

## **GEORGE THOMAS**

Burnet C. Wohlford Professor of American Political Institutions  
Claremont McKenna College  
850 Columbia Ave.  
Claremont, CA 91711  
gthomas@cmc.edu  
909-607-2911

### **Education**

- Ph.D. Political Science, 2004  
University of Massachusetts, Amherst
- Ph.D. Student in International Relations, 1992-1994  
Columbia University
- B.A. Political Science, *Magna Cum Laude*, 1992  
Certificate in International Relations  
University of Utah

### **Academic Experience**

- Burnet C. Wohlford Professor of American Political Institutions 2016-  
Professor of Government, 2015-; Associate Professor, 2009-2015; Assistant  
Professor, 2007-2009  
Director, Salvatori Center, 2018-  
PPE Program Coordinator, 2016-2018  
Legal Studies Program Coordinator, 2011-2017
- Assistant Professor of Political Science, Williams College, 2005-2007
- Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Oklahoma, 2004-2005

### **Publications**

#### Books

*The (Un)Written Constitution* (Oxford University Press, 2021).

*The Founders and the Idea of National University: Constituting the American Mind*  
(Cambridge University Press, 2015; paperback, 2017).

Covered in *The Atlantic*:

<https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2018/09/founders-national-university/571003/>

*The Madisonian Constitution* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Series in Constitutional Thought, 2008).

*American Constitutional Law: Essays, Cases, and Comparative Notes* Vol. 1 and 2, with Donald Kommers, John Finn, Gary Jacobsohn, and Justin Dyer (West Academic Publishing, 2018).

Articles, Chapters, and Essays

“The Madisonian Separation of Powers in Comparative Constitutional Perspective” in Benjamin Kleinerman and Connor Ewing, eds., *The Separation of Powers* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, forthcoming).

“What the Constitution Doesn’t Say” *The Atlantic* February 3, 2022.  
(<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/02/unwritten-constitution-originalist/621410/>)

“The Founding, Constitutional Imperfection, and the Future of the American Experiment” *American Political Thought* Vol. 10, No. 3 (Summer 2021): 481-498.

“Two Cheers for ‘Two Concepts’: Isaiah Berlin’s Skeptical, Tragic Liberalism” *Critical Review*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2021): 1-19.

“Yes, the Constitution Set Up a Democracy” *The Atlantic* November 2, 2020.  
(<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/11/yes-constitution-democracy/616949/>)

“Constitutional Law as Civic Education” *National Affairs* Number 43 (Spring 2020): 177-191.

“How a Populist Destroys America” *The Atlantic* November 5, 2019.  
(<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/11/when-populism-comes-for-the-constitution/601402/>)

“The Madisonian Constitution, Political Dysfunction, and Political Polarization” in Zachary Courser, Eric Helland, and Kenneth Miller, eds., *Parchment Barriers: Political Polarization and the Limits of Constitutional Order* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2018): 15-34.

“Can Liberal Democracy Survive Capitalism?” *Critical Review* Vol. 29, No. 4 (2018): 530-44.

“Religious Liberty, Same-Sex Marriage and Public Accommodations” *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 16, No. 1 (March 2018): 58-72.

- “Reframing Constitutional Law: Liberalism, Public Justification, and Same-Sex Marriage” *Polity* Vol. 49, No. 2 (April 2017): 301-323.
- “Madison and the Perils of Populism” *National Affairs* Number 29 (Fall 2016): 142-156.
- “Liberal Education and American Democracy” *The American Interest*, August 24, 2015 (<https://www.the-american-interest.com/2015/08/24/liberal-education-and-american-democracy/>)
- “Rethinking the *Dartmouth College* Case in American Political Development: Constituting Private and Public Educational Institutions” *Studies in American Political Development* Vol. 29, No. 1 (April 2015): 23-39.
- “The Civic Dimensions of American Constitutionalism” *Constitutional Commentary* Vol. 30, No. 1 (Winter 2015): 61-69.
- “Political Thought and Political Development” *American Political Thought* Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 2014): 114-125.
- “The Limits of Constitutional Government: Alexander Hamilton on Executive Discretion” in Clement Fatovic and Benjamin Kleinerman, eds., *Extra-Legal Power and Legitimacy: Perspectives on Prerogative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013): 97-116.
- “Secularism and the Logic of American Constitutionalism” in Christopher Nadon, ed., *Enlightenment and Secularism: Essays on the Mobilization of Reason* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2013): 241-255.
- “What is Political Development? A Constitutional Perspective” and “A Reply to Orren and Skowronek” *Review of Politics* Vol. 72, No. 2 (Spring 2011): 275-294, 301-304.
- “Who’s Afraid of Original Meaning?” *Policy Review* Number 164 (December 2010-January 2011): 75-93.
- “Economic Liberty in the Courts” *National Affairs* Number 4 (Summer 2010): 45-59.
- “Popular Constitutionalism: The New Living Constitutionalism” *Studies in Law, Politics, and Society* Volume 44, 2008: 75-107.
- “The Tensions of Constitutional Democracy” *Constitutional Commentary* Vol. 24, 2007: 793-806.
- “Two Cheers for Eighteenth Century Constitutionalism in the Twenty First Century” *University of Maryland Law Review* Volume 67, Issue 1, 2007: 222-237.

“What Dataset? The Qualitative Foundation of Law and Courts Scholarship” *Law and Courts*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Winter 2006): 5-12. (Winner of the American Political Science Association’s 2006 Alexander L. George Award.)

“Unsettling the New Deal: Reagan’s Constitutional Reconstruction” in Christopher Kelley, ed., *Executing the Constitution* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2006): 153-180.

“The Qualitative Foundations of Political Science Methodology” *Perspectives on Politics* Volume 3, Number 4 (December 2005): 855-866.

“Recovering the Political Constitution: The Madisonian Vision” *The Review of Politics* Volume 66, Number 2 (Spring 2004): 55-78.

“New Deal ‘Originalism’” *Polity* Volume 33, Number 1 (Fall 2000): 150-161.

“As Far as Republican Principles Will Admit: Presidential Prerogative and Constitutional Government” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* Volume 30, Number 3 (September 2000): 534-552.

#### Brief Essays, Book Reviews, and Encyclopedia Entries

“The (Un)Written Constitution” *Starting Points*, December 3, 2021  
(<https://startingpointsjournal.com/the-unwritten-constitution/>)

“John Eastman’s Big Lie” *The Constitutionalist*, October 13, 2021  
(<https://theconstitutionalist.org/2021/10/13/john-eastmans-big-lie/>)

“Justice Gorsuch is Right—We Should Rethink *New York Times v. Sullivan*” *The Constitutionalist* October 6, 2021  
(<https://theconstitutionalist.org/2021/10/06/justice-gorsuch-is-right-we-should-rethink-new-york-times-v-sullivan/>)

“America’s Imperfect Founding” *The Bulwark* July 23, 2021  
(<https://www.thebulwark.com/americas-imperfect-founding/#top>)

“The American Creed and American History” *The Constitutionalist*, June 8, 2021,  
(<https://theconstitutionalist.org/2021/06/08/the-american-creed-and-american-history/>)

Review of Eric Lomazoff, *Reconstructing the National Bank Controversy: Politics and Law in the Early American Republic* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018). *Law and Politics Book Review*, Vol. 31 No. 5 (May 2021): 94-97.  
(<http://www.lpbr.net/2021/05/reconstructing-national-bank-controversy.html>)

“Leadership and Civic Education” *The Constitutionalist*, March 5, 2021  
(<https://theconstitutionalist.org/2021/03/05/leadership-and-civic-education/>)

- “Congress, Impeachment, and Constitutional Redemption” *The Constitutionalist*, January 19, 2021 (<https://theconstitutionalist.org/2021/01/19/congress-impeachment-and-constitutional-redemption/>)
- “The Lawless, Anti-Constitutional, Nihilistic GOP” *The Constitutionalist*, January 9, 2021 (<https://theconstitutionalist.org/2021/01/09/the-lawless-anti-constitutional-nihilistic-gop/>)
- “The Republican Party’s Dangerous Anti-Democratic Turn” *The Constitutionalist*, December 3, 2020 (<https://theconstitutionalist.org/2020/12/03/the-republican-partys-dangerous-anti-democratic-turn/>)
- “Will Never Trump help save Democracy?” Niskanen Center, Symposium on *Never Trump!*, August 3, 2020 (<https://www.niskanencenter.org/will-never-trump-help-save-democracy/>)
- “The GOP is Abandoning the American Idea” *The Bulwark*, July 3, 2020 (<https://thebulwark.com/the-gop-is-abandoning-the-american-idea/>)
- “The Presidency as Performance Art” *The Bulwark*, June 16, 2020 (<https://thebulwark.com/the-presidency-as-performance-art/>)
- “Constitutional Stupidity, Constitutional Tragedy” *The Bulwark*, May 3, 2020 (<https://thebulwark.com/constitutional-stupidity-constitutional-tragedy/>)
- “Conservative Constitutionalism Beyond Originalism” *Law and Liberty*, January 22, 2020 (<https://old.lawliberty.org/2020/01/22/conservative-constitutionalism-beyond-originalism/>)
- “Impeachment and Constitutional Rot” *The Bulwark*, December 9, 2019 (<https://thebulwark.com/impeachment-and-constitutional-rot/>)
- “Fiona Hill, Alexander Vindman, and the American Creed” *The Bulwark*, November 27, 2019 (<https://thebulwark.com/fiona-hill-alexander-vindman-and-the-american-creed/>)
- “Donald Trump, Constitutional Ignoramus” *The Bulwark*, October 16, 2019 (<https://thebulwark.com/donald-trump-constitutional-ignoramus/>)
- “Low but Solid Ground in the Struggle for Equality” *Balkinization* symposium on Robert L. Tsai, *Practical Equality: Forging Justice in a Divided Nation* (W.W. Norton, 2019), October 2019 (<https://balkin.blogspot.com>).
- “Liberal Tolerance and Mere Civility” *Political Science Reviewer* Vol. 42, No. 2 (2019): 520-27.

- “Kavanaugh’s Inadequate Textualism” *Washington Post* October 2, 2018.  
 ([https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/dont-forget-about-kavanaughs-troubling-legal-philosophy/2018/10/02/f4d25664-c5af-11e8-9158-09630a6d8725\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.15b8235d1a68](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/dont-forget-about-kavanaughs-troubling-legal-philosophy/2018/10/02/f4d25664-c5af-11e8-9158-09630a6d8725_story.html?utm_term=.15b8235d1a68))
- “Trump’s Personalized Presidency and the Degradation of Constitutional Norms” with Benjamin Kleinerman, *The Weekly Standard* August 30, 2018.  
 (<https://www.weeklystandard.com/benjamin-kleinerman/how-woodrow-wilson-got-us-donald-trump>)
- Critical Dialogues, *The Founders and the Idea of a National University: Constituting the American Mind* and Elvin Lim’s *The Lovers’ Quarrel: The Two Foundings and American Political Development, Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 14. No. 3 (September 2016): 842-846.
- “Religious Liberty and Jurisdictional Separation” *Law and Religion Forum*, September 2016.
- “The Work of Reputable Parties” *Law and Liberty Forum* (October 2015).  
 (<http://www.libertylawsite.org/liberty-forum/the-work-of-reputable-parties/>)
- “John Locke’s America” *Society* September/October Vol. 50, No. 5 (2013): 464-467.
- “Has Congress Failed as an Institution?” *Law and Liberty Forum* (May 2013).  
 (<http://www.libertylawsite.org/liberty-forum/has-congress-failed-as-an-institution/>)
- Review of *Madison’s Metronome: The Constitution, Majority Rule, and the Tempo of American Politics* by Greg Weiner (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2012) *American Political Thought* Vol. II, No. 2 (2013): 320-324.
- “When the Legend Becomes Fact” *Rehabilitating Lochner: A Law and Liberty Forum* (March 2012). (<http://libertylawsite.org/2012/03/01/rehabilitating-lochner-a-law-and-liberty-symposium/>)
- Review of *Designing a Polity: America’s Constitution in Theory and Practice* by James W. Ceaser (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2010) *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 127 No. I (Spring 2012): 161-162.
- “The Curious Case of Justice Anthony Kennedy” *The American Interest* Vol. V, No. 4 (March/April 2010): 16-20.
- Review of *The Origins of the Necessary and Proper Clause* by Gary Lawson, Geoffrey P. Miller, Robert G. Natelson, and Guy I. Seidman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010) *Law and Politics Book Review* Vol. 21, No. 3 (March 2011): 135-138.

- Review of *James Madison and the Spirit of Republican Self-Government* by Colleen A. Sheehan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009) *Review of Politics* Vol. 71, No. 1 (2010): 141-143.
- “Chief Justice John Roberts” in Richard Valelly, ed., *Encyclopedia of United States Political History*, Volume 7, 1976-present (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010).
- “The Constitutional Convention” and “The Federalist Papers” in David Tanenhaus, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Supreme Court* (Macmillan Reference, 2008).
- Review of *The Supreme Court: An Essential History* by Peter Charles Hoffer, William James Hull Hoffer, and N.E.H. Hull (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007) *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 123, No. 3 (Fall 2008): 551-552.
- “First Things” *Claremont Review of Books*, Volume 8, Number 3 (Summer 2008): 50-51. Review essay of *Liberty of Conscience: In Defense of America’s Tradition of Religious Equality* by Martha C. Nussbaum (New York: Basic Books, 2008) and *Freedom For The Thought That We Hate: A Biography of the First Amendment* by Anthony Lewis (New York: Basic Books, 2007).
- Review of *Originalism in American Law and Politics: A Constitutional History* by Johnathan O’Neill (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press) *Law and Politics Book Review* Volume 18, Number 2 (2008): 166-172.
- Review of *The People Themselves: Popular Constitutionalism and Judicial Review* by Larry Kramer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 3, (September 2005): 621-622.
- Review of *Constructing Civil Liberties: Discontinuities in the Development of American Constitutional Law* by Ken Kersch (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004) *Law and Politics Book Review* Vol. 15, No.3 (March 2005): 181-186.
- Review of *The Creation of American Common Law, 1850-1880: Technology, Politics, and the Construction of Citizenship* by Howard Schweber (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004) *Law and Politics Book Review* Vol. 14, No. 5 (May 2004): 337-341.
- “James Hill: Privacy and the Press” and “Daniel Seeger: The Meaning of Pacifism” in Melvin Urofsky, ed., *100 Americans Making Constitutional History* (Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 2004): 96-98, 182-184.
- Review of *Same-Sex Marriage and the Constitution* by Evan Gerstmann (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2003) *Law and Politics Book Review* Vol. 13, No. 12 (December 2003): 1-5.

Review of *Neglected Policies: Constitutional Law and Legal Commentary as Civic Education* by Ira Strauber (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002). *Journal of Politics* Vol. 65, No. 2 (May 2003): 617-619.

Review of *Clergy Malpractice in America: Nally v. Grace Community Church of the Valley* by Martin Weitz (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2001). *The Review of Politics* Vol. 56, No. 1 (Winter 2003): 150-152.

Review of *Narrowing the Nation's Power: The Supreme Court Sides with the States* by John Noonan (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002). *Law and Politics Book Review* Vol. 12, No. 12 (December 2002): 1-5.

### **Invited Talks**

Yale University, Stanford Law School, University of Oxford, UC Berkeley Law, Notre Dame, Princeton University, Pomona College, UCLA, Huntington Library, Michigan State University, University of Missouri, University of Houston, Claremont Graduate University, Skidmore College

### **Conferences and Presentations (Last 5 years)**

“The Constitution at War with Itself”: Race and Citizenship in Constructing Constitutional Identity” paper presented at Deciphering the Constitutional Genome in honor of Gary Jacobsohn, Zoom conference, November 19, 2021.

Roundtable, “Honoring Gary Jacobsohn: Law and Courts,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, August 29-September 1, 2019.

Roundtable “Civic Education and American Liberal Democracy,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, MA, August 30-September 2, 2018.

“The Madisonian Separation of Powers in Comparative Constitutional Perspective” paper presented at the Lincoln Forum, Jack Miller Center, Philadelphia, PA, August 17-19, 2018.

Roundtable on Teresa Bejan’s *Mere Civility*, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, August 31-September 3, 2017.

“Religious Liberty, Same-Sex Marriage, and Public Accommodations” paper presented at American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, August 31-September 3, 2017.

“The Future of the Commercial Republic” paper presented at the Lincoln Forum, Jack Miller Center, Philadelphia, PA, August 8-12, 2017.

“The Populist Challenge to Liberal Constitutionalism in France and America” Drier Roundtable on “Democratic Discontent,” Saint-Paul-de-Vence, France, June 12-15, 2017 and Claremont, CA January 4-5, 2018.

“Creating Republican Education for America’s Republican Experiment” Liberal Arts Education and the Commercial Republic, UCLA, April 29, 2016.

“The Madisonian Constitution, Political Dysfunction, and Political Polarization” paper presented at the Dreier Roundtable on “Political Polarization” held at the Robert H. Smith Center for the Constitution, James Madison’s Montpelier, April 1-3, 2016.

“Religious Liberty, Same-Sex Marriage, and Public Accommodations” paper presented to the Yale Political Theory Workshop, New Haven, CT, September 23, 2015.

“The Civic Dimensions of American Constitutionalism” Author meets author roundtable, American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 3-6, 2015.

“Rethinking the Dartmouth College Case: Constituting Public and Private Education in American Constitutional Development” paper presented at “Sacred and Secular Revolutions” Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, March 7-8, 2014.

“American Political Development and American Political Thought: A Neglected Relationship?” Roundtable, American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 29-September 1, 2013. (Accepted for APSA New Orleans, LA, August 30-September 2, 2012.)

### **Awards/Honors**

Hunting Fellow, Huntington Library Research Grant, “Sacred and Secular Revolutions,” 2013-14.

National Endowment for the Humanities, Summer Stipend, 2010.

American Political Science Association’s 2006 Alexander L. George Award for best article on qualitative methods.

Recognized by Pi Sigma Alpha for Excellence in Teaching, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 2002.

### **Professional Service**

*American Political Thought*, Editorial Board, 2016-

American Political Thought, Section President, American Political Science Association, 2019-2021

Ideas, Knowledge and Politics, Section Board, American Political Science Association, 2016-2019

American Political Thought, Section Board, American Political Science Association, 2013-2018

Law and Courts, Section Board, American Political Science Association, 2012-2015.

Co-chair, American Political Thought section, American Political Science Association Meeting, 2015

Alexander L. George Award Committee, Qualitative Methods Section, American Political Science Association, 2008

Manuscript Reviewer: Cambridge University Press, Johns Hopkins University Press, Oxford University Press, Palgrave, Rowman and Littlefield, Stanford University Press, University of Chicago Press, University Press of Kansas, *American Political Science Review*, *American Political Thought*, *Congress and the President*, *History of Political Thought*, *Journal of Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Polity*, *Publius*, *Review of Politics*