## REQUIRED COVER PAGE

## APPLICATION FOR FACULTY RESEARCH GRANT

\*\*All questions must be completed to be considered for grant award.

Choose one:  [ ] Creative P Date of Last FRG Award [ x ] Research	(Semester and Year awarded): None
I	pointment (Semester and Year): Fall 2000
1. Project Title: Nathaniel Macon: Writi	ings and The Patrick Henry-Onslow Debates
2. Name of Principal Investigator/Project	et Director: Carey M. Roberts D.
3. School (abbrev): LFA 4. Departmen	t: Social Sciences and Philosophy
5. Campus Mail Address: WPN 239 A	6. PI/PD Campus Phone: 968-0449
7. Amount Requested: \$2000.00 8. Total	al Cost of Project: \$4,000.00 (approximate)
9. Does this project involve:	10. Duration of Project: Summer 2005-Fall 2007
	tly available to the PI/PD? trumentation/software currently available to the PI/PD? e above questions, the investigator must attach appropriate documentation
SIGNATURES	
Department Contribution (if applicable)	\$ 0.00 H. Vin 10-17-00
Account Number:	Chairperson Date
School Contribution (if applicable): \$0.	00 Julincon 10-17-06
Account Number:	
This Section to be completed by the Offi	ce of Academic Affairs
FSBA Committee Award Recommendation FSBA Committee Proposal Rank: Recommendation of VPAA: YesNo Recommendation of President: YesN Award Date:	of Total Proposals.

Arkansas Tech University
Faculty Research Grants
Application of Carey Roberts, Associate Professor of History

Nathaniel Macon: Collected Writings and Speeches and The Patrick Henry-Onslow Exchange: John Calhoun versus John O. Adams

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#### Abstract

Nathaniel Macon, John Quincy Adams, and John C. Calhoun were among the leading statesmen of the nineteenth century if not of American history as a whole. They served as leaders in Congress, cabinet officials, and in the case of Calhoun, Vice-president, and with Adams, President of the United States. While the entirety of Calhoun's letters, books, and speeches have been assembled in the *Papers of John C. Calhoun* (University of South Carolina Press), Adams's collected works remain incomplete, and Macon's speeches and letters have never been collected in one volume. Two projects will be funded through this grant. The first intends to <u>formally collect Macon's writings</u>—the first such publication of its kind on this often neglected figure in early American history. The second project—for which a contract has been signed with Lexington Books and is scheduled for publication in the summer of 2007—is a <u>classroom edition of the 1820s</u> debate between then President John Quincy Adams and Vice-President John Calhoun over the separation of powers and the meaning of American constitutionalism.

#### Significance and Need

Trained as an editor in graduate school, I am co-editing two significant works related to antebellum American history. I am requesting \$1895.00 to fund portions of these projects, particularly the purchase of optical character recognition software as well as travel and lodging for last legs of research required to bring these projects to completion. Should funds be limited, please consider funding the software purchase as the main priority.

I have included attachments pertaining to the proposals for both projects, but I would like to reiterate their significance and compatibility.

Nathaniel Macon: Collected Writings and Speeches will provide a unique window into the early republic and antebellum eras and the development of one strain of southern conservatism. During his political career, Macon spoke or wrote pithily on every major issue. The first advocates of the compact theory of states included Macon, and he held an unwavering devotion to a strict interpretation of the Constitution. According to historian William E. Dodd, Macon was the "foundation-stone of Jacksonian democracy." During the early 1800s, the North Carolinian also provided the groundwork for later secessionist arguments, mentored a younger generation of southern conservatives and Jeffersonians, helped start a successful partisan paper in Raleigh, and identified agrarianism with state sovereignty. If that were not enough, historians argue that as the undisputed leader of Jeffersonianism, Macon performed equally as well as any other Speaker of the House. By serving as an ideological bridge between the Revolutionary and antebellum generations, Macon's thought also illustrates how pro-slavery sentiment differed little from that of the antebellum period. But to date, no single collection of Macon writings exists, leaving a large gap not only in our knowledge of Jeffersonian political theory, but also in our understanding of early nineteenth century politics and the emergence of the modern party system.

Similarly, The Patrick Henry-Onslow Exchange: John Calhoun versus John Q. Adams will fill a critical void in both scholarly and classroom literature for the period of antebellum America. Some of the exchanges that appear in the Patrick Henry"/"Onslow" Debate are included in volume 10 of The Papers of John C. Calhoun (University of South Carolina Press). What makes the proposed book timely and of great scholarly interest is the nature of the debate primarily, but on a secondary and practical level, volume 10 is now out-of-print. Also, the debate has never received the attention it deserves, and given the renewed attraction to the life and works of Adams and Calhoun, and the early national period, a steady "audience" and demand for this and related exchanges has already emerged in the scholarly market. An additional source of appeal for this volume will be the inclusion of related documents—some recently discovered—from the supporters of Calhoun and Adams and the protagonists themselves—that provide insight and perspectives previously unavailable or unknown.

## Purpose and Objectives

Thankfully, great overlap exists between these two projects. The bulk of Macon's extant writings reside in the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia. But considerable material related to the Calhoun-Adams exchange can also be found there. The primary depository of Adams papers resides with the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, or at the family archives in Quincy, Massachusetts. But there is also some uncollected Macon material located in Boston as well. Thus, both projects could be supported by archival research in either Philadelphia or Boston. I expect to complete one or both trips during the spring semester and no later than June 30. Each trip will involve two full days of archival research in both cities.

But perhaps the <u>most important</u> overlap between the two projects is the purchase of optical character recognition software (OCR) that will be used to digitize print versions of both projects' documents. The entirety of the recently completed *Papers of John C. Calhoun* is available in bound volumes. Some but not all of Adams's writings from the

1820s has been previously published. Likewise, some of Macon's personal letters as well as all of his congressional speeches can be found in the *Annals of Congress* and *Register of Debates*. Electronically, these speeches exist only as images, thus the need to transcribe them into usable text. However, the amount of work required to transcribe these documents into a digital file is not practical given our time frame for publication and the teaching load at Arkansas Tech.

Over the summer, I used a trial version of ABBYY FineReader Professional edition to edit and assembly a selection of documents for the proposed Macon project. After using other OCR software trial editions, I found FineReader to be the best at recognition and digitalization. Additionally, ABBYY makes Scan to Office, which I would use to transform the digitized .pdf documents into Microsoft Word documents. Please see the attachments for a copy of the Macon material digitized in August, 2006. Also please note that FineReader is designed primarily to be used with digital images while Scan to Office is used mainly for printed text. Both programs will be needed.

#### Dissemination of Results

The results of the project will be made public by the publication of two volumes of edited documents. One project, *The Patrick Henry-Onslow Exchange: John Calhoun versus John Q. Adams*, has already been accepted for publication by Lexington Books, a division of Rowman and Littlefield, the leading publisher of scholarly works on early American politics and history. The second project, *Nathaniel Macon: Collected Writings and Speeches*, has been proposed to the University of Georgia Press.

Not only will this research grant help produce an important scholarly contribution to the study of early American history, it will have a direct impact upon the courses that I teach. Recently the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy added a HIST 6403 Applied Public History, which covers professional applications of historical research in such fields as museum administration, historic site preservation, and documentary editing and publishing. This is a course I am scheduled to teach in the near future, and expertise with FineReader will prove helpful to both my students and me. Also, I have proposed a new research/internship course for undergraduate history and political science majors, who will also benefit from access to this software.

#### Repeated Requests

Since beginning my tenure at Arkansas Tech in 2000, my primary focus has been teaching and service. Moderate attention has been placed on what I consider "light" scholarship: reviews, public presentations, production of ancillary material, and significant attendance at scholarly functions. Now that I have received tenure, I believe it is time to strengthen my scholarship and produce more long-standing works than done previously. This is my <u>first</u> request for a Faculty Research Grant from Arkansas Tech University.

#### Budget

# PROPOSED BUDGET FACULTY RESEARCH/DEVELOPMENT GRANT

(include budget categories as appropriate)

1.	Graduate assistant stipend Fringe benefits: salary X .0012	\$
2.	Non-work study stipend Fringe benefits: salary X .0012	
3.	*Supplies (please list items to be purchased and estimated price per item including taxes and shipping, if appropriate):	
	Item No. 1 (e.g., software)  Item No. 2 (e.g., copying costs)  Item No. 3  (additional lines as needed)  Estimated Price  Estimated Price	450.00 75.00
	Total estimated supplies	525.00
4.	Travel (please list travel expenditures by date and estimated costs):	
	Travel No. 1 Boston, spring 2007 Estimated Price Travel No. 2 Phil., May/June 2007 Estimated Price Travel No. 3 Estimated Price (additional lines as needed)	\$720.00 \$650.00
	Total estimated travel	\$1370.00
5.	*Capital Outlay (please list items to be purchased and estimated price per item including taxes and shipping, if appropriate):	
	Item No. 1 Estimated Price Item No. 2 Estimated Price Item No. 3 Estimated Price (additional lines as needed)	
	Total estimated capital outlay	
	TOTAL PROPOSED BUILDGET	\$1895.00

<sup>\*</sup>Items purchased under \$2,500 (including taxes and shipping) are considered supply items. Capital Outlay items are those which cost \$2,500 or more (including taxes and shipping).

## Nathaniel Macon: Collected Writings and Speeches

The number of southern towns and counties (and one college) named for

Nathaniel Macon indicate his importance to United States and southern history. Thomas

Jefferson once called the North Carolinian "Ultimas Romanorum" (the last of the

Romans), and U.S. Senator Thomas Hart Benton regarded Macon, not George

Washington, as "the real Cincinnatus of America." In James K. Polk: Jacksonian, 17951843, Charles Sellers concludes that a reborn republicanism which emerged after the

Panic of 1819 and opposed the pro-business American System was indebted to men such
as Nathaniel Macon, "the archetype of plain republicanism" and the inspiration of a
younger generation "bent on resurrecting the Jeffersonian faith." According to historian

Stephen Barry in his dissertation "Nathaniel Macon: The Prophet of Pure Democratic

Republicanism, 1758-1837," the North Carolinian "provided a link that not only
connected Jefferson republicanism with Jacksonian Democracy, but between

Antifederalist ideology with the inheritors of the Jacksonian tradition such as Martin Van

Buren, James K. Polk, and Andrew Johnson."

Nathaniel Macon did indeed wield great influence as a Congressman and U.S.

Senator. He fought as a Patriot during the American Revolution; followed AntiFederalist Willie Jones, "the Jefferson of North Carolina;" and then entered Congress in
1791. Macon gained national recognition when he emerged after 1798 as a leader of the
Jeffersonian Republicans and served as Speaker of the House from 1801 to 1807 during
Jefferson's administration. He eventually criticized Jefferson for violating principles of
limited government and became a leader in the Jeffersonian opposition, also known as the

Tertium Quids or Old Republicans. From 1815 to 1828, Macon spent the rest of his

career in the United States Senate, and his retirement in 1828 made him one of the longest serving statesmen in congressional history. As a torchbearer of plain republicanism, Macon continued influencing North Carolina, where he remained active in state politics. "No longer on the national stage in Washington," writes historian William Price, Jr., "Macon nevertheless remained a palpable link to certain aspects of the American Revolution and to Antifederalism." Future presidents James K. Polk, Martin Van Buren, and James Buchanan used Macon's ideas to form their political philosophies. Macon's career culminated in 1835, when he presided over the North Carolina constitutional convention. Few men of his day had such opportunities and influence.

Nathaniel Macon: Collected Writings and Speeches will provide a unique window into the early republic and antebellum eras and the development of one strain of southern conservatism. During his political career, Macon spoke or wrote pithily on every major issue. The first advocates of the compact theory of states included Macon, and he held an unwavering devotion to a strict interpretation of the Constitution. According to historian William E. Dodd, Macon was the "foundation-stone of Jacksonian democracy." During the early 1800s, the North Carolinian also provided the groundwork for later secessionist arguments, mentored a younger generation of southern conservatives and Jeffersonians, helped start a successful partisan paper in Raleigh, and identified agrarianism with state sovereignty. If that were not enough, historians argue that as the undisputed leader of Jeffersonianism, Macon performed equally as well as any other Speaker of the House. By serving as an ideological bridge between the Revolutionary and antebellum generations, Macon's thought also illustrates how pro-slavery sentiment differed little from that of the antebellum period.

But despite his influence and fame, Nathaniel Macon was a sociable man, who welcomed the company of his family on their Warren County plantation as well as that of his colleagues in Philadelphia or Washington, D.C. He kept his words to a minimum; thus, his letters and speeches are short, especially when compared to contemporaries like John Randolph and Henry Clay. Perhaps due to these reasons, scholars have long known of Macon's importance, but few have deliberately studied him. The publication of Price's two essays in *North Carolina Historical Review* (2001, 2004) and Milton Ready's focus on Maconite and Jeffersonian thought in *The Tar Heel State: A History of North Carolina* (2005) indicates a resurging interest among academics and the public regarding the Old Republican. Even so, there has been no published biography of Macon since the early twentieth century (William Dodd's *The Life of Nathaniel Macon*, 1903) and only one recent, full-length manuscript (Stephen Barry's "Nathaniel Macon," dissertation,

The marketability of *Nathaniel Macon: Collected Writings and Speeches* also benefits from increasing scholarly and public attention to the era in which Macon lived. Many scholars of early America are answering the calls of David Waldstreicher, Andrew W. Robertson, and Jeffrey L. Pasley to move "beyond the founders" in an effort to understand the history of the early republic. We think that studies of only well-known political leaders of the period provide an incomplete picture. Yet, we also believe that focusing too narrowly on historical actors previously deemed marginal or neglected produces the same effect. In this collection, we seek a middle-ground approach similar to the works of Saul Cornell, David Siemers, and Christopher Duncan. Where they help historians grasp the significance of the Anti-federalists, we will assist scholars in

analyzing the "forgotten" politicians of the era. We hope nothing less than to move the study of the Jeffersonian Republicans "beyond Jefferson."

Popular audiences will also find Nathaniel Macon: Collected Writings and Speeches of great interest. Given the proliferation of studies concerning southern conservatism, there is interest in discovering its origins, and the principles advocated by Macon will help this endeavor. Above all, we anticipate renewed attention to the events and statesmen involved in the War of 1812 as its bicentenary approaches. Most who know about Nathaniel Macon recognize him by the names of many towns and counties. They may also remember Macon's Bill nos. 1 and 2. Although not written exclusively by Macon, the bills played a critical role in launching the War of 1812, and readers will undoubtedly be most interested in them.

The editors propose a chronological format of the letters and speeches with minimal editorial comment, other than explaining in footnotes the people and places mentioned for the first time. Given that Dr. Carey Roberts worked with the successful *Papers of John C. Calhoun*, we will use many of the guidelines established in that publication. The Macon material will be divided into distinct periods with a brief introduction to each. Although we deem it necessary to collect all of Macon's published and unpublished letters and speeches, insubstantial congressional remarks will be omitted. Only his most important remarks and all the speeches and letters (excluding a few, short memos) will be included. We believe the project could be reasonably compiled into a manuscript of 275 pages or less.

Nathaniel Macon: Collected Writings and Speeches offers scholars and enthusiasts of the early republic era heretofore uncollected and unpublished documents,

which are widely scattered from the Gulf South to New England. The collection sheds light on Macon's importance during the early republic and antebellum eras, and in so doing, provides a better understanding of those eras. The collection also satisfies the current desire to move studies of Jeffersonianism past the third president and to understand the origin of certain strains of southern conservatism.

## SPEECH ON THE SENATE BILL TO RAISE AN ADDITIONAL MILITARY FORCE

In the House, January 4, 1812

Mr. MACON wished to make a few observations on the passage of the bill. He apprehended great inconveniences would arise from the passage of the bill in its present form, on account of its containing a different arrangement for raising the troops from any other establishment in the nation. Will not, said he, every new organization in the Army introduce discordance? Have we not seen the effects produced by having two differently constructed corps already, and will not the inconvenience be increased by a third? He was willing to have voted for the 10,000 men asked for by the Executive, and would afterwards have gone farther, if necessary. But he disliked the proposed arrangement. Had there been any complaints, he asked, of our old organization? It carried us through the Revolution, and he thought might still be relied upon. In proportion as different arrangements are introduced into the Army, wilt you introduce discordance and confusion. An Army should be but one body, and ought to be moved but by one soul.

It appeared to him that this objection was a very material one to the bill, and, if he believed such a motion would prevail, he would now move to recommit the bill, in order that these troops might be put upon the same plan with those already in existence. He had another objection to the bill, in its present form. In the clause giving land to the soldiers there is no provision which prohibits them from disposing of it, which there certainly ought to be. But he had no hope of getting any amendment to the bill after he had seen the manner in which other attempts at amendment had been made. Comparisons had been made, Mr. M. said, between the times of 1798 and the present. There was no likeness except in this: It was then usual for Congress to pass one bill, in order to make it necessary to pass another. What was the situation of things at that time? It had been emphatically called the 'Reign of Terror.' Was not the Rogue's March¹ played at the door of one of the most, distinguished members of the then Congress, amid other acts of extravagance done, and was not the Sedition Act passed to prevent us from complaining?

Mr. M. said, he should have been glad to have voted for the bill, but for the objections which he had stated to it. He believed every gentleman was satisfied that something must be done; but he did not like to pass one bill to make another necessary.

The party which opposed the raising of the Army in 1798, did not believe it was intended to operate against France, because they could see no object on which it could be employed. They saw the *black cockade* mounted, and they heard every one denounced who did not mount it. But there is nothing like this now. If we say we will not defend our right to carry our produce to a market, it is not worth our while to make it. If you give up an acknowledged right, you acknowledge some superior power. Why did we lay the embargo, and pass our restrictive laws, but to avoid the situation into which we have now got? He approved of one of those measures, but not of the rest. If Great Britain would only do what France has done,<sup>2</sup> there would be an end of the dispute. Is there a man in the House that wishes another attempt at negotiation, or one that wishes to go to war if it could possibly be avoided?

We are now, said Mr. M., approaching that state of things which we ought to have come to years ago. If we cannot fight by paper restrictions, we must meet force by force. If we cannot do this, it is time we put ourselves under the protection of some other Power. Every attempt which has been made to keep off the approaching crisis has proved ineffectual. As soon as the *Hornet*<sup>3</sup> which carried out the President's Message, and the report of the Committee of Foreign Relations, returns, if no redress is offered, we must go to war. For where is the difference between stopping our produce between New York and Albany, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Rogue's March was an eighteenth-century tune played by American and British armies when expelling a scandalous soldier from camp.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In early August 1810, the French government repealed the Berlin and Milan decrees, which effectively ended the policy of intercepting American ships. French actions thus fulfilled the requirements of Macon's Bill Number 2. The British government did as Macon wished and rescinded the Orders in Council on 16 June 1812, but Congressmen learned of the decision only after they declared war against Great Britain on 18 June 1812.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The U.S.S. Hornet (1805-1829) was built in Baltimore, Maryland, for the U.S. Navy. It patrolled the Atlantic coast and served as a carrier of dispatches. The ship was used intermittently during the War of 1812, participating in the capture of several British ships. It was lost in a gale off the coast of Tampico, Mexico in 1829.

stopping it between New York and any other market?

No gentleman has yet pointed out any other course. Even the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Sheffey, 4) whose talents he very much admired, though he had objected to the course proposed, had not offered any other.

Much had been said about the strength of this Government. Some think it is not strong enough; but if there be any strong Government in the world it must be this Government, and what gives it this strength is the attachment of the people to it; and it is as strong under an unpopular as a popular Administration, because the people know there is a time approaching when they can change the Administration, if they do not like it.

With respect to our getting an army, it will depend very much upon the persons appointed for officers; if they be men in whom the people have confidence, we shall get an army; but if not, we shall get no army.

There was something in the history of our affairs with Great Britain which had not been mentioned, which goes to show the strong claim which this Government has upon Great Britain. He meant the conduct of Sir William Scott,<sup>5</sup> in declining to give judgment in the case of the Fox, when he heard the Berlin and Milan decrees were repealed. So strongly was he persuaded that the Orders in Council would be repealed in consequence, that he stopped all proceedings in the case of the vessel under consideration until he received instructions from the Ministry.

Something had been said on the subject of our export trade. There was only one way, in the present state of things, to come at a knowledge of that. We can never tell where the articles exported are consumed. Two-thirds of the tobacco shipped from this country are shipped to England, though one-seventh is only consumed in that country. The usual way is to ship to Cowes and a market. No reliance can be placed upon the custom-house books, except as to the total amount of exports and imports.

But the real question is not, as has been stated, the amount of the loss we sustain. If our trade be confined, however, to Great Britain and her possessions, our produce will not pay for its freight; as it is well known that a great part of what was heretofore sent thither was consumed on the Continent, which could not now be the case.

If we are to have war, said Mr. M., it is not sought by us. If it were, there would have been no delay. The *Hornet* would not have been sent to England as a last step, or he might call it a step beyond the last. If ever a Government showed a disposition to remain at peace, this Government had shown that disposition for the last seven or eight years.

Some gentlemen appear to believe that we are not yet approaching the crisis of war; but he did believe it, and the nation at large believe it, and are now reflecting upon it in the most serious manner. We hear no noise about it as in 1798; there are no noisy boys running about the streets; but the people at large are reflecting upon our situation; they see we must either go to war, or give up our right to export anything we make. No man, said he, would willingly engage a highwayman; you would rather he should keep out of your way; but if he made an attack upon you, you would not suffer yourself to be robbed without resistance. Mr. M. sincerely hoped that war might be avoided, by Great Britain consenting to do us justice by the return of the *Hornet*; but if we engage in the war, he had no doubt that the spirit and perseverance with which it will be carried on will equal the long suffering and forbearance which we have shown before we were brought into this situation.

From the day of our independence to the present, he believed that Great Britain had a most inveterate hatred against this country. He did not believe anything of one nation having love for another; and the situation of that country and this has something peculiar in it. We were their colonies, and got clear of them; and so long as the present generation exists, they cannot love us. Nor do I imagine that the present ruler of France has any great love for us; the form of our Government is too free for him.

Mr. M. said, every restrictive measure having been resorted to in vain, and all our attempts at negotiation having failed, the nation is preparing for the last resort of Kings, and of Republics too. But now we are told we cannot contend with Great Britain. But we must either contend with her, or surrender our right to export any of our surplus produce. But

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A lawyer by trade, Daniel Sheffey (1770-1830) of Virginia served in the Virginia statehouse before entering Congress as a Federalist in 1809. He served until 1817.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sir William Scott, Lord Stowell (1745-1836), a famed British jurist and Member of Parliament, became Judge of the High Court of Admiralty in 1798. His rulings covered numerous important issues related to warfare and international law, especially regarding the seizure of belligerent and neutral vessels, one of which was the U.S.S. Fox.

why not contend with her? Let the worst come to the worst, we know what to do. We once succeeded with paper money, and if we were driven to that necessity, we could succeed again with it. We have now manufactories of arms and munitions of war, and whether money could be raised or not, if ever this nation engages in war, she engages never to surrender her rights. Every war is an evil, and amongst the greatest of evils; but we are compelled to fight or give up what we have, except the return of the *Hornet* should alter the situation of things.

No man, said Mr. M., would have more pleasure to see our differences accommodated with Great Britain than I should; but if this cannot be effected, we must change our situation; and though he could not vote for this bill, for the reasons which he had stated, he should go on with measures for putting the nation in a state of defence.

It had been said, that standing armies are dangerous to liberty. He believed it; but war cannot be carried on without them. The war which the United States are about to enter into is not of the character which has been given to it. He meant a war for the sake of conquest. Its object is to obtain the privilege of carrying the produce of our lands to a market. It is properly a war of defence; but he believed no war, after it was entered into, continued long to be strictly of that character.

As to meeting Great Britain on the ocean, no one contemplates that; as every cent expended in repairing the rotten hulks of our vessels would be thrown away as to the object of the war.

Printed in Annals of Congress, 12th Cong., 1st sess., 660-64.

#### SPEECH ON THE VOLUNTEER CORPS

In the House, January 13, 1812

Mr. MACON said, on this great Constitutional question, the best way of coming to a correct decision is for members to express their opinions freely upon it. According to the theory of our Government, Mr. M. observed, it required the State governments and the General Government to form the nation, and the two Governments ought to act in unison; they cannot work well in any other way. In some respects the Constitution guards the rights of each. When powers are given to the General Government by the Constitution they are expressly taken from the State governments. When the Constitution was adopted it was not adopted by the people in their national character, but in their character as States.

The Constitution gives to Congress the power to lay taxes of every description; and it takes away from the States the power to lay impost and tonnage duties; because, if not taken away, the right would have remained. So in respect to the power of making war, it is given to Congress, and taken from the States. And in some cases it gives the States a right to do certain things by consent of Congress.

It gives the power to Congress to make war, and to support armies, but not for a longer term than two years; but when it speaks of the militia there is no limitation as to them; because the power over them is left with the respective States, and Congress is only authorized to call them out for three purposes, viz: 'to execute the laws, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;' and to effect these purposes was not supposed to require an appropriation for more than two years. If the country was invaded, it was not meant that the militia alone should be relied upon to repel the invaders, but that they should be called out in aid of the army, or until the army could be collected for the purpose; so that there was no necessity for a limitation with respect to the militia.

Power is given to Congress to establish a navy; the States may also keep a navy by consent of Congress, but not without.

Congress have a right to govern the militia while in actual service, but at no other time.

Congress is forbidden from granting any titles of nobility; the States are forbidden also. Where the States are not to exercise a power, it is expressly taken away from them by the Constitution.

The President of the United States shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Militia when called into actual service.

Congress may raise an army for a year or six months; but when raised it must be like every other army, go to its place of destination, and not to be scattered all over the country.

The question now occurs, whether the General or State Governments have the power to send the militia without the limits of the United States? He wished gentlemen, before he touched this part of the Constitution, to take a view of the States before the adoption of this Constitution, under the old Confederation. It will be recollected that the Southern militia was sent into Florida, and the Eastern into Canada, at the instance of the old Congress. And if the power has not been taken from the States, which no one would say it had, what can hinder the States from employing the militia in the same way now?

It appeared to be the opinion of some gentlemen that when the United States go to war the Government has a right to use all the physical force of the nation in order to do her enemy all the injury she can.

The Constitution prohibits any State from engaging in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay; but if a State were to go to war, she would have a right to use her militia in any manner she pleased, in the same way that she would have done before the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

The United States Government and the State Governments acting in unison, must possess the whole sovereign power. The objection is, that Congress have the army given to them for the purpose of making war, but the militia is left in the power of the States for their defence. But if a State gives her consent for her militia to be sent without the limits of the United States, what shall hinder them from engaging in any service in which the General Government may find it for the interest of the country to employ them? It was objected to this construction that the States might not agree to this course. But this kind of reasoning, on a discord existing between the General and State Governments, ought not to be countenanced. A nation, any more than a house divided against itself, cannot stand. It would be a new state of things for a State to commit treason against the General Government.

There is another part of the Constitution on which he would make a remark. It has been said that this Government is only intended for defence. He was willing to acknowledge this as a general principle; but there is a part of the Constitution, that, if it does not look towards conquest, he did not know what is its meaning. Indeed it had always been so considered by every man with whom he had acted in public life. And is it not recollected that, when we were deprived of the right of deposit at New Orleans almost every man believed that the United States might take New Orleans by force—might conquer it and keep possession of it? There was scarcely any difference of opinion on the subject. The clauses of the Constitution to which he alluded are in the following words:

'New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

'The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations, respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States, and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.'

These clauses of the Constitution were no doubt intended to meet cases where new territory was acquired. Indeed there was an article in the ordinance of the old Confederation, which spoke more plainly, in which Canada is named. There is no doubt that this country was an object from the commencement of the Revolution, and was intended to be embraced under the new Government.

It appeared to him as if the framers of the Constitution were determined to leave no excuse for Territorial governments; they seem to say, if you acquire additional territory, you shall form it into a State or States, which shall possess equal rights with yourselves. They had seen some of the evils arising from provincial government.

Mr. M. said he was on the present occasion somewhat in the same situation as upon a late question; and, if he were to judge from present appearances, as he should probably be on all the bills making preparations for war. He was willing to vote for the bill as it stood at present; but he never would vote for anything which, in his opinion, infringed the Constitution. His opinions might be unpleasant to his friends, but he wished, above all, to have peace in his own breast.

If we go to war, England will drive us into it; and in that case he was willing to give the

President as much of the physical force of the country as shall make the war efficient.

Printed in Annals of Congress, 12th Cong., 1st sess., 756-59.

## TO JOSEPH H. NICHOLSON, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Washington, 9 April 1814

Sir, I begin to hope that we shall adjourn on Monday the 10th instant. I cannot conceive why we should stay till that day, unless the Senate have a notion of attempting a national bank. If it is however seeing to me that the same difficulty will occur in that body, which happened in the Committee of the House and which was anticipated in one of my letters to you.

The House of Representatives could with business now before it certainly adjourn by the middle of next week, and as the stages now run every day of the week, I am of a loss of the reason which will induce us to stay for Monday to adjourn.

I fear that with a few of the Republicans, the repeal of the restrictive system will produce a heart burning, but whether that heart burning will produce any serious evil is not much to be expected. I confess to you that the parties seem by their acts to be approaching to each other, and I fear that tough times is a strong argument with many of us to stretch the constitution, and the difference between expediency & constitutionality becomes every day less. Notwithstanding this I do not despair of the Republic because my dependence has always been in the people, and their influence was felt in laying the embargo and probably that of the Executive in repealing it. I have heard that some of the Federalist Senators are opposed to repeal, but not enough to prevent this bill passing.

Remember me to Mrs. Nicholson and the children & believe me. Yours Sincerely, Nathaniel Macon.

Autographed Letter Signed [ALS] in Joseph H. Nicholson Collection, Library of Congress [LC].

## TO JOSEPH H. NICHOLSON, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Washington, 19 October 1814

Sir, The two letters which you wrote to me on the 4-&cl4-instant remain to be acknowledged. I cannot tell how it is that they have been so long so. It is however true that I have been somewhat busy about little things with respect to that of the House. It is only necessary to say that I will, if an opportunity offers, mention the subject to the Secretary of War.<sup>7</sup> But I am apprehensive that it will not produce any beneficial effect while the conduct of your General<sup>8</sup> shall be acceptable to the Representatives from the State. Whether this be so, I am not informed. Though I incline to believe that it is because the affair near Baltimore is highly spoken of.

I did not see Randolph<sup>9</sup> as he went through the city. I should have been glad to have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Joseph Hopper Nicholson (1770—1817) served in the Maryland statehouse before entering Congress in 1799. Along with Macon and John Randolph, Nicholson was among the leading Republicans in Congress. After his resignation in 1806, he served as chief justice of the Maryland's sixth district and as an associate justice of the state court of appeals. His wife, Rebecca Lloyd Nicholson, was from Maryland's powerful Lloyd family, which owned the Wye House estate in Baltimore County, where the eminent abolitionist, Frederick Douglass, lived during the 1820s

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Future President James Monroe served as Secretary of State for President James Madison from 1811 to 1814. For a brief period between late October 1814 to February 1815, Monroe served as Secretary of War and as interim Secretary of State. He again served as Secretary of State from March 1815 to March 1817.

<sup>8</sup> General William Winder's incompetence during the siege of Baltimore enabled the British to destroy both Baltimore and Washington, D.C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> John Randolph of Roanoke, Virginia (1773—1833) was the son of John Randolph of Mattoax and Frances Bland and the step-son of St. George Tucker. After briefly serving in the Virginia statehouse, Randolph served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1799 to 1812 and again from 1815 to 1825, after which he served in the U.S. Senate until 1827. He then served another term in the House until 1829. Majority leader during the first administration of Thomas Jefferson, Randolph and Macon formed the Tertium Quid opposition during Jefferson's second term. Randolph later became the defacto leader of the Old Republicans when they split with their National counterparts during and after the War of 1812.

done so. Though I have not had a line from him since he left Congress, I found a book of his in Washington and enclosed it to him by Mr. Pleasants<sup>10</sup> with a letter stating how it came into my possession, to which I received no answer. I have understood from Stanford, who saw him, that he went on to see his nephew, who went to Cambridge to finish his education and who is now sick at New York. His mother, I also understood from the same authority went on a few days before.

Mr. Monroe is I am informed constantly engaged in the duties of his new office. How he will succeed as Secretary of War cannot now be ascertained. He & Dallas<sup>13</sup> have both exhibited great courage in taking their offices at this critical time. The latter in a letter to the Chairman<sup>14</sup> of the Committee of Ways and Means, has taken a sufficient responsibility to show that he is not afraid of it. Who is to be Secretary of State I have not heard.

I do not imagine that at this time there is money enough in the national treasury to defray the most common expense, and I am afraid it will be some time before enough will be there to meet the demands against it.

I think the want of both men & money to carry on the war with vigor is rather to be attributed to the opposition than to the plans heretofore adopted; though, I owe to you that I think better might have been adopted. The opposition to the war has not only been violent but unceasing both in & out of Congress, and from the late elections in Pennsylvania & Maryland, it seems as if the opposition was increasing, and of course that the difficulty would be increased in the next Congress, and I am apprehensive that the opposition will be increased by the elections in Virginia and North Carolina. The tobacco planters will be much harassed by the payment of the taxes and this will probably incline them to listen with pleasure and satisfaction to the pleasing name of the peace party. It is therefore not improbable but that the next Congress may have the parties nearly balanced. The Federalists, I believe, calculate pretty strongly on a majority and expect a very great change in Virginia & North Carolina. It has been reported how truly I do not know that North Carolina will, in the next house of Representatives, have only two Republicans, to wit Murfree & Yancey. The opposition in the district which I represent has been long since commenced, & I understand with greater industry & expectation.

I am living at a Mrs. Clark's, <sup>17</sup> a good house, all but the cooking. God bless you & yours. I have written in my seat, Nathaniel Macon.

ALS in Joseph H. Nicholson Collection, LC.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Stanford of North Carolina was an educator by profession. He served in Congress as a Republican from 1797 until his death in 1816.

<sup>13</sup> Alexander James Dallas (1759-1817) held numerous state offices in Pennsylvania before being appointed Secretary of Treasury in 1814. He served as Secretary of Treasury until 1816 and concurrently as Secretary of War in 1815.

William Hardy Murfree (1781—1827) represented North Carolina as a Republican congressman from 1813 to 1817.
 Bartlett Yancey (1785—1828) served in Congress from 1813 to 1817 as a Republican from North Carolina.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> A leading Jeffersonian Republican, James Pleasants (1769-1836) of Virginia practiced law and served in the Virginia state house before being elected to Congress in 1811. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1819 and served until 1822, when he was elected Governor of Virginia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Theodorick Tudor Randolph (ca. 1796-1798—1815), son Richard and Judith Randolph and nephew of John Randolph, graduated from Harvard College in 1815. He died of pulmonary consumption shortly thereafter and never returned to his Virginia home.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> John Wayles Eppes (1773—1823) was a Jeffersonian Republican from Virginia who served in the House of Representatives from 1803 to 1811 and again from 1813 to 1815. He was one of Virginia's U.S. Senators from 1817 to 1819. He was also Thomas Jefferson's son-in-law having married Maria "Polly" Jefferson in 1797.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> A Mrs. Clark operated a boarding house on F Street, not far from the burned remains of the Treasury building. Macon lived there in 1815 along with several southern congressmen.

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## Republicanism and Liberty: The "Patrick Henry"/"Onslow" Debate

## A Book Proposal for Lexington Books

## A) Overview of the Need for the Volume:

Some of the exchanges that appear in the Patrick Henry"/"Onslow" Debate are included in volume 10 of The Papers of John C. Calhoun (University of South Carolina Press, 1977). What makes the proposed book timely and of great scholarly interest is the nature of the debate primarily, but on a secondary and practical level, volume 10 is now out-of-print and not in a great deal of library collections. Unfortunately, the authoritative library cataloguing database, OCLC (On-line Computer Center), does not have a record for each volume of the Papers, preferring to list the works as a series; therefore, if a library has a single volume in a collection, it is depicted as having the totality of the Papers as a holding. However, given this information, it is important to note that of 3,923 college and university libraries in the country (and 9,000 worldwide), only 900 have at least one volume of the Papers, and we can surmise that the minority of these collections do not have volume 10. Also, the debate has never received the attention it deserves, and given the renewed attraction to the life and works of Adams and Calhoun, and the Early National Period, a steady "audience" and demand for this and related exchanges has already emerged in the scholarly market. We attempt there to provide an introduction to the larger issues, and an assessment that will be integrated with the text and textual commentary. The introduction and related materials must be more than an essay, serving instead as survey of the historical and political landscape—and such a clarification on our part obviously provides more evidence for the necessity for publication. An additional source of appeal for this volume will be the inclusion of related documents—some recently discovered—from the supporters of Calhoun and Adams and the protagonists themselves—that provide insight and perspectives previously unavailable or unknown.

It is our hope that the finished book will present Calhoun's and Adams's arguments in their own words, with the editors' scholarly comments only appearing in the introduction and in footnotes. Therefore, the proposed book is most valuable precisely because it allows both parties to speak to a modern audience unfiltered by any academic bias toward or against either party.

#### **B)** Survey of Content:

The emerging personal and philosophical dispute between Vice-President John C. Calhoun and President John Quincy Adams prompted the "Patrick Henry"/"Onslow" debate and their subsequent disengagement from each other. Adams's early initiatives alarmed Calhoun, who feared the "principles of '98" were threatened by this slow, steady increase of the general government's power and the erosion

of constitutional integrity. On the other hand, Calhoun's lack of support for the administration's programs was a source of great and legitimate concern to Adams.

Assuming an office considered largely ceremonial, Calhoun took his vice-presidential responsibilities seriously, bringing a new dedication to his position as Senate President. While elected a member of the executive branch, the Vice-President worked within the legislative branch. He began as a Vice-President elected in his own right, not as a disciple of John Quincy Adams. The vicepresidential office had previously proven to be a less than propitious "springboard" for political or personal advancement, with every Vice-President except John Adams and Thomas Jefferson either dying in office or becoming somewhat removed from their public responsibilities. From his first day as Senate President, Calhoun presided over the body's deliberations, breaking a long pattern of vicepresidential inactivity regarding Senate proceedings.<sup>2</sup> Given the limited constitutional requirements placed upon the office, Vice-Presidents were not intimately connected to the political struggles within their respective administrations and some rarely visited the Capital. The previous Congress had given the Vice-President power to appoint Senate committee chairmen, and Calhoun exercised this new responsibility with great fairness, selecting friends of the Adams Administration to chair eight major committees, with the remaining seven chairmanships given to senators not directly associated with the administration. Calhoun's approach to making committee appointments and his increasingly critical posture towards executive control drove a wedge between himself and President Adams regarding the use of power. Calhoun consistently held that political power was a trust, given by the people and moderated by the states primarily, but also in a more limited degree by the general government; therefore, consolidating power always led to political disorder, threatening the country's constancy of mission and vision. In opposition to Calhoun's theory of power restraint and diffusion, Adams believed in using power as tool for broadening one's sphere of influence and affirming a presidential agenda, as the debate with Calhoun would prove.<sup>3</sup> Given such a divergence between Adams and Calhoun on principle, the ensuing debate became a national event as it brought their differences into the public arena, again dramatizing the great republican philosophical divide in American politics.

As noted, the "Patrick Henry"/"Onslow" exchange should be understood as a battle for the soul of American republicanism. While one can argue that the debate traverses several levels, and indeed the exchanges themselves encourage such analysis, these reflections on the nature of political authority actually take place on two interconnected levels: the personal and the philosophical.<sup>4</sup> In the course of eleven lengthy essays the authors' display a depth of insight not encountered in contemporary politics, provide important commentary on central concerns of political life, and offer remarkable discernment regarding the tension between liberty and power. The debate began on rather innocuous terms when Calhoun refused to preserve "order" and interrupt Senator John Randolph's speech against President

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Clyde Wilson has described this series of Vice-Presidents who spent long periods away from Washington as "absentee" officials ("Introduction," Papers, Vol. X, Ibid., p. xxxi).

 $<sup>^2</sup>$ The presiding power was usually yielded by the President Pro Tempore, a Senator elected by his colleagues.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Papers, Vol. XVI, p. 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Clyde Wilson, "Introduction," *Papers*, Vol. 10, pp. xiii-xlvi; and Irving H. Bartlett, *John C. Calhoun: A Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1993), pp. 132-138.

Adams and Secretary of State Clay, with whom Randolph had recently dueled. Responding to Calhoun's failure to stifle Randolph, an essay appeared in the "party press" paper, the *National Journal*, under the pseudonym "Patrick Henry," criticizing the Vice-President. Some mystery persists over "Patrick Henry"'s authorship, although the attachment of the author to Adams's neo-Federalism cannot be questioned. For our research, we can prove that the author was either Adams or a confidant acting under the President's direct tutelage.<sup>5</sup> It is unlikely Calhoun would have participated in such a debate if he thought "Patrick Henry" was a surrogate, and public attention to these issues and personages would also have been greatly diminished if some other individual besides President Adams was the acknowledged author of "Patrick Henry." Influenced by the reputation of Sir Arthur Onslow, a noted Speaker of the House of Commons whose expertise in parliamentary procedure influenced Jefferson's *A Manual of Parliamentary Practice*, Calhoun took the *nom de plume* "Onslow."

As suggested, an incident occurred between Senator Randolph and Senator Mahlon Dickerson (New Jersey), and Calhoun refused to limit Randolph's speech, a power supposedly provided by the presiding officer's "power of preservation." Calhoun argued that the Senate President held "appellate power" as the beneficiary of the Senate's trust; such responsibility did not primarily dictate that the Senate President preside over legislative sessions. In fact, Calhoun cited Senate rules six and seven that allowed the President to "call for the sense of Senate" when order was disputed, and for the recording of "exceptionable" speech before rendering a judgment about a member's comments. 6 "Patrick Henry," as the ensuing debate would prove, argued that Calhoun's proposition was impractical and politically untenable.

The first essay in the exchange found "Patrick Henry" inveighing personally against Calhoun, suggesting that the Vice-President promoted criticism of the Adams's Administration and "sacrificed the proprieties of office to the sympathies of a desperate ambition." Patrick Henry" argued that the presiding officer must possess the power to preserve order, stressing the necessity of authority in relation to the Senate. In other words, the powers of the Senate President resided in the office, with the office also implying particular duties. Within the personal dimensions of the debate, "Patrick Henry" criticized Calhoun as a disciple of Jackson and one whose understanding of Senate procedure exceeded "scholastic absurdity" in its precisianism. Defending his restrained legislative demeanor, Calhoun refused to "stand in the light of a usurper," exerting the power to preside when such a responsibility was "too high for the Chair [Senate President]." Calhoun then offered his first response as "Onslow," addressing two questions—the necessity of calling Randolph to order, and secondly, the more profound problem of using power when it is not explicitly needed or when it is reserved for other purposes. As

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Charles Catlett, New York, to Philip B. Fendall, Washington, D.C., October 17, 1826. Letter in the hand of Charles Catlett, Special Collections, File 21-I, letter 24, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

<sup>6&</sup>quot;Speech in the Rules of the Senate and the Powers of the Vice-President, April 15, 1826, in *Papers*, Vol. 10, p. 89.

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$ "Patrick Henry," May 1, 1826, in *Papers*, Vol. 10, pp. 92-96 [hereafter cited as "Patrick Henry 1"].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>9&</sup>quot;Remarks on the Power to Call to Order," May 18, 1826, in Papers, Vol. 10, pp. 97-99.

Calhoun summarized this central philosophical thrust of "Onslow," he countered "Patrick Henry"'s emerging theory of power. The power to call to order was directly bestowed upon the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Speaker was selected from among the Representatives. As an executive officer not elected by the Senate, the Senate President was not given the body's approval and consent for controlling its deliberations. In other words, the Senate President lacked legitimacy when compared to the Speaker of the House's obligation to preside. As rational agents on the behalf of the people and the states, the Senators had failed to entrust the Senate President with sufficient authority for calling members to order, but he may determine and articulate the appropriate intervals for debate, although he could not interfere with the "freedom of debate." Moreover, as a figure not elected from within the Senate, he could not appropriately referee issues concerning the "latitude" or limits of discussions, citing the English House of Lords as precedent for such a posture.

By referring to constitutional provisos and the wisdom of the Founders, especially Jefferson, both discussants offered a convincing and accurate appeal to the republican worldview. In opposition to Calhoun's use of Jefferson, "Patrick Henry" presented his contribution with copious quotations from Jefferson's Manual, including references to Hatsell's treatise on procedure in the English House of Commons. 11 While the struggle between "Patrick Henry" and Calhoun over the Manual and whose position most closely resembled its guidelines for organizing the Senate's work might appear to be of an inclusively procedural nature, "Patrick Henry"'s used Jefferson and Senate history to support his theory of power. 12 Calhoun's "Onslow" recognized that primary responsibility for Senate deliberations as well as the work of American government depended on a more explicit and concise guide, the Constitution. According to the fundamental law, the Senate was to make its own rules regarding proceedings, and then obey these structures (Article 1, Section 5, Clause 2), hopefully preventing disruption and stalemate. (As a supplement to the Constitution, the Manual remains an important source for American parliamentary procedure, although Jefferson relied more in practice upon his Parliamentary Pocket-Book as a guide. 13) Power was diffused through delegation, which strengthened the parts and the whole, allowing the parts ample opportunity to mold popular rule within the whole. For Calhoun, the theory of power and ultimately of popular rule espoused by "Patrick Henry" tended to support the "uncontrolled and unlimited power" of the executive. 14 To articulate inherent power as intrinsic to a particular office neglected the sources and primary agency genuine

<sup>10</sup> "Onslow," May 20, 1826, in *Papers*, Vol. 10, pp. 99-104, quote from p. 102 [hereafter as "Onslow 1"].

<sup>11</sup> John Hatsell, Precedents of Proceedings in the House of Commons, Volume 2 (London: Payne, Cadell, and Davies, 1796; numerous earlier editions).

<sup>12</sup>Both Calhoun and "Patrick Henry" could find support for their respective positions in the Manual (Thomas Jefferson, A Manual of Parliamentary Practice for the Use of the Senate of the United States [Georgetown: Joseph Milligan and William Cooper, 1812]; for the modern scholarly edition see Jefferson's Parliamentary Writing, ed. Wilbur Samuel Howell [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988], pp. 353-433). Of special importance to Calhoun's argument is Jefferson's commentary on the special provisions within Senate procedure found throughout the Manual, especially Sections XV (p. 373) and XVII (p. 376).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 9-38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 139.

authority required. The people acting through state legislatures, delegated a modicum of power to the Senate. A symbiotic relationship developed between the recipient of power and its original sources, encouraging deliberation and mutual respect. The Senate had evolved into an institution that was responsive to state preferences, but also sensitive to national needs. With the Vice-President, the Senate had crafted certain boundaries of authority through established legislative and procedural habits. In a fashion, the Senate entrusted the Vice-President as Senate President with certain delegated powers, while retaining most of its authority, including the power to maintain order "in the body, and not in the presiding officer." Connecting the power to preserve order with enforcement duty, the Senate as a body reserved for itself the obligations placed upon the Speaker in the House of Representatives. 16

When Calhoun presented a restrictive commentary on the Constitution, "Patrick Henry" countered with a more inclusive critique. For "Patrick Henry" the creative power of the Senate President implied inherent power; once an office was created, the officer possessed the power of the position without compromise. The Senate, having vested the Senate President with power to call members to order, "confers on the office by the single fact of creating it, every power necessary for the performance of its duties." Once created, the Senate President's powers could not be taken away or modified, argued "Patrick Henry." The creation alone established the "Constitutional character of that officer." Patrick Henry" concluded by accusing Calhoun of promoting anarchy, degrading the Senate, and compromising the Adams Administration with his appointment of opposition senators to committee chairmanships. While "Patrick Henry"'s forceful essays provide a valuable assessment of Calhoun's South Atlantic republicanism and protection doctrine, connecting the worldview of John Quincy Adams with the earlier New England republicanism, Calhoun's "Onslow" may be more in accord with the political thought of the Antifederalists, but its relevance must be examined in light of the demands of place and time.

For Calhoun, Senate procedures served as a microcosm of the need for restraint within political life. The orderly diffusion and application of popular rule allowed for a political system that was more sustainable. While acknowledging the need for self-imposed restraints upon the delegation and use of power, as well as the agency of control, "Patrick Henry" defended patronage as an appropriate tool for extending and confirming political power. A Vice-President or legislative leader should only install committee chairs who are "friendly to the measures of the President," encouraging a system for rewarding the concentration of power and limiting popular participation in governing.<sup>20</sup> Insofar as the version of popular rule "Patrick Henry" endorsed explicitly precluded dividing power and appealing to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>16&</sup>quot;Onslow," June 29, 1826, in Papers, Vol. 10, pp. 147-155 [hereafter "Onslow
3"].

<sup>17&</sup>quot;Patrick Henry, "August 4, 1826, in Papers, Vol. 10, pp. 165-175; quoted text, p. 169 [hereafter "Patrick Henry 3"].

<sup>18&</sup>quot;Patrick Henry, " August 5, 1826, in Papers, Vol. 10, pp. 175-187; quoted
text, p. 184 [hereafter "Patrick Henry 4"].

 $<sup>^{19}</sup>$ "Patrick Henry," August 8, 1826, in *Papers*, Vol. 10, pp. 188-197 [hereafter "Patrick Henry 5"].

<sup>20&</sup>quot;Patrick Henry 5," p. 191.

the higher potentialities of the citizenry, Calhoun observed that such a theory of politics "must lead to a political state," suggesting an arbitrariness regarding constitutional "first principles." While recognizing the need to allow for self-interest as "Patrick Henry" eloquently noted, Calhoun urged the inclusion of the moral dimension within a concept of popular rule. As a guide to these "first principles," Calhoun's "Onslow" again referred to the Constitution, Jefferson's "Republican struggle," and the need to persevere against efforts directed towards denigrating this republican worldview. <sup>22</sup>

In this course of this exchange some of the most salient issues with American politics and liberty are debated, including the nature of political order, democracy, and the diffusion of political power. The level of erudition and insight is remarkable. The "Patrick Henry"/"Onslow" Debate deserves a wider popular and scholarly audience. In providing a volume devoted solely to the debate, which includes a thorough introduction and explanatory notes, Lexington Books could help alleviate this omission.

<sup>21&</sup>quot;Onslow 6," p. 232.

<sup>22&</sup>lt;sub>Ibid</sub>.

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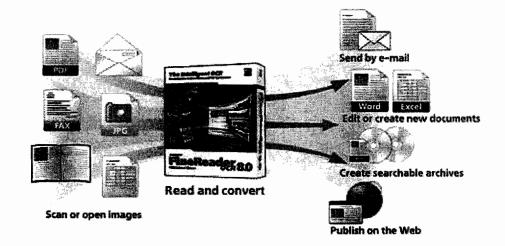
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When you are converting documents for editing, ABBYY FineReader 8.0 exports the results directly to your favorite applications, including Microsoft Word, Microsoft Excel, Microsoft PowerPoint, Lotus Word Pro, Corel WordPerfect, Sun StarWriter and Adobe Acrobat/Reader. In addition, recognized text can be saved in a variety of file formats, including PDF, HTML, Microsoft Word XML, DOC, RTF, XLS, PPT, DBF, CSV, TXT, and LIT.

#### **Bonus ABBYY Screenshot Reader Utility for Instant OCR**

ABBYY Screenshot Reader is an easy-to-use utility that lets you quickly capture screen images and allows you to perform "instant" OCR from the screen. It is ideal for pulling text, tables, or images from Web browser pages, flash presentations, Windows Explorer file menus, or error messages. Screenshot Reader is also an ideal "quick OCR" tool when you want to pull small quotes or a few sentences of text from a PDF or image file. ABBYY Screenshot Reader ships with ABBYY FineReader 8.0 Professional Edition as a bonus application for registered users.

#### **Integration with Microsoft Word**

You can launch ABBYY FineReader from within Microsoft Word, scan paper documents and put the recognized text into the document you are currently working on without leaving Word.

When exporting documents to Microsoft Word 2003, FineReader automatically opens an embedded view of the original document, allowing you to edit and view your documents at the same time, thus eliminating the need to switch between the two applications.

#### **WYSIWYG Text Editor**

The multicolumn WYSIWYG ("what you see is what you get") text editor allows you to view the full layout of the scanned document during editing, so that you can quickly check the file before exporting it.

#### Full-Text Searches with Morphology Support

Any batch created in ABBYY FineReader can be used as a small database with full-text search capabilities. You can search for words in all their grammatical forms. This feature is available for 36 languages that have dictionary support.

#### **Barcode Recognition**

ABBYY FineReader also supports barcode recognition, including recognition of PDF-417 2D barcodes. This is ideal for companies that need to process and index a large number of documents for archiving.

#### **Image Splitting Tool**

The image splitting tool allows you to split the image into several areas and save each area as a separate page. This mode is particularly handy for recognizing books and PowerPoint handouts.

#### Easy to Use

ABBYY FineReader 8.0 has a new intuitive, user-friendly interface that guides you through the OCR process. Whether you are new to OCR or an advanced user, working with FineReader 8.0 is simple and easy.



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I ABBYY ScanTo Office - one-step conversion of scanned image files to Microsoft Office documents I

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■ Product Features

**FAQs** 

System Requirements

Supported Languages

## ABBYY ScanTo Office





🕒 Trial

ABBYY ScanTo Office lets you instantly convert your paper documents into Microsoft® Word, Excel files or sent the results as e-mail attachments. It re-produces an electronic replica of your paper original, requiring minimal retyping and reformatting.

With ScanTo Office you can dramatically improve your productivity. You can easily convert paper documents and quickly edit and reuse the information with a simple click of a button.

In addition, ScanTo Office allows you to run the program as a plug-in. The program also comes with a Wizard that leads you through the simple steps of conversion process.

Remember that ABBYY ScanTo Office is available only in North America, Central America, and Western European countries.

## Key features

- One-click conversion
- Easy-to-use wizard guides you through simple steps of scan conversion
- Seamless integration with Microsoft Office
  - Scans and converts documents directly into Microsoft Word and Excel
  - Scans and sends as e-mail attachment in one step
  - Accessible from Windows Explorer
- Layout retained in output document
- Support for 37 conversion languages
- Automatic book scanning

ABBYY ScanTo Office		? X
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,	About ScanTo C	Mice
ScanTo Office converts your ima documents.	iges into editable and searchable	
1. How will you get your images?		
Scan - I'm going to scan	a m <u>u</u> ltipage document	
Open image files		
2. Conversion settings		
Document languages: Russian; English	More Options	

Terget application	
Open in Microsoft <u>W</u> ord Open in Microsoft <u>E</u> xcel Save to file	<ul> <li>Send as e-mail document attachment</li> <li>Send as e-mail image attachment</li> </ul>
<u>Help</u>	Start Cancel

#### **One-click conversion**

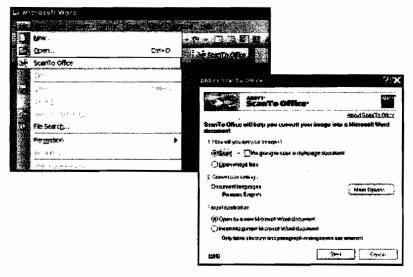
With a single click of a button you can perform multiple tasks at once with ABBYY ScanTo Office - scan a paper document, convert and open it in Microsoft Word, Excel, or send out as an e-mail attachment.

**Easy-to-use wizard guides you through simple steps of scan conversion**ABBYY ScanTo Office allows you to run this utility by using a wizard-style interface that guides you through the simple steps of the conversion process from scanning or opening image, through adjusting conversion setting, to output.

#### Seamless integration with Microsoft Office

ScanTo Office is seamlessly integrated into Microsoft Office applications, such as Word, Excel, and Outlook, and allows you to convert images directly from within these applications; as a result, you can start working on the documents directly from the end application.

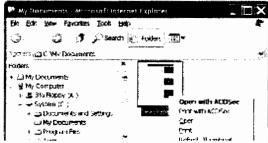
Scans and converts documents directly into Microsoft Word and Excel ABBYY ScanTo Office adds a plug-in button into Word and Excel. You can click a button to scan, convert and edit the document without leaving these applications. The converted results can be opened as a new file or inserted to the Word and Excel document that is currently open.



#### Scans and sends as e-mail attachment in one step

ABBYY ScanTo Office adds an icon on Outlook's desktop. You can simply click a button to scan a document and instantly send it out as an e-mail attachment. You will never have to go through the process of launch a separate application, save the scanning result and then go back to Outlook and try to locate the file for attachment.

Accessible from Windows Explorer With a single right-mouse click, ScanTo Office





necessary applications or exports it to any supported output format or application.

#### Layout retained in output document

ABBYY ScanTo Office converts your paper documents or scanned images to editable Microsoft Word or Excel files with the look and feel of the original document. No need to retype or reformat your information.

#### Support for 37 conversion languages

ABBYY ScanTo Office supports 37 languages, including English, German, French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Russian, and more. It also reads bi-lingual documents by selecting a secondary language.

#### **Automatic book scanning**

You can scan opposing pages of a book at the same time. You simply place the book face-down on a scanner, check the **Split-page** option, and then ScanTo Office will automatically scans both sides at the same time and splits image into two pages.

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#### **CURRICULA VITAE**

#### Carey Michael Roberts

2008 West 8<sup>th</sup> Street Russellville, AR 72801 (479) 964-5115 Email: carey.roberts@atu.edu

Department of Social Sciences Arkansas Tech University Russellville, AR 72801 (479) 968-0449

#### **EDUCATION:**

Ph.D. University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C., May 1999

Dissertation: "Men of Much Faith: Progress and Declension in

Jeffersonian Thought, 1787--1800"

Director: Clyde N. Wilson

Fields of Concentration: Early American republic, American intellectual history,

economic history, and philosophy of history

M.A. University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C., 1995

B.A. University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, 1993

Diploma in International Relations, University of Wales, Swansea, U.K., 1991

#### **TEACHING EXPERIENCE:**

Associate Professor of History, Arkansas Tech University, 2006-Assistant Professor of History, Arkansas Tech University, 2000-2006 Founding Faculty, Yorktown University, 2002-Instructor, University of South Carolina, 1999-2000 Graduate Teaching Associate, University of South Carolina, 1998-1999 Graduate Instructional Assistant, University of South Carolina, 1995-1998

#### SCHOLARLY MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITING

Co-editor, Arator: A Journal of Southern Culture and Thought. A refereed, scholarly journal entatively scheduled for online publication in January 2007.

An Enquiry into the Principles and Tendencies of Certain Public Measures and other Pamphlets by John Taylor of Caroline. Currently under review for publication by Liberty Fund, Inc.

With H. Lee Cheek and Sean R. Busick, eds. *The Patrick Henry-Onslow Exchange: John Calhoun versus John Q. Adams*. Accepted for publication by Lexington Books.

- With Troy Kickler, eds. *Nathaniel Macon: Collected Writings and Speeches*. Currently being prepared for publication.
- Men of Much Faith: Jeffersonian Nationalism in the 1790s. Currently being prepared for publication.

#### ARTICLES IN REFEREED JOURNALS

- "The Mighty River of Providence or the Secrets of Home: The Historical Theories of Simms and Bancroft." *The Simms Review*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 35-43.
- "Calhoun, the Old Republicans, and Nullification," Special Issue on John C. Calhoun. *Political Science Reviewer*, to be published 2006.

#### **CHAPTERS**

- "Alexander Hamilton and the 1790s Economy: A Reappraisal," *The Life and Legacy of America's Most Elusive Founding Father*, edited by Douglas Ambrose and Robert W. T. Martin. New York University Press, 2006.
- "David Hume." Chapter in Ellen J. Jenkins, *Eighteenth Century British Historians*. ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2006.
- "Mercy Otis Warren." Chapter in Sean R. Busick, Writers of the American Revolutionary Era. ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2006.
- "Noah Webster." Chapter in Sean R. Busick, Writers of the American Revolutionary Era. ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2006.
- "Arthur Lee." Chapter in Sean R. Busick, Writers of the American Revolutionary Era. ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2006.
- "Was Slavery Profitable?" Chapter in Mark Malvasi, ed., History in Dispute: Slavery in the Western Hemisphere. Garland Press, 2003.
- "Did Slavery Contribute to Economic 'Backwardness?" Chapter in Mark Malvasi, ed., History in Dispute: Slavery in the Western Hemisphere. Garland Press, 2003.
- "Did Slavery Cause the Civil War?" Chapter in Mark Malvasi, ed., *History in Dispute: Slavery in the Western Hemisphere*. Garland Press, 2003.
- "Was the Second Amendment Designed To Safeguard an Individual or Collective Right To Bear Arms?" Chapter in Keith Krawczynski, ed., *History in Dispute: The American Revolution*. Garland Press, 2002.
- With Herbert S. Trask. "The Presidency of Andrew Johnson." Chapter in *The American Presidency*. Newark: Transaction Publishers, 2001.

#### **BOOK REVIEWS AND ANCILLIARY CONTRIBUTIONS**

"Nathaniel Macon." Entry for the North Carolina History Project, www.northcarolinahistory.org. "Articles of Confederation," "Banks of the United States," "British Colonization," "John C. Calhoun," "Colonial Wars," "Erie Canal." Entries in Exploring American History, edited by Thomas McCarthy. Marshall Cavendish, 2007.

- "Arkansas State Bank" and "Arkansas Real Estate Bank." Entries in *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History*. University of Arkansas Press, 2006.
- "Patrick Henry," "Currency," "William Henry Drayton," "Thomas Holles-Pelham," and "George Mason." Entries in *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*. ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2006.
- "Robert Goodloe Harper" and "Preston Smith Brooks." Entries in Walter Edgar, ed., *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*. The South Carolina Humanities Council, 2006.
- "Jefferson Davis," "Robert E. Lee," and "John Taylor of Caroline." Entries in *American Conservatism: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Bruce Frohnen, Jeffrey Nelson, and Jeremy Beer. Washington: ISI Books, 2006.
- "John Breckinridge," "Federalist Party," "Albert Gallatin," and "John Randolph of Roanoke." Entries in *The Louisiana Purchase: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Junius Rodriguez. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2002.
- Review of *Inside the White House in War Times: Memoirs and Reports of Lincoln's Secretary* by William O. Stoddard. Edited by Michael Burlingame. H-DC, May, 2002.
- Review of Calhoun and Popular Rule: The Political Theory of the Disquisition and the Discourse by H. Lee Cheek. Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture, November, 2001.
- Review of Soldier and Scholar: Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve and the Civil War. Edited by Ward W. Briggs, Jr. In The Southern Historian. 20 (Spring, 1999): 57-58.
- Reviewer for Longman Publishers. Reviewed *American History Interactive*. January 15, 2002. Reviewer for Longman Publishers. Reviewed longmanamericanhistory.com. November 18-19, 2003.
- Reviewer for Longman Publishers. Numerous book proposals in economic history. 2004-6.

#### **PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS:**

- "Constitution Day." Arkansas Tech University Ceremony Honoring the U.S. Constitution. September 16, 2005.
- "The Lincoln Image in the Nineteenth Century." Presentation at "Lincoln: The Man, the Myth, and the Symbol." Franklin, Louisiana, July, 2005.
- "The Lincoln Image in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: A Multi-media Presentation." Presented at "Linicoln: The Man, the Myth, and the Symbol." Franklin, Louisiana, July, 2005.
- "Character, Virtue, and the Founding." Bill of Rights Institute Teacher Symposium. Jackson, Mississippi, February 15, 2005 and Little Rock, Arkansas, February 16, 2005.
- "Men of Virtue: Madison, Henry, and Calhoun." Bill of Rights Institute Teacher Symposium. Jackson, Mississippi, February 15, 2005 and Little Rock, Arkansas, February 16, 2005.
- "Forms of Nationalism in Early America: 1775-1790." The Southern Critique of Centralization and Nationalism. St. John's Island, South Carolina, July 9-14, 2004.
- "Creating a National Culture: 1790-1830." The Southern Critique of Centralization and Nationalism. St. John's Island, South Carolina, July 9-14, 2004.
- "The Religious Foundation of a Redeemer Nation." The Southern Critique of Centralization and Nationalism. St. John's Island, South Carolina, July 9-14, 2004.
- "Were the Articles of Confederation a Failure?" Abbeville Institute, St. Johns Island, South Carolina, July 2003.

- "The Articles of Confederation and the American Devolutionist Tradition." Abbeville Institute, St. Johns Island, South Carolina, July 2003.
- "South Carolina and the American Revolution." Lecture and tour. AHS National Convention, Charlotte, North Carolina, June 18-21, 2003.
- "Historic Columbia, South Carolina." Lecture and tour. AHS National Convention, Charlotte, North Carolina, June 18, 2003. [Pretour]
- "Rethinking Calhoun, Individualism, and Southern Conservatism." Southern Political Science Association, Savannah, Georgia, November 6-9, 2002.
- "Calhoun, the Old Republicans, and Nullification." St. George Tucker, Atlanta, Georgia, June 13-15, 2002.
- "The Politics of History: Why the First Thanksgiving Was Not at Plymouth Rock." REACH Homeschooling Association, Russellville, Arkansas, November 5, 2001.
- "Hamilton and the Economic Problems of the 1790s." The Hamilton Conference: Exploring the Life and Legacy of Alexander Hamilton, Hamilton, NY, April 4-6, 2001.
- "An Austrian Perspective on Hamiltonian Finance: The Business Cycles of the Early 1790s." Austrian Scholars Conference, Auburn, AL, March 30-April 1, 2001.
- "States Rights and the Failure of Majoritarian Politics." Delivered before Phi Alpha Theta, Arkansas Tech University, October 11, 2000.
- "Educating Republican Majorities: Thomas Jefferson, John Taylor, and the Resolutions of 1798." Delivered at the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic, Buffalo, New York, July 26, 2000.
- "The Majoritarian Philosophy of William Gilmore Simms." Delivered at the Biennial Simms Conference, Charleston, January 6-9, 2000.
- "The British Image in the Jeffersonian Mind." Delivered at the Society of Early Americanists, Charleston, South Carolina, March 1999.
- "The Mighty River of Providence or the Secrets of Home: The Historical Theories of William Gilmore Simms and George Bancroft." Delivered at the Simms Society/Faulkner Society Conference, New Orleans, Louisiana, December 11-13, 1997.
- "The Dilemma of Jeffersonian Constitutionalism: Strict Construction of a Subverted Text."

  Delivered at the Austrian Scholars Conference, Ludwig von Mises Institute, Auburn
  University, April 5-6, 1997.

#### MEETINGS AND SEMINARS

- Panelist, "James Madison and War." Liberty Fund Symposium. Indianapolis, May 17-19, 2006. Discussion Leader, "Liberty and Responsibility in the Writings of George Washington." Liberty Fund Symposium. Arlington, Virgina. April 4-6, 2006.
- Discussion Leader, "War and the Defense of Liberty." American Universities and the Principles of Liberty in the Twenty-First Centery. A Co-Sponsored Program of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute and Liberty Fund, Inc. March 23-26, 2006.
- Panelist, "I'll Take My Stand after Seventy Five Years." Sponsored in part by the Abbeville Institute and the Watson-Brown Foundation. Atlanta, February 19-21, 2006.
- Discussion Leader, "The Federalists and Anti-federalists." Liberty Fund Symposium in cooperation with the Bill of Rights Institute. Washington, D.C. October 20-23, 2005.

- Panelist, "Revolution, Secession, and Liberty: American Independence, the Civil War, and Beyond." Liberty Fund Seminar. Bozeman, Montana, September 22-25, 2005.
- Discussion Leader, "Law, Liberty, and the Rise of the West: American Universities and the Principles of Liberty in the Twenty-First Century." Intercollegiate Studies Institute. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 8-11, 2005.
- Discussion Leader, "John Adams on Liberty." Liberty Fund Seminar. Boston, Massachusetts, April 7-10, 2005.
- Discussion Leader, "Flannery O'Connor on Liberty." Liberty Fund Seminar. Savannah, Georgia, March 10-13, 2005.
- Co-Discussion Leader, "Burke and Hayek on Order and Liberty." Liberty Fund Seminar in Conjunction with ISI. San Francisco, California, March 3-6, 2005.
- Panelist and Discussion Leader, "Lincoln, the Man, the Myth, the Symbol, the Legacy." Atlanta, Georgia, February 25-27, 2005.
- Panelist, "Liberty and Popular Government under State Constitutions." Liberty Fund Seminar, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February 10-13, 2005.
- Co-Discussion Leader, "Liberty and the Philadelphia Convention." Liberty Fund Summer Symposium, Chattanooga, Tennessee. July 19-25, 2004.
- Discussion Leader, "Liberty and *The American Republic*." Liberty Fund Seminar, Chattanooga, Tennessee. March 25-28, 2004.
- Panelist, "The Antebellum North and American Nationalism." Tom Watson House, Augusta, Georgia. February 5-8, 2004.
- Co-Discussion Leader, "Liberty and the Philadelphia Convention." Liberty Fund Summer Symposium, Chattanooga, Tennessee, July 17-23, 2003.
- Leader and presenter. Classroom to Classroom: Innovative Teacher Workshops in the Social Sciences and Humanities. Ratifying the Constitution. Arkansas Tech University, March 29, 2003.
- Organized Panel, "Roundtable on Lee Cheek's *Calhoun and Popular Rule* (University of Missouri Press, 2001)." Southern Political Science Association, Savannah, Georgia, November 6-9, 2002.
- Co-discussion Leader, "Liberty and the American Founding." Liberty Fund Summer Symposium, Chattanooga, Tennessee, June 25-30, 2002.
- Chair, "Early American Economic History." Austrian Scholars Conference, Auburn, Alabama, March, 2002.
- Panelist, "Liberty and the Writings of Francis Graham Wilson." Liberty Fund Seminar, Savannah, Georgia, November 29-December 1, 2001.
- Socratic Seminar, Liberty Fund, Inc., Indianapolis, Indiana, October 19-21, 2001.
- Co-discussion Leader, "Liberty and the American Founding." Liberty Fund Summer Symposium, Chattanooga, Tennessee, July 16-22, 2001.
- Organized Panel, "Political Economy in the Early Republic." Austrian Scholars Conference, Auburn, Alabama, March 30-April 1, 2001.
- Panelist, "Abraham Lincoln on Liberty and Union." Liberty Fund Symposium. New Haven, Connecticut, March 8-11, 2001.
- Organized Panel, "Education in the Early Republic." Society for Historians of the Early American Republic, Buffalo, New York, July, 2000.

- Panelist, "Liberty and the Power of Veto." Liberty Fund Symposium, Pasadena, California, June 8-11, 2000.
- Attendant, "The Rothbard Seminar on Economics." Ludwig von Mises Institute, June 18-24, 2000.
- Organized Panel, "Progress, Nationalism, and the Use of History." Society of Early Americanists, Charleston, South Carolina, March, 1999.
- Panelist, "The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798." Liberty Fund Symposium, Charlottesville, Virginia, March, 1999.
- Panelist, "Liberty and the Federal Debt." Liberty Fund Symposium, Columbia, South Carolina, October, 1998.
- Panelist, "Liberty and Currency in Early American History." Liberty Fund Symposium, Columbia, South Carolina, October, 1997.
- Organized Panel, "Political Economy in Early America." Austrian Scholars Conference, Auburn, Alabama, April 5-6, 1997.

#### **PROFESSIONAL REVIEWS**

- Grant reviewer. Teaching American History Grant Project. U.S. Department of Education. March, 2006.
- Grant reviewer. Teaching American History Grant Project. U.S. Department of Education. July, 2005.
- Grant reviewer. Teaching American History Grant Project. U.S. Department of Education. August, 2003.
- Grant reviewer. "Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries." Arkansas Humanities Council. April, 2003.
- Grant reviewer. "Fact, Fiction, and the New World." Arkansas Humanities Council. April, 2003.

#### **PROFESSIONAL GRANTS**

"Liberty and the American Revolutionary Experience" Liberty Fund, Inc., March, 2006. \$45,000.

#### **CURRENT RESEARCH**

Public Finance in the Early American Republic
The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions in Early America
The Devolutionist Tradition in Early America
Variations of Early American Nationalism

#### **HONORS AND AWARDS:**

Claude Lambe Fellowship, Institute for Humane Studies, 1993-1994
Institute for Humane Studies Institute Seminar Scholarship, 1993 and 1994
Ludwig von Mises Institute Seminar Scholarship, 1995

## Earhart Foundation Fellowship, 1998-1999 Perkins Post-doctorate Fellow, 1999-2000

Cumulative G.P.A.: 2.39

## **COURSES TAUGHT**

Fall 2006	Hist 2003 Hist 3021 Hist 4983	United States I American Revolution and Founding Southern Intellectual History	(web) Era
Summer 2006	Hist 6133 Hist 2003 Hist 2013	Seminar in American History United States I United States II	(web) (web) (web)
Spring 2006	Hist 2003 Hist 2013 Hist 4473 Hist 4981 Hist 4993	United States I United States II World Economic History Readings in the American Founding Evangelical Thought in 20 <sup>th</sup> c.	(web) (web) (1 section) (seminar) (ind. study)
G.P.A.: 2.303			
Fall 2005	Hist 2003 Hist 2003 Hist 3033 Hist 4053	United States I United States I (Honors) Early American Republic United States Economic History	(1 section) (1 section) (1 section) (1 section, online)
Summer 2005	Hist 2003 Hist 6133	United States I Seminar in American History	(1 section, web) (1 section, web)
U/G G.P.A.: 2.53			
Spring 2005	Hist 2003 Hist 2013 Hist 3013 Hist 4983	United States I United States II Colonial America Southern Intellectual History	(1 section) (1 section) (1 section) (1 section)
Cumulative G.P.A.: 2.297			
Spring 2004	Hist 2003 Hist 4473 Hist 3133	United States to 1865 Economic Hist. of Europe American Political Ideas	(2 sections) (1 section) (1 section)

Fall 2004	Hist 2003 Hist 3023 Hist 6033	United States to 1865 American Revolution Readings in Early American Hist	(2 sections) (1 section) (1 section)
Cumulative C	6.P.A.: 2.06		
Fall 2003	Hist 2003 Hist 2003 Hist 2513 Hist 4983 Hist 6003	United States to 1865 United States to 1865 Sources and Methods of History Seminar: American Religious Hist. Historiography and Methods	(1 section) (honors) (1 section) (1 section) (1 section)
Cumulative C	3.P.A.: 2.74		
Spring 2003	Hist 2003 Hist 3033 Hist 4053 Hist 6993	United States to 1865 Age of Jefferson and Jackson Economic History of the U.S. Independent Study: The Colonial South	(2 sections) (1 section) (1 section) (online: 2 students)
Cumulative C	6.P.A.: 2.18		
Fall 2002	Hist 2003 Hist 3023 Hist 6003	United States to 1865 American Revolution and Founding Era Historiography and Methods	(2 sections) (1 section) (1 section)
Cumulative C	F.P.A. 2.21		
Spring 2002	Hist 2003 Hist 2013 Hist 3133	United States to 1865 United States Since 1865 American Political Ideas	(2 sections) (1 section) (1 section)
Fall 2001	Hist 2003 Hist 2013 Hist 6003	United States to 1865 United States Since 1865 Historiography and Methods	(2 sections) (1 section) (1 section)
Cumulative C	3.PA. 2.03		
Spring 2001	Hist 1513 Hist 2013 Hist 4053	World Civilization from 1600 United States Since 1865 Economic History of the U.S.	(2 sections) (2 sections) (1 section)
Fall 2000	Hist 3013 Hist 1513	Colonial Origins of the U.S. World Civilization from 1600	(1 section) (1 section)

	Hist 2003	United States to 1865	(2 sections)
Cumulative G	.PA. 2.44		
Spring 2000	Hist 460	American Thought to 1865	(1 section)
Fall 1999	Hist 402	The New Nation, 1787-1828	(1 section)
Spring 1999	Hist 112	United States from 1877	(1 section)

#### **ONLINE COURSES**

February 2002- GOVT 201 The Origins of the Constitution Yorktown University.com October 2002- GOVT 4201 The Origins of the Constitution Yorktown University.com December, 2002-February, 2003 HIST 101 United States to 1800 Yorktown University.com December, 2002-February, 2003 HIST 4101 United States to 1800 Yorktown University.com

#### DIRECTED GRADUATE RESEARCH

Deborah Musgrove. "The Huykill Family and Reconstruction in Arkansas." Masters of Liberal Arts Thesis. Fall, 2003.

#### DEPARTMENT SERVICE AND OTHER EXPERIENCE

Chair, Assessment Committee, Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy, 2001-2006

Faculty Search Committee: Political Science (two positions), ATU, 2005-6

Faculty Search Committee: World History, ATU, 2005

Scholarship Committee, 2002-2004

Faculty Search Committee: Political Science, ATU, 2002

Graduate Committee, ATU, 2002-2005

Blackboard Intermediary Workshop, Arkansas Tech University, January 10, 2002.

Attendee, Arkansas Statewide Assessment Conference, February 8, 2001

Co-sponsor, History, International Relations, Political Science, Pre-Law Club, ATU, 2000-1

Faculty Search Committee: European History, ATU, 2000-1 Faculty Search Committee: Political Science, ATU, Fall 2000

Editor, Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy Newsletter, ATU, 2000-1

Library Journal Committee, Dept. of Social Sciences, ATU, Fall 2000

#### UNIVERSITY SERVICE

History Transfer Team, Arkansas Department of Higher Education, 2006 Chair, University Assessment Committee, 2005-Secretary, Faculty Senate, 2005-6 Faculty Senate, 2004Student Affairs Committee (elected), 2003-4
Liberal Arts Representative, Honors Council, 2002Faculty Sponsor, Chi Alpha National Honor Society, 2002-2006
Liberal Arts Representative, University Assessment Committee, 2002Faculty Sponsor, Excel Student Association, 2001Judge, Student Government Association, Homecoming Float Competition
Faculty Representative, James Madison Memorial Foundation Fellowship, 2001Judge, Arkansas Tech Debate and Forensics Meeting, 2001, 2002, 2003

#### DEPARTMENT AND UNIVERSITY PUBLICATION

With Jan Jenkins. "Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy Assessment Plan." Revised February, 2001.

#### **COMMUNITY SERVICE**

"Preparing Your Garden for Winter," River Valley Iris Society, October 20, 2002
"A Video Tour of Quail Hill Gardens," River Valley Iris Society, February 20, 2001
"Reblooming Iris," Russellville Iris Society, August 21, 2001
Chair, Property Committee, Covenant Presbyterian Church
President, River Iris Society, 2002, 2003
Vice-President, Western Arkansas Daylily Club, 2002
Secretary, Western Arkansas Daylily Club, 2003

#### PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND AFFILIATIONS

Adjunct Scholar, Ludwig von Mises Institute
American Historical Society
Arkansas Association of College History Teachers
The Historical Society
Society for Historians of the Early American Republic
Society of Early Americanists
Southern Historical Association
St. George Tucker Society
William Gilmore Simms Society

#### PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

Research Assistant, Papers of John C. Calhoun, 1994-1995 Staff Assistant, South Caroliniana Library, 1994