

Ashbrook Teacher Institute

The American Revolution and the Founding of a New Nation

Sunday, June 20, 2004 to Friday, June 25, 2004

Instructors: Christopher Flannery and Gordon Lloyd

Schedule Overview

Sunday, June 20

- 2:00 pm - 4:00 pm:** Check into Apartments (*Senior Apartments, Ashland University*)
5:00 pm - 5:45 pm: Introduction to Ashbrook Teacher Institutes with Peter Schramm and Roger Beckett (*Heritage Room, Myers Convocation Center*)
5:45 pm - 7:00 pm: Dinner (*Heritage Room, Myers Convocation Center, Ashland University*)
7:15 pm - 9:00 pm: Introduction to this Institute with Chris Flannery and Gordon Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Ashland University Library*)

Monday, June 21

- 7:30 am - 8:45 am:** Breakfast (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)
9:00 am - 10:30 am: Professor Flannery (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)
10:50 am - 12:20 pm: Professor Flannery (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)
12:30 pm - 1:30 pm: Lunch (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)
4:30 pm - 6:00 pm: Professor Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)
6:15 pm - 7:15 pm: Dinner (*Accent Room, Myers Convocation Center*)

Tuesday, June 22

- 7:30 am - 8:45 am:** Breakfast (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)
9:00 am - 10:30 am: Professor Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)
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12:30 am - 1:30 pm: Lunch (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)
4:30 pm - 6:00 pm: Professor Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)
6:15 pm - 7:15 pm: Dinner (*Accent Room, Myers Convocation Center*)

Wednesday, June 23

- 7:30 am - 8:45 am:** Breakfast (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)
9:00 am - 10:30 am: Professor Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)
10:50 am - 12:20 am: Professor Flannery (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)
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4:30 pm - 6:00 pm: Professor Flannery (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)
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Thursday, June 24

7:30 am - 8:45 am: Breakfast (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)
9:00 am - 10:30 am: Professor Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)
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12:30 am - 1:30 pm: Lunch (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)
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6:15 pm - 7:15 pm: Dinner (*Accent Room, Myers Convocation Center*)
7:30 pm - 9:30 pm: Teaching Brainstorming Session (*Ashbrook Center*)

Friday, June 25

7:30 am - 8:45 am: Breakfast (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)
9:00 am - 10:30 am: Professor Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)
10:50 am - 12:20 pm: Professors Flannery and Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)
12:30 am - 2:00 pm: Boxed Lunch/Check Out of Apartments (*Lobby of Apartment Building A*)

Ashbrook Teacher Institute

The American Revolution and the Founding of a New Nation

Sunday, June 20, 2004 to Friday, June 25, 2004

Ashland University

Instructors: Christopher Flannery and Gordon Lloyd

Readings

- Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, eds. *The Founders' Constitution*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987. Also available on-line at:
<http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/>
- Alexander Hamilton, *et al.* *The Federalist*. Clinton Rossiter, ed. New York, New York: New American Library, 1999.
- James Madison. *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987.
- Gordon Lloyd and Margie Lloyd, eds. *The Essential Bill of Rights: Original Arguments and Fundamental Documents*. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1998.
- William B. Allen and Gordon Lloyd, eds. *The Essential Antifederalist: Second Edition*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, ed. C.B. Macpherson. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1980.
- *Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States of America*. Ashland, Ohio: Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs, 2001.
- Websites: <http://publicpolicy.pepperdine.edu/academics/faculty/lloyd/> ;
<http://www.ashbrook.org/constitution/> ;
<http://www.TeachingAmericanHistory.org/convention/> .

Schedule

Sunday, June 20

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Monday, June 21

7:30 am - 8:45 am: Breakfast (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)

9:00 am - 10:30 am: Professor Flannery (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)

Topic: “Apple of Gold”: The Centrality of the Declaration of Independence in American Political Life

Focus: Why is it important to understand the Declaration of Independence? What does the Declaration say, and why and how does it say it? What does the Declaration not say, and why and how does it not say it? What is the significance of Jefferson’s draft of the Declaration? What does the Declaration mean, and what does the Declaration not mean? What is the philosophical and historical heritage on which the Declaration draws?

Reading:

- Declaration of Independence (Declaration/Constitution booklet, p. 3)
- Selection from Thomas Jefferson letter to Henry Lee (Declaration/Constitution booklet, p. 51)
- Selection from Thomas Jefferson letter to Roger Weightman (Declaration/Constitution booklet, p. 52)
- Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address (Declaration/Constitution booklet, p.54)
- Abraham Lincoln, Fragment on the Constitution and Union (Declaration/Constitution booklet, p. 58)
- Thomas Jefferson, Notes on Debates in Congress (*The Founders’ Constitution*, Chapter 15, Document 18) also found in *The Essential Bill of Rights*, pp. 175-180.
- Alexander Hamilton, The Farmer Refuted, 23 Feb. 1775 (*The Founders’ Constitution*, Chapter 3, Document 5)
- Martin Luther King, Jr., “I have a Dream”: speech delivered at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., August 28, 1963 (to be handed out)

10:50 am - 12:20 pm: Professor Flannery (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)

Topic: “The American Mind”

Focus: What is the logic of the argument of the Declaration? Reflections (time permitting) on the course of human events, people, the laws of nature and of nature’s God, decent respect for the opinions of mankind, self evident truths, equality, rights, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, consent, prudence, the ends of government, the right to abolish government and institute new government, facts submitted to a candid world, sacred honor, and more.

Reading:

- Virginia Declaration of Rights, June 12, 1776 (*The Founders' Constitution*, Chapter 1, Document 3)
- Massachusetts Constitution: Preamble and Part the First. A Declaration of the Rights of the Inhabitants of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, March 2, 1780 (*The Founders' Constitution*, Chapter 1, Document 6)
- John Locke, Second Treatise, §§ 1–15, 25–51; 123–126, 54, 95–99, 119–126, 149, 155, 163, 168, 207–10, 220–31, 240–43, 1689

12:30 am - 1:30 pm: Lunch (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)

4:30 pm - 6:00 pm: Professor Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)

Topic: Governments Instituted Among Men: Confederation and State Constitutions

Focus: What were the common elements of “republicanism” as reflected in the new state constitutions adopted in the course of the American Revolution? To what extent did the Americans take their bearings from “experience,” to what extent from abstract theory, in forming their new constitutions? How did the idea of the “constitutional convention” and popular ratification develop? What were the leading features of the “first” American constitution, the Articles of Confederation? How republican and how federal were the Articles of Confederation?

Reading:

- The Virginia Bill of Rights, 1776 and The Virginia Constitution, 1776 (*The Essential Bill of Rights*, p. 188-196)
- The Constitution of New Jersey, 1776 (*The Essential Bill of Rights*, p. 196-201)
- The Pennsylvania Constitution, 1776 (*The Essential Bill of Rights*, p. 202-215)
- Massachusetts Constitution, 1776-1780 (*The Founders Constitution*, Chapter 1, Document 6)
- Articles of Confederation, 1781 (*The Essential Bill of Rights*, p. 238-246)

6:15 pm - 7:15 pm: Dinner (*Accent Room, Myers Convocation Center*)

Tuesday, June 22

7:30 am - 8:45 am: Breakfast (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)

9:00 am - 10:30 am: Professor Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)

Topic: Constitutional Convention I: The Alternative Plans

Focus: Of what significance were the rules adopted by the convention? In what respects did the “Virginia Plan” represent a new constitution rather than a mere revision of the Articles? What were the delegates' initial reactions and questions concerning the Virginia Plan? What parts of the Plan were rejected or amended? What did the delegates mean when they spoke of a national government as opposed to a federal government? What different principles animate the New Jersey and Virginia Plans and the Hamilton Proposal? Why were they even introduced? What are the arguments for representation of the states, as opposed to the people, in the federal government? Consider the discussions of the executive power, bicameralism, and the role of the judiciary in the context of “republican principles.” What do “republican principles” say about the sources of power, the powers, and the structure of the federal government? Is Madison's extended republic argument a departure from republican principles?

Reading:

- James Madison, Vices of the Political System of the United States (*The Essential Bill of Rights*, p. 246-253)
- James Madison, *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787*, May 29, 31, June 6, 11, 13, 15, and 18.

10:50 am - 12:20 am: Professor Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)

Topic: Constitutional Convention II: The Connecticut Compromise

Focus: What accounts for the persistence of the New Jersey Plan supporters despite their defeat earlier? What are the arguments against the “legality” and “practicality” of the Amended Virginia Plan? When and how did the Connecticut Compromise emerge as a viable alternative? How did the “partly national, partly federal” concept enter the discussion? Why did Madison argue that the issue facing the delegates was not small states vs. large states but the slavery question? What is the significance of who was elected to the Gerry Committee? Who changed their minds and why during this month long discussion over representation? Who favored and who opposed the Connecticut Compromise? What else, besides the representation issue, was discussed during this part of the Convention?

Reading:

- James Madison, *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787*, June 26, June 29-30, July 2, 5, and 16.

12:30 am - 1:30 pm: Lunch (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)

4:30 pm - 6:00 pm: Professor Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)

Topic: Constitutional Convention III: The Committee of Detail Report

Focus: Who was elected to the Committee of Detail and what has been their position so far with respect to the republican and federal issues? How does the Committee on Detail Report differ from the original and amended Virginia Plans? During their deliberations of the Report did the delegates let “experience be their guide”? What powers and what rights of Congress did the delegates suggest be enumerated? What was the status of the Executive and the Judiciary branches by the end of the discussions of the Report? Who was elected to the Slave Trade Committee and what had they said about slavery up to that point? How did the slavery provisions undergo changes during the deliberations?

Reading:

- James Madison, *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787*, August 6, 13, 16-25.

6:15 pm - 7:15 pm: Dinner (*Accent Room, Myers Convocation Center*)

Wednesday, June 23

7:30 am - 8:45 am: Breakfast (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)

9:00 am - 10:30 am: Professor Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)

Topic: Constitutional Convention IV: The End is in Sight

Focus: The Brearley Committee was created to take care of “leftovers.” How did it handle the disputes concerning the Executive branch? Who was on the Committee of Style and how did the Report differ from the Committee of Detail Report? What last hour changes did the delegates make to the Report? Why did Randolph, Mason, and Gerry decide against signing the Constitution? Were their reasons similar? Did the delegates attempt to accommodate their objections? What is the significance of Franklin’s “Rising Sun” speech on the last day of the Convention?

Reading:

- James Madison, *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787*, September 4-8, 10, 12, 15, and 17.

10:50 am - 12:20 am: Professor Flannery (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)

Topic: How to Read *The Federalist*

Focus: Why is it important to read *The Federalist*? What kind of a book is *The Federalist*? What is the audience of *The Federalist*? What does *The Federalist* try to accomplish? What is the structure of the argument of *The Federalist*? Is there any place, any need, or any provision for civic virtue in the *Federalist* plan of government? What is the role of self-interest and passion as opposed to civic virtue, statesmanship, and reason in the *Federalist* frame of government? (What are the defects of the Confederation, according to Publius? Why is there “an absolute necessity for an entire change in the first principles of the system”? How did the proposed union provide necessary protection against external and internal dangers? What is the “utility of the Union” according to *The Federalist*? What are the “objects” of the proposed Union, according to Publius?)

Reading:

- *The Federalist*, especially 1, 9, 10, 14, 15, 23, 36

12:30 am - 1:30 pm: Lunch (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)

4:30 pm - 6:00 pm: Professor Flannery (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)

Topic: *The Federalist*, continued

Focus: What are “the distinctive characters of the Republican form,” according to Publius in *Federalist* 39? How is the proposed government both federal and national according to Publius in *Federalist* 39? How, in *Federalist* 40, does Publius answer the question of “how far the convention were authorized to propose such a government”? How, in *Federalist* 43, does Publius defend the Convention's proposal to supersede the Confederation “without the unanimous consent of the parties to it”? What is the place of “moderation” in Publius's argument? To what extent is the new constitution founded on “reflection and choice,” to what extent on “accident and force”? What “inducements to candor” and to the “spirit of moderation” does Publius present in *Federalist* 37-38?

Reading: *The Federalist*, especially 1, 9, 10, 14, 15, 37-40, 43, 51, 55, 63.

6:15 pm - 7:15 pm: Dinner (*Accent Room, Myers Convocation Center*)

Thursday, June 24

7:30 am - 8:45 am: Breakfast (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)

9:00 am - 10:30 am: Professor Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)

Topic: *The Federalist*, concluded

Focus: Does Madison reject or adhere to Montesquieu's understanding of the separation of powers? What is the Antifederalist critique of the structure and powers of the House? Do you find Madison's response persuasive? What does Madison mean by the "cool and deliberate sense of the community"? Is Hamilton convincing in his defense of a vigorous executive and an independent judiciary?

Reading:

- *The Federalist*, 47-51, 55, 63, 70-71, 78
- Brutus essays (*The Essential Antifederalist*)

10:50 am - 12:20 pm: Professor Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)

Topic: Ratification

Focus: What is the enduring significance of the nine month campaign to secure ratification of the Constitution? Just how closely did the Constitution come to not being ratified? Who were the main actors in the ratification struggle and what were their arguments? Why did James Madison agree to introduce a Bill of Rights in the First Congress? What were the arguments in favor and against the adoption of the Bill of Rights? How reliable are the original documents surrounding ratification and the adoption of the Bill of Rights?

Reading:

- Brutus essays (*The Essential Antifederalist*)
- State Ratifying Conventions (*The Essential Bill of Rights*, p. 301-319)
- James Wilson, October 6, 1787 Speech (*The Essential Bill of Rights*, p. 283-286)
- *The Federalist*, 84
- Jefferson-Madison Correspondence (*The Essential Bill of Rights*, p. 319-324)

12:30 am - 1:30 pm: Lunch (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)

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Friday, June 25

7:30 am - 8:45 am: Breakfast (*Student Dining, Myers Convocation Center*)

9:00 am - 10:30 am: Professor Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)

Topic: Bill of Rights

Focus: How did Madison propose to adopt “moderate” and “proper” amendments that would not alter the structure and power of the newly formed government? Did Madison and Jefferson change their minds concerning the importance of a Bill of Rights? Why did Sherman urge that the Bill of Rights be attached to the end of the original constitution and why did Madison object to this strategy? What changes were made to Madison’s June 8 proposals?

Reading:

- Jefferson-Madison Correspondence (*The Essential Bill of Rights*, p. 324-331)
- James Madison Speech, June 8, 1789 (*The Essential Bill of Rights*, p. 331-344)
- Time-line from *The Essential Antifederalist*.
- Congressional History of the Bill of Rights (*The Essential Bill of Rights*, p. 344-357)

10:50 am - 12:20 pm: Professors Flannery and Lloyd (*Ashbrook Center, 8th Floor, Library*)

Topic: Review of the Week and Open Questions

12:30 am - 2:00 pm: Boxed Lunch/Check Out of Apartments (*Lobby of Apartment Building A*)