NATIONAL SUMMIT ON CIVIC EDUCATION

The Union League of Philadelphia | November 9-10, 2023



TALKING SOLUTIONS: CIVICS REFORM IN K-12 AND HIGHER ED





THE UNION LEAGUE LEGACY FOUNDATION EDUCATE. INSPIRE. LEAD.

National Summit on Civic Education

Welcome

We are delighted to host you in historic Philadelphia to discuss solutions for revitalizing civic education. Thank you for joining us and sharing your time and talent.

It's no secret that civic education is in need of reform. Colleges and universities are neglecting their traditional civic missions. Civic education in K-12 is increasingly entangled in ideological movements. And battles over civics and history standards are on the rise, reflecting the curricular disputes that have long impacted higher education.

Civics reform that centers the teaching of America's founding principles and history offers a way forward.

Over the next two days, we will showcase panels and speakers who are at the forefront of a comprehensive approach to civics reform. Building on the spirit of collaboration that marked the inaugural National Summit, let's learn from each other, explore new ideas, and focus on solutions. And, of course, be sure to enjoy the rich history that the Union League and Philadelphia have to offer as we work together to create a more perfect Union.

We look forward to learning more from you in the days ahead. A special thanks to our generous sponsors for making this event possible.

The Jack Miller Center & The Union League Legacy Foundation Teams

Program



NOVEMBER 9-10, 2023 The Union League of Philadelphia

Thursday, November 9

11:30 a.m 12:45 p.m.	Lunch Sponsored by the Marcus Foundation	Lincoln Hall Second Floor
'	Opening Address Alberto Coll , DePaul University College of Law "Our Greatest Challenge Today: Educating for Freedom"	
1:15 - 2:30 p.m.	PLENARY PANEL 1: Higher Ed and K-12 Civics Reform: Understanding the Problem	Meade First Floor
	Samuel Goldman, George Washington University Damon Linker, University of Pennsylvania Bonnie Kerrigan Snyder, Terra Firma Teaching Alliance Moderator: Thomas Kelly, Jack Miller Center	
3:00 - 4:15 p.m.	Breakout Sessions	
	1. The Educating for American Democracy Project: A Solution to the Civics Crisis?	Library Lounge Second Floor
	Danielle Allen, Harvard University Ioannis Evrigenis, Claremont McKenna College Rita Koganzon, University of Houston Moderator: Thomas Kelly, Jack Miller Center	
	2. How Can Civic Education Survive the Culture Wars?	Grant Center First Floor
	Louise Dubé, iCivics Jonathan Greenberg, Jack Miller Family Foundation Moderator: Robert Pondiscio, American Enterprise Institute	



Thursday, November 9 (cont.)

3:00 - 4:15 p.m.	3. Understanding Critical Social Justice in K-12 and Higher Education	Grant East First Floor
	Tabia Lee , Free Black Thought Erec Smith , York College of Pennsylvania Moderator: Lauren Altobelli , Jack Miller Center	
	4. What Should Students Know About the Constitution?	Grant West First Floor
	Elizabeth Kaufer Busch, Christopher Newport University Charles Dunlap, Indiana Bar Foundation John Yoo, University of California at Berkeley Moderator: Jonathan Gondelman, Jack Miller Center	
	5. Philadelphia as a Model: Why Local History Matters in Civic Education	Lincoln Memorial Second Floor
	Elliott Drago , Jack Miller Center Jason Raia , Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge Kerry Sautner , Eastern State Penitentiary Historic Site Moderator: John Meko , The Union League Legacy Foundation	
6:00 - 7:00 p.m.	Reception	Meade First Floor
7:00 - 9:00 p.m.	Dinner	Grant First Floor
	Keynote Address Paul Carrese, Arizona State University "A New Birth of Freedom: Civics Renewal to Meet the American Crisis"	
9:00 - 10:00 p.m.	Hospitality	Meade First Floor

Program



Friday, November 10

8:30 - 9:15 a.m.	Breakfast Sponsored by the Daniels Fund	Grant First Floor
	Presentation by the Daniels Fund	
9:30 - 10:45 a.m.	PLENARY PANEL 2: Reviving the Civic Mission of Universities	Meade First Floor
	Paul Carrese , Arizona State University Joshua Dunn , University of Tennessee at Knoxville William Inboden , University of Florida Moderator: Thomas Cleveland , Jack Miller Center	
11:00 a.m 12:15 p.m.	PLENARY PANEL 3: Philanthropic Strategies for Civics Reform	Meade First Floor
	Christopher Levenick , Connelly Foundation Luke Ragland , Daniels Fund Tamara Mann Tweel , The Teagle Foundation <i>Moderator: Yael Levin Hungerford</i> , Adam Smith Society	
12:15 - 1:15 p.m.	Lunch Sponsored by the Warner Foundation Closing Remarks	Lincoln Hall Second Floor

SESSION DESCRIPTIONS

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9 -

Plenary Panel 1 - Higher Ed and K-12 Civics Reform: Understanding the Problem

Higher ed has had tremendous influence on K-12 civic education, even as universities have moved away from their traditional civic missions. In place of coursework in American political history and institutions, various civic engagement pedagogies have risen to the fore, a trend mirrored in K-12. Amidst these changes, the civic knowledge of students has not improved, while civics classrooms have increasingly become politicized battlegrounds. Given all of this, what positive role can higher ed play in K-12 civics reform?

Breakout Session 1 – The Educating for American Democracy Project: A Solution to the Civics Crisis?

Educating for American Democracy (EAD) is an unprecedented effort to provide an inquiry framework that states, school districts, and educators can use to deliver high quality civics instruction. The framework has met with some pushback, however, especially from those on the right. Panelists will evaluate the framework from different perspectives, address some of the criticisms the project has faced, and reflect on the role EAD should play in civics reform more broadly.

Breakout Session 2 – How Can Civic Education Survive the Culture Wars?

This panel will address recent civic education controversies including fights over the purpose of public schools, the Civics Secures Democracy Act, Educating for American Democracy (EAD), the 1619 Project, state social studies standards, and more.

Breakout Session 3 – Understanding Critical Social Justice in K-12 and Higher Education

This workshop will discuss concepts of critical social justice and diversity, equity, and inclusion on university campuses and in the K-12 system. Speakers will offer critiques of these concepts and discuss better ways to foster racial harmony in the classroom.

Breakout Session 4 - What Should Students Know About the Constitution?

A true civic education in the principles of the United States and its founding requires a thorough grounding in the Constitution. Political scientists and historians play an essential role in this education, but so do lawyers, judges, and state bars. This panel will examine the overlap between civic education and an education in the Constitution, and what a constitutional education should entail, both in K-12 and higher ed.

Breakout Session 5 – Philadelphia as a Model: Why Local History Matters in Civic Education

Why are local historical and cultural sites important for civic education? How can they enhance civics for citizens of all ages? Philadelphia was the first capital of the United States and where the Declaration of Independence and Constitution were drafted and debated. But Philadelphia is more than just a one-war city. From Gettysburg to the Battleship New Jersey, there is no shortage of history in this area. This panel will look at Philadelphia as an example of how local history can strengthen local civics.

– FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10 —

Plenary Panel 2 - Reviving the Civic Mission of Universities

Since their establishment, America's public universities have included as part of their mission the preparation of students for democratic citizenship. There is little agreement today about how to articulate that part of their mission and even less agreement about how to achieve it. Recently, new institutions, Schools of Civic Thought, have been established to help public universities better achieve their civic mission. The panelists, each a director of one of these new institutions, will discuss these initiatives with a focus on liberal education, intellectual diversity, free speech, and civic responsibility.

Plenary Panel 3 - Philanthropic Strategies for Civics Reform

Philanthropy has long played an essential role in fostering civics reform, both in higher ed and K-12, and yet the purpose and goals underlying this giving have not always been clear. Given the challenges facing civic education today, a strategic mindset is more important than ever. This panel will explore the unique strategies of three foundations in the civics space, while also providing insight into how these foundations weigh priorities, relate to grantees, and make funding decisions.

IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE



John Meko is the Executive Director of The Union League Legacy Foundation. The Legacy Foundation executes a wide array of programs, preserves the Union League House and its historic collections, provides civics education programs for high school students, curates interpretive and informative exhibits, grants scholarships for post-secondary education, presents the Good Citizenship Award, and organizes multiple historical and cultural lecture series. Since joining the Foundation in 2005, Meko has overseen a dramatic increase in programming, exhibits, collections, scholarships, and fundraising. In 2019, he led

a major restructuring from three independent charities to one, unified organization. Meko is a frequent speaker on a variety of Civil War and Union League history topics and is a recognized leader in the cultural and historic community in Philadelphia. He has written on many topics, including the Civil War and civics, and has given numerous presentations to a variety of civic, educational, and historic institutions. Meko holds a BS and MBA from La Salle University.

Hans Zeiger is the President of the Jack Miller Center (JMC). In preparation for the 250th anniversary of American independence in 2026, he is leading an ambitious campaign to expand the pipeline of scholars who are dedicated to the teaching of America's founding principles and history, to seed and cultivate university campus centers for the study of the American political tradition, and to expand the teaching of core civic knowledge in America's K-12 schools.

Hans previously served in state and local government in Washington State, including chair of the Senate Early Learning and K-12 Education Committee and ranking member on



the House Higher Education Committee. He gained a reputation as a bipartisan collaborator, being named by the National Institute for Civil Discourse as co-recipient of the Gabrielle Giffords Award for Civility in State Governance in 2015. Hans holds a bachelor's degree from Hillsdale College, a master's in public policy from Pepperdine University, and also studied American politics at Claremont Graduate University.



Thomas Kelly is the Vice President of Civics Initiatives at the Jack Miller Center. He oversees all K-12 civic education efforts for JMC through its Founding Civics Initiative. Since 2016, he has grown JMC's K-12 civics programming to over 150 programs in eleven states with a network of more than 2,000 teachers. Tom has developed innovative programs for teachers ranging from hour-long virtual sessions on current events to yearlong curriculum development programs. Building on JMC's unique strengths in the academy, he has spearheaded a series of graduate course programs for educators on six campuses. Tom's articles on civic education

have appeared in Newsweek, the Philadelphia Inquirer, The Hill, National Review, RealClear Education, RealClear Public Affairs, and The Fulcrum. He earned an A.B. from the University of Chicago in international studies and a J.D. from the University of Notre Dame.

Alberto Coll is the Vincent de Paul Professor of Law and Director of Global Engagement at DePaul College of Law. He previously served for five years as dean of the Center for Naval Warfare Studies, the U.S. Navy's foremost strategic research center. A graduate of Princeton University, he earned his JD and PhD in government and foreign affairs from the University of Virginia. In 1986, he was appointed secretary of the Navy Senior Research Fellow at the Naval War College. From 1990-1993, Coll was principal deputy assistant secretary of defense, serving in the Pentagon office that oversaw the Defense Department's policy, strategy and \$3 billion budget for special operations forces and "low-



intensity" conflict, including counterterrorism. For his work, he received the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service. Coll is the author of *The Wisdom of Statecraft* and editor of several books on international relations and law. In 2004, he received the Antonio Jose Irisarri Medal for his contribution to strengthening the rule of law and civilian control over the military in Guatemala. He has served as consultant to the United States Information Agency and numerous defense and intelligence organizations. At DePaul, he teaches courses on international law, human rights, U.S. foreign relations, terrorism, trade and Latin America.



Samuel Goldman is an Associate Professor of Political Science at George Washington University. His first book, *God's Country: Christian Zionism in America*, was published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 2018. His second book, *After Nationalism*, was published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 2021.

In addition to academic research, Goldman's writing has appeared in *The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal*, and many other publications. He is also editor of *Fusion*, an online journal in the tradition of liberty.

Damon Linker is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania. He writes the subscription newsletter "Notes from the Middleground" at Substack, is a Senior Fellow in the Open Society Project at the Niskanen Center in Washington D.C., and is a weekly participant on the "Beg to Differ" podcast at *The Bulwark*.

He is the author of *The Theocons* (Doubleday/Anchor) and *The Religious Test* (Norton), and a former senior correspondent (thrice-weekly columnist) at *The Week*. As a consulting editor at Penn Press, Linker acquired academic and commercial books in political theory, intellectual history, and current affairs.



He has taught critical writing at Penn and worked as a senior editor at *Newsweek, The Daily Beast,* and *First Things*. Linker's essays and reviews have appeared in *The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal, The New Republic,* and other leading publications.



Bonnie Kerrigan Snyder, D.Ed. is a former K-12 educator, school counselor, and teacher educator and a believer in ethical, balanced instruction. She has worked in public and private institutions and launched the K-12 initiatives at the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education.

She is a frequent presenter at education conferences, a professional development provider, the author of Undoctrinate: How Politicized Classrooms Harm Kids and Ruin Our Schools and The New College Reality and a cofounder of the Terra Firma Teaching Alliance, whose motto is Pedagogy, Not Ideology. She currently resides in Myrtle Beach, South Carolina.

Danielle Allen is James Bryant Conant University Professor at Harvard University. She is a professor of political philosophy, ethics, and public policy. She is also a seasoned nonprofit leader, democracy advocate, national voice on Al and tech ethics, distinguished author, and mom.

As a scholar, she currently concentrates on the Democratic Knowledge Project and Justice, Health, and Democracy Impact Initiative, housed at the Safra Center; on the Allen Lab for Democracy Renovation, housed at Harvard's Ash Center; and on the Our Common Purpose Commission at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.



Her many books include the widely acclaimed *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship Since Brown v. Board of Education; Our Declaration: A Reading of the Declaration of Independence in Defense of Equality; Cuz: The Life and Times of Michael A.; Democracy in the Time of Coronavirus; and Justice by Means of Democracy.*

Ioannis Evrigenis is Professor of Government at Claremont McKenna College. His research centers on natural law and rights, psychology, rhetoric, and sovereignty in the history of political thought.

He is the author of *Images of Anarchy: The Rhetoric and Science in Hobbes's State of Nature* and of articles and chapters on a wide range of issues and thinkers in political theory, as well as co-editor of Johann Gottfried Herder's *Another Philosophy of History and Selected Political Writings.* He received the Delba Winthrop Award for Excellence in Political Science for his book *Fear of Enemies and Collective Action.*



With support from the Jack Miller Center, Evrigenis has offered civics courses for Massachusetts middle and high school teachers, as well as for community college professors in the Pacific Northwest.



Rita Koganzon is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Houston, where she teaches political theory. Her research focuses on the themes of education, childhood, authority, and the family in historical and contemporary political thought.

She is the author of *Liberal States, Authoritarian Families: Childhood and Education in Early Modern Thought* (Oxford, 2021), as well as numerous academic articles and essays on the themes of education, childhood, authority, and the family in historical and contemporary political thought. Her writing has been published in the *Hedgehog Review*,

National Affairs, The Point, and the Chronicle of Higher Education, among others.

Louise Dubé serves as the CEO of iCivics, publisher of high-quality, engaging, free history and civic education materials to 9 million students annually. iCivics also champions civic education as a priority for a healthy democracy. iCivics is the winner of many awards, including *Fast Company*'s 10 Most Innovative Education Companies.

Louise had a successful career in the for-profit instructional technology sector before she helped launch PBS LearningMedia, reaching over 1.5 million educators, at WGBH.



Louise won the 2017 People's Voice award from the Diller

- von Furstenberg Foundation. She was also recognized as a 2019 Donaldson Fellow by Yale's School of Management. Louise is a frequent commentator on civic education in media outlets, from the *Washington Post* to *PBS*. Louise began her career as an attorney and holds a law degree from McGill, and an MBA from Yale.



Jonathan Greenberg serves as the Director of Research & Strategy at the Jack Miller Family Foundation where his portfolio includes advising and overseeing Mr. Miller's extensive philanthropic efforts to expand highquality content-based civics to every American student.

Jonathan has a BA in Political Science and History and a Master of Public Affairs degree, both from Indiana University. He was ordained a rabbi at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati in 2006.



Robert Pondiscio is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), where he focuses on K–12 education, curriculum, teaching, school choice, and charter schooling.

Before joining AEI, Robert was a policy analyst and education reform expert at the Thomas B. Fordham Institute, an education policy think tank. He previously worked for the Core Knowledge Foundation and as an advisor and civics teacher at Democracy Prep Public Schools. Robert became interested in education policy issues when he

started teaching fifth grade at a struggling South Bronx public school in 2002. Before that, he worked in journalism for 20 years, including in senior positions at *Time* and *Businessweek*.

Robert has an M.S. in elementary education from Mercy College and a B.A. in English from SUNY Empire State College.

Tabia Lee, EdD, a founding member of *Free Black Thought*, has contributed to the design, implementation, and evaluation of numerous educational and professional development programs.

Her commitment to teacher education and pedagogical design is grounded in her experience as a lifelong educator and a National Board Certified English, Civics, and Social Studies teacher in urban American public middle schools. Dr. Lee prepares K-12 and higher education faculty to work with diverse students by focusing on better understanding the pedagogical and curricular implications of ideology-



in-practice. Her Race Ideologies Resource Site features interactive dialogical activities and resources for exploring race ideologies that may be used by DEI professionals, faculty, staff, and students.



Erec Smith is an Associate Professor of Rhetoric at York College of Pennsylvania. Although he has eclectic scholarly interests, Smith's primary work focuses on the rhetorics of anti-racist activism, theory, and pedagogy.

He is a co-founder of *Free Black Thought*, a website dedicated to highlighting viewpoint diversity within the black diaspora. Smith's recent writings include several opeds as well as his books, *A Critique of Anti-Racism in Rhetoric and Composition: The Semblance of Empowerment* (2020) and *The Lure of Disempowerment: Reclaiming Agency in the Age of CRT* (2022). Smith is a research fellow in politics and

society for the Cato Institute.

Lauren Altobelli is the Civics Outreach Officer at the Jack Miller Center. She works on the Founding Civics Initiative, JMC's effort to provide content-based professional development and classroom resources to K-12 civics, history, and government teachers across the country. Lauren manages Founding Civics operations and communications, including JMC's monthly Educator Newsletter and website. She facilitates Founding Civics program development and execution, organizes events, and works with professors in the JMC network to strengthen K-12 teachers' understanding of founding documents and ideas. She has also taken a leadership role in the development of JMC's new online library of the American political tradition.



Lauren earned a B.A. and M.A. in political science from Villanova University, where she studied the political thought of the American founding.



Elizabeth Kaufer Busch is the Laura and Pete Walker Professor in American Studies, Co-Director of the Center for American Studies, and Director of American Studies at Christopher Newport University. She earned a PhD in political science from Michigan State University. She serves on the board of directors of the Jack Miller Center for Teaching America's Founding Principles and History and the Washington, Jefferson, and Madison Institute.

Her research focuses on civic education, administrative lawmaking, and the role that our evolving conceptions of sex, gender, and equality, have on public policy. She is co-

author or co-editor of Democracy Revisited: Essays on the American Regime (2009), Civic Education and the Future of American Citizenship (2012), and Title IX: The Transformation of Sex Discrimination in Education (2018). She (with William Thro) is currently working on several writing projects focused on reclaiming what they term the "American Proposition" in an "Anti-Constitutional Culture."

Charles Dunlap is the President & CEO of the Indiana Bar Foundation in Indianapolis, Indiana and has been in that position since 2001. Dunlap graduated cum laude from the Indiana University McKinney School of Law in Indianapolis in 1996.

As the President & CEO of the Indiana Bar Foundation, Dunlap is responsible for overseeing the day-to-day operations and programs of the Foundation which include administration of the Indiana Interest on Lawyers' Trust Account (IOLTA) program, the Indiana Civil Legal Aid Fund, a housing stability program funded by the federal Emergency Rental Assistance



program, and several civic education programs including We the People, Indiana Kids Election, and the Indiana High School Mock Trial Program.



John Yoo is the Emanuel Heller Professor of Law at the University of California at Berkeley. He is also a Nonresident Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, and a Visiting Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Yoo's new book is *The Politically Incorrect Guide to the Supreme Court* (Regnery, 2023) (with Robert Delahunty).

He has served in all three branches of government. He was an official in the U.S. Department of Justice, where he worked on national security and terrorism issues after the 9/11 attacks.

He served as general counsel of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee. He has been a law clerk for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas and federal appeals Judge Laurence Silberman.

Yoo graduated from Yale Law School and summa cum laude from Harvard College.

Jonathan Gondelman is the Academic Programs Officer at the Jack Miller Center. He received his B.A. from Sarah Lawrence College, where he studied the liberal arts with a concentration in philosophy. He received his Ph.D. in Political Theory from the University of Notre Dame in 2020 with a dissertation on "Thucydides and the Passions of City Life."

At the Jack Miller Center, Jonathan helps manage the programs of the American Political Tradition Project, including the Summer Institute and other seminars. Most recently, he is the program leader for the new Community



College Initiative, which seeks to make JMC's resources in primary source texts and American political thought available for community college professors.

Elliott Drago is the Resident Historian and Editorial Manager at the Jack Miller Center. Elliott writes and edits historical content for JMC's various platforms, including JMC email newsletters for supporters and K-12 teachers and *The American Arc* blog. He also publishes historical pieces in popular outlets such as *RealClear History and Civics*, as well as academic journals, and serves as part of JMC's editorial team for our forthcoming online American tradition library. Before joining the Jack Miller Center, he taught in public high schools and universities throughout the Philadelphia region.



Elliott earned his B.A. in history and education from Saint

Joseph's University, M.A. in United States history from Villanova University, and his Ph.D. in United States history from Temple University. His research focuses on slavery in the United States and his new book is entitled *Street Diplomacy: The Politics of Slavery and Freedom in Philadelphia, 1820-1850* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2022).



Jason L.S. Raia is the Chief Operating Officer at Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge (FFVF), whose mission is to educate students and teachers about the rights and responsibilities of American citizenship, inspiring them to preserve and advance our freedoms.

Jason hosts the FFVF civic education podcast *George Washington Slept Here*, which explores American history, civics, and the idea of liberty through conversations with thinkers, writers, and leaders. He recently published "Challenges for Civic Education in the 21st Century" in the pages of the American Bar Association's *The Judges' Journal*.

He has served as president of the Pennsylvania Council for the Social Studies and co-chaired the 2022 National Council for the Social Studies annual conference in Philadelphia. He has also served as Chairman of the Board of American Historical Theatre and is on the Education Committee for the Union League Legacy Foundation.

Kerry Sautner, Ed.D., is the President and CEO of Eastern State Penitentiary Historic Site, a museum interpreting the legacy of American criminal justice reform from the site of the world's first penitentiary. Eastern State's public history program draws connections to contemporary justice reform through an approach that values multiple perspectives, amplifies marginalized voices, and respects a broad range of visitors' interests and learning styles.

Dr. Sautner previously served as the Chief Learning Officer at the National Constitution Center and as an adjunct professor at Drexel University and the University of



Pennsylvania. She obtained her doctorate in education leadership and management from Drexel University, and her academic writings have appeared in the *Journal of Museum Education*.



Paul Carrese is the founding director of the School of Civic and Economic Thought and Leadership at Arizona State University. For nearly two decades he was a professor of political science at the U.S. Air Force Academy, and co-founded a new honors program blending liberal arts education and leadership education. He is the author of several books, including, most recently, *Democracy in Moderation: Montesquieu, Tocqueville, and Sustainable Liberalism.* He has held fellowships at Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar; Harvard University; the University of Delhi (as a Fulbright fellow); and the James Madison Program, Politics Department, Princeton University. He

served on the founding advisory board of the Program on Public Discourse at University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, and co-led a national study funded by the NEH and U.S. Department of Education, Educating for American Democracy, on improving American history and civics education in K-12 schools with partners from Harvard and Tufts Universities and iCivics (released in 2021).



Joshua Dunn is the Executive Director of the Institute of American Civics at the Howard H. Baker School for Public Policy and Public Affairs at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. His research and teaching interests are in constitutional law and history, education policy, federalism, and freedom of speech and religion, and his research and commentary have been featured in outlets such as the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, and Los Angeles Times. His books include Complex Justice: The Case of Missouri v. Jenkins and Passing on the Right: Conservative Professors in the Progressive University. Previously, he taught at the University of Colorado, Colorado Springs where he

chaired the Department of Political Science and was Executive Director of the Center for the Study of Government and the Individual.

William Inboden is Professor and Director of the Alexander Hamilton Center for Classical and Civic Education at the University of Florida, and Peterson Senior Fellow with the Kissinger Center for Global Affairs at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. Most recently he was Executive Director and William Powers, Jr. Chair at the Clements Center for National Security, and Associate Professor at the LBJ School of Public Affairs, both at the University of Texas-Austin. Previously, he served as Senior Director for Strategic Planning on the National Security Council staff, at the Department of State as a Member of the Policy Planning Staff and Special Advisor in the Office of



International Religious Freedom, and as a staff member in both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. He is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and his commentary has appeared in numerous outlets including the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, National Review, NPR, CNN,* and BBC. Inboden is the author or co-editor of four books. His most recent book is *The Peacemaker: Ronald Reagan, the Cold War, and the World on the Brink* (Dutton, a Penguin Random House imprint, 2022). Inboden received his Ph.D. and M.A. degrees in history from Yale University, and his A.B. in history from Stanford University.



Thomas Cleveland is the Director of Academic Programs at the Jack Miller Center. Thomas directs the American Political Tradition Project which covers all of JMC's higher education programming. He focuses on expanding and developing JMC's network of scholars through seminars, professional development workshops, support for on-campus programming, and by working with directors of the growing number of Schools of Civic Thought around the country.

Thomas received his B.A. from St. John's College in Annapolis, where he studied the history of science, math, and philosophy and received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Boston College

in 2016 with a dissertation on Plato's accounts of the origins of political life in the *Laws*. Before joining the Jack Miller Center, he was a postdoctoral fellow with the Program on Constitutional Government at Harvard University and taught political theory and American politics at Miami University of Ohio and the College of the Holy Cross.

Christopher Levenick is the Program Director for Civic Renewal at the Connelly Foundation. In that role, he directs grantmaking to Philadelphia-area historic sites, museums, and civic institutions, in an effort to increase civic literacy, enhance civic pride, and activate civic engagement.

Before joining Connelly, he was the Director of Public Engagement at the John Templeton Foundation, where he oversaw the Foundation's non-academic grantmaking, with a particular focus on media projects, secondary and undergraduate programs, and faith communities. Prior to that, he was the Editor-in-Chief of *Philanthropy* magazine and a W. H. Brady Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.





Luke Ragland is the Senior Vice President, Grants at the Daniels Fund, one of the largest private foundations in the Rocky Mountain West. He oversees all aspects of the Grants Program, including eight grant funding areas across the Daniels Fund's four-state region.

Prior to joining the Daniels Fund, Luke was the President & CEO of Ready Colorado, a statewide education advocacy organization focused on expanding school choice. Previously, he served as Vice President of Policy at Colorado Succeeds and practiced complex commercial

litigation at a law firm in Denver.

Luke grew up in the mountains of rural southwestern Colorado and can still effectively operate a chainsaw. He currently lives in Denver with his wife and two daughters.

Tamara Mann Tweel is a Program Director at The Teagle Foundation, where she specializes in civic initiatives. She joined the Foundation in 2019. In this role, she is focused on efforts to strengthen the civic dimension of undergraduate education. Previously, she served as the Founder and Director of Civic Spirit and the Associate Director of the Freedom and Citizenship Program at Columbia University.

Her work has been published in numerous academic and popular journals, magazines, and newspapers, including *The Washington Post, The Harvard Divinity Bulletin, The Journal*



of World History, and Inside Higher Ed. She holds a Ph.D. in history from Columbia University, an M.A. in theology from the Harvard Divinity School, and a B.A. in political philosophy and art history from Duke University.



Yael Levin Hungerford is the executive director of the Adam Smith Society at the Manhattan Institute, where she oversees strategy and programming for the Adam Smith Society's MBA chapters and professional members. She has several years of experience working with non-profit educational programs and in strategic philanthropic giving.

She has a Ph.D. in political theory from Boston College, where her research focused on the roots of liberalism and the role of the liberal arts in a

modern republic, and an A.B. in philosophy from the University of Chicago.

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Connelly Foundation

The Connelly Foundation was founded in 1955 by John and Josephine Connelly. Strongly motivated by their Catholic faith and love for the Philadelphia region, John and Josephine dedicated their good fortune to helping others. The Connelly Foundation has donated more than \$480 million to nonprofit organizations in the Philadelphia area focusing on education, human services, the arts, and civic life.

The D.M. DiLella Family Foundation

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The Robert R. McCormick Foundation invests in organizations working to build thriving communities where all individuals have the resources and opportunities to succeed, without regard to income, race, ethnicity, gender, or ZIP code.

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THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Delivered by Abraham Lincoln on November 19, 1863

As we gather together at the Union League so near to Veterans Day and the 160th anniversary of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, let us remember the American servicemen and women, past and present, whose sacrifices have made our work possible. Without their dedication and defense of our nation, we would not have the privilege of educating future generations in America's history and guiding principle that all men are created equal.

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that **all men are created equal.**

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those **who here gave their lives that that nation might live.** It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. **It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced.** It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.



About the Jack Miller Center

The Jack Miller Center is a nationwide network of scholars and teachers who seek to pass along the meaning of America to the next generation. We believe that civic education grounded in the study of America's founding principles and history is central to engaged citizenship.

Our project began in 2004, when Jack Miller met with 50 professors to discuss the troubling trends in civics education on college campuses. They developed a successful pilot program to strengthen education in America's founding principles and history by providing professors with professional development and support for student programs.

Since then, the Jack Miller Center network has grown to more than 1,030 scholars on over 330 college campuses. It expanded its higher education initiatives nationwide, co-founded the first peer-reviewed journal devoted to American political thought, and launched a national K-12 teacher education initiative for civics and history teachers.

The Jack Miller Center Mission

The Jack Miller Center is dedicated to reinvigorating education in America's founding principles and history from K-12 through college. Our four central objectives are to:

- Renew the serious study of America's founding principles and history in higher education
- Transform K-12 teacher education for civics and history teachers
- Build the premier online American tradition library and learning tool
- Grow the nationwide movement to strengthen American civic education



About the Legacy Foundation

The Union League was founded in 1862 as a patriotic society with a mission to "suppress the rebellion and uphold the Constitution of the United States."

During the Civil War, the League funded and outfitted 20,000 federal troops and published over two million pro-Union and pro-Lincoln pamphlets. Since its founding, the Union League has been at the forefront of patriotism, values, and community service in Philadelphia and throughout the country. Today, the more than 4,000 members of the League represent a diverse cross-section of leaders in business, politics, arts, and culture.

The League has a long history of public service and charitable work. This work is led by The Union League Legacy Foundation. The Legacy Foundation is dedicated to the same tenets of freedom and free enterprise upon which the Union League was founded. The Legacy Foundation promotes these values and ideals, inspiring more educated, engaged, and responsible citizens.

The Legacy Foundation executes a wide array of programs; it cares for the historic collections, preserves the Union League House, provides civics education programs for high school students, curates interpretive and informative exhibits, grants scholarships for post-secondary education, presents the Good Citizenship Award, organizes multiple historical and cultural lecture series, and much more.

The Legacy Foundation Mission

The Legacy Foundation inspires and educates League members, students, and the greater community to be engaged and responsible citizens, guided by the United States Constitution and the history and values of the Union League.

A Special Thanks to The Union League of Philadelphia

Built in 1865, the League House is representative of the classic French Renaissance style, with a brick and brownstone façade and dramatic twin circular staircases that lead to the main entrance on Broad Street. It is approximately one quarter million square feet in size and occupies an entire city block in the center of Philadelphia's commercial and cultural district. It was added to the National Historic Register in 1979 and stands as a historic and architectural icon in Center City Philadelphia.

The League's distinguished collection of art and artifacts adorn the walls and hallways. The collection is a rich chronicle of Philadelphia's unique imprint upon the American landscape from the 19th century to today and is recognized by historians and art experts as a valuable component of American history. The League has hosted U.S. presidents, heads of state, and dignitaries, and has proudly supported the American military in each conflict since the Civil War. The Union League continues to be driven by its founding motto, *Amor Patriae Ducit* or Love of Country Leads.