicial Circuit Court of Appeals and the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals. His concern for academic freedom led to his co-authorship of *The Shadow University: The Betrayal of Liberty on American Campuses* (1998), and to his co-founding of the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education. He served on the National Council for the Humanities. He received more than a dozen local and national awards for distinguished college teaching and for the defense of academic freedom. He was awarded the National Humanities Medal in 2005 and the Bradley Prize in 2008. Professor Kors graduated summa cum laude from Princeton University in 1964, and he received his M.A. in 1965 and Ph.D. in 1968 in European History from Harvard University.

Joyce Lee Malcolm is the Patrick Henry Professor of Constitutional Law and the Second Amendment at George Mason University School of Law. She is an historian and constitutional scholar active in the area of constitutional and legal history, focusing on the development of individual rights in Great Britain and America. Her work was cited several times in the landmark U.S. Supreme Court opinion in *District of Columbia v. Heller*. Professor Malcolm has previously taught at Princeton University, Bentley University, Boston University and Northeastern University. She was a 2003-04 Visiting Fellow in the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University. She is a fellow of the Royal Historical Society and was also a Senior Advisor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Security Studies Program, a Visiting Scholar at Massachusetts Center for Renaissance Studies, and is a Bye Fellow at Robinson College, Cambridge University. She has written many books and articles on gun control, the Second Amendment, and individual rights. She is author of *To Keep and Bear Arms: The Origins of an Anglo-American Right* (Harvard University Press); *Guns and Violence: The English Experience* (Harvard University Press); and *Peter's War: A New England Slave Boy and the American Revolution* (Yale University Press). Her essays have appeared in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Financial Times*, *USA Today*, *The Boston Globe* and other newspapers. She earned her B.A. from Barnard College, and her Ph.D. and M.A. from Brandeis University.

Earl Maltz is Distinguished Professor at Rutgers University School of Law in Camden, New Jersey, where he has been a member of the faculty for over 30 years. Professor Maltz was the 2014-15 Garwood Visiting Fellow at the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University. He

is the author of nine books and many articles dealing with constitutional law and constitutional history. His most recent book, *The Coming of the Nixon Court: The 1972 Term and the Transformation of Constitutional Law*, will be published by the University Press of Kansas in the fall of this year. He is a graduate of Northwestern University and Harvard Law School.

James M. McPherson taught in the Department of History at Princeton University from 1962 until his retirement in 2004, and is currently the George Henry Davis '86 Professor of American History, Emeritus. He is the author of sixteen books, mostly on the era of the American Civil War. His books have won several prizes, including the Pulitzer Prize in History (1989) for *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*, and two Lincoln Prizes for *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (1998) and *Tried by War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief* (2009). His most recent book is *The War That Forged a Nation: Why the Civil War Still Matters* (2015). He is an elected member of the American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and has served as president of The Society of American Historians and the American Historical Association. He received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University.

Lucas Morel is the Class of 1960 Professor of Ethics and Politics and Head of the Politics Department at Washington and Lee University. He was the 2008-09 Garwood Visiting Fellow in the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University. He is the editor of *Lincoln and Liberty: Wisdom for the Ages*, author of *Lincoln's Sacred Effort: Defining Religion's Role in American Self-Government*, and co-editor of the forthcoming volume, *The New Territory: Ralph Ellison and the Twenty-First Century*. He is currently finishing a book entitled *Lincoln and the American Founding* for the Concise Lincoln Library Series of Southern Illinois University Press. He has consulted on exhibits at the Library of Congress on Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War and co-written lessons on antebellum and Civil War America and the Civil Rights Movement for the National Endowment for the Humanities. He also conducts history workshops for high school teachers throughout the country. He received his Ph.D. and M.A. from the Claremont Graduate University and a B.A. *cum laude* from Claremont McKenna College.

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A sheet of lined paper with horizontal blue lines spaced evenly down the page, suitable for writing.



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