

**GEORGE THOMAS**  
Professor of Government  
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**

- Professor of Government, Claremont McKenna College 2015-  
Chair, Legal Studies, 2011-  
Associate Professor, 2009-2015; Assistant Professor, 2007-2009
- Assistant Professor of Political Science, Williams College, 2005-2007
- Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Oklahoma, 2004-2005

## **Fields of Specialization**

American Constitutionalism, American Political Thought and Development,  
Constitutionalism

## **Publications**

### Books

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

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

Articles, Chapters, and Essays

- “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): 1-17.
- “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.
- “John Locke’s America” *Society* September/October Vol. 50, No. 5 (2013): 464-467.
- “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.
- “Of Substance and Process in American Constitutionalism, Or *Williams v. Amherst*: A Case of Constitutional Foundations” *Perspectives on Political Science*, Vol. 40 (April-June 2011): 97-105.
- “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.
- “The Curious Case of Justice Anthony Kennedy” *The American Interest* Vol. V, No. 4 (March/April 2010): 16-20.
- “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.
- “The Parasite as Virtuoso: Sexual Desire and Political Order in Machiavelli’s *Mandragola*” *Interpretation* Volume 30, Number 2 (Spring 2003): 181-196.
- “Religious Virtues, Religious Vices: Civic Education in the Liberal Polity” *Humane Studies Review* Volume 14, Number 3 (Summer 2002): 1-27.
- “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.

Book Reviews, Encyclopedia Entries, and Brief Essays

- “Has Congress Failed as an Institution?” Law and Liberty Symposium (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 Symposium* (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.

- 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, Williamjames 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.

### **Conferences and Presentations**

“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.)

“Alexander Hamilton’s Understanding of Executive Discretion” paper presented at “Perspectives on Prerogative,” Michigan State University, March 24 – 26, 2011 and at the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, September 1-4, 2011.

“The National University and Building the American Constitutional Order” paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C. September 2-5, 2010.

“Constitutional Identity” Roundtable, American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada, September 3-6, 2009.

“What is Constitutional Development?” paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28-31, 2008.

“Roundtable on Keith Whittington’s *The Political Foundations of Judicial Supremacy*,” American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28-31, 2008.

- “James Madison’s *Memorial and Remonstrance*” essay presented for “Secularism and the Enlightenment,” sponsored by The Institute for the Study of Secular Society and Culture and Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA, June 16-18, 2008.
- “The Turn to Popular Constitutionalism” paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, August 30-September 2, 2007.
- Roundtable on Ken Kersch and Ronald Kahn’s *The Supreme Court and American Political Development*, New England Political Science Association, Newton, Massachusetts, April 28-29, 2007.
- “Yes, an Eighteenth Century Constitution in a Twenty-First Century World” paper presented at “An Eighteenth Century Constitution in a Twenty-First Century World?” the University of Maryland, College of Law, Baltimore, Maryland, December 1-2, 2006.
- “Constitutional Drift: The Progressive Reconstruction of Constitutional Authority” paper presented at New England Political Science Association, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, May 1-2, 2006, and American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 31-September 3, 2006.
- “The Second Generation of Historical Institutionalism: Still the Future of Public Law?” Roundtable on Thomas Keck’s *The Most Activist Supreme Court in History* and Kevin McMahon’s *Reconsidering Roosevelt on Race* American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-4, 2005.
- Roundtable on Kevin McMahon’s *Reconsidering Roosevelt on Race* Western Political Science Association, Oakland, California, March 17-20, 2005.
- "Global Constitutionalism" Roundtable, American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, September 2-5, 2004.
- "*Lochner's* Ghost: Path Dependency in American Constitutional Development" paper presented at Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 15-17, 2004.
- “New Deal History: Reconstructing American Constitutionalism” paper presented at the Western Political Science Association, Portland, Oregon, March 11-13, 2004.
- "*Lochner's* Ghost in American Constitutional Development: The Post 1937 Search for Constitutional Rights" paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 28-31, 2003.
- "Discontinuities in the 'Constitutional Revolution of 1937'" paper presented at the Western Political Science Association, Denver, Colorado, March 27-29, 2003.

“Unsettling the New Deal: Reagan’s Constitutional Reconstruction” paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Boston, Massachusetts, August 28-31, 2002.

“Contesting Constitutional Meaning: Congress, The Supreme Court, and the Civil War Amendments” paper presented at the New England Political Science Association, Portland, Maine, May 3-4, 2002.

Roundtable on Keith Whittington’s *Constitutional Construction: Divided Powers and Constitutional Meaning*, New England Political Science Association, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, May 9-10, 2001.

“Religious Virtues, Religious Vices: Civic Education and the Question of Belief” paper presented at the New England Political Science Association, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, May 9-10, 2001.

“Constitutional Duality: Our Political and Legal Constitution(s)” paper presented at the Northeastern Political Science Association, Albany, New York, November 9-10, 2000.

“As Far as Republican Principles Will Admit: Presidential Prerogative and Constitutional Government” paper presented at the New England Political Science Association, Providence, Rhode Island, May 5-6, 1999

### **Recent Invited Lectures**

Princeton University, University of Oxford, UCLA, Huntington Library

### **Awards/Honors**

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

Gould Center for Humanistic Studies, Claremont McKenna College, Summer Research Grant 2012.

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.

Summer Fellow, Supreme Court Historical Society, Summer Institute on “The Constitutional Transformation of the Modern Presidency,” Washington D.C., June 10-29, 2001.

## **Professional Service**

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

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

American Political Thought, Related Group Board, American Political Science Association, 2013-

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

Alexander L. George Award Committee, Qualitative Methods section of American Political Science Association (2008).