

May 2022

Curriculum Vitae

Michael Zuckert
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Current Position

Nancy R. Dreux Professor of Political Science, Emeritus, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame,
IN 1998-2019

Thomas W. Smith Distinguished Visiting Professor, Arizona State University, 2019-

Education

B. A. Cornell University 1964
M. A. University of Chicago 1967
Ph.D. University of Chicago 1974

Teaching Fields

Political Philosophy and Theory, American Political Thought, American Constitutional Law,
American Constitutional History, Constitutional Theory, Philosophy of Law

Other Teaching Experience

William R. Kenan, Jr. Professor of Politics, Law, and Philosophy, Carleton College, Northfield,
MN, 1997-98 (Instructor, Assistant Professor, Associate Professor, Professor, Dorothy and
Edward Congdon Professor of Political Science) Department of Political Science, Carleton
College, 1968—98.

Visiting Distinguished Professor, Department of Political Science, Fordham University,
1997-98, Fall 1995, 1996.

Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor,
Winter 1995.

Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Cornell University,
Summer 1981.

Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Claremont Men's College,
Claremont, California, 1976-77.

Coordinator, "Politics and the Arts" in Minnesota Institute for the Advancement of Teaching,
Fall 1993.

Workshop Leader, College Board Advanced Placement in Political Science, 1986-91.

Institute for Teachers of Talented Students, Carleton, Summer 1983-86, 1987-88.
Carleton Summer Writing Program, 1978-90.

Lecturer in American Constitutional Law, Department of Political Science, Loyola University,
Chicago, Illinois, Summer 1967.

Fellowships and Grants

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| 2016 | Jack Miller Center and the Thomas Smith Foundation grant to support graduate and postdoctoral fellowships in Constitutional Studies. |
| 2013 | Jack Miller Center grant to support a postdoctoral fellowship. |
| 2013 | Earhart Foundation and The Koch Foundation to support one graduate student for five years. |
| 2012 | Apgar Foundation grant to support a graduate student. |
| 2010 | Jack Miller Center and Veritas Foundation grant for a graduate fellowship to help manage a new journal <i>American Political Thought</i> . (As of 2016 this journal is associated with an official section of the American Political Science Association.) |
| 2009 | The Koch Foundation grant for a speakers' series to coordinate with the graduate courses we are offering in Constitutional Studies. |
| 2009 | Jack Miller Center grant to fund an annual Constitution Day lecture. |
| 2006 | Inaugural Lecture, Jack Miller Center for the Study of the American Founding, University of Chicago. |
| 2006 | Richard Sinopoli Lectureship, University of California, Davis. |
| 2005 | NEH grant for program in Religion and American Public Life. |
| 2004 | Co-author NEH grant for TV series on Alexander Hamilton. |
| 2003-2004 | Liberty Fund, Visiting Scholar. |
| 2002-2003 | Earhart Foundation grant for work on <i>Completing the Constitution</i> . |
| 1999 | John M. Olin Foundation grant for support of the Graduate Program in Political Theory. |
| 1994 | Earhart Foundation Grant for work on <i>The Natural Rights Republic</i> . |
| 1993 | Visiting Scholar, Social Philosophy and Policy Center, Bowling Green State University. |
| 1993 | Grants from N. E. H. and Minnesota Humanities Commission for rebroadcast of |

“Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson” (see 1985-86).

- 1993 Co-author, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, grant to KTCA to produce "The American Revolution" T.V. series.
- 1993 Co-author, N. E. H. Grant to KTCA for Pilot of an Episode in T. V. series on "The American Revolution."
- 1992 Co-author, N. E. H. Planning Grant to KTCA for TV series on the American Revolution.
- 1991 Grant from the American Political Science Association and the American Historical Association to plan and teach a mini-course for secondary school teachers on "The Bill of Rights and the States."
- 1991 Summer grant from the Ford Foundation Social Science Grant to study Greek Tragedy and the Origins of Political Science.
- 1989-90 N.E.H. Fellowship for College Teachers.
- 1988-89 Woodrow Wilson Center Fellow in American Studies, Washington, D.C. 1987 Carleton Faculty Development Grant for work on the Jurisprudence of Justice Lewis Powell.
- 1985-86 N.E.H. Production grant for "Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson," a nine-part radio series based on their correspondence.
- 1986, 1984 Co-director, N.E.H. Summer Seminar for Secondary School Teachers on "The Political Meaning of the Return to Nature Theme in American Literature" (with Catherine Zuckert).
- 1984 Minnesota Humanities Council grant to lecture on George Orwell's *1984*.
- 1984-85 N.E.H. grant to prepare scripts of "Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson."
- 1981-82 Bush Foundation grant to work on American Natural Rights Theory and the Natural Law Tradition.
- 1977 CAUSE grant for work in Public Choice Theory.
- 1971, 1969 COSIP summer grants.
- 1967-68 Ford Foundation Dissertation Completion Fellow.
- 1965-67 Earhart Fellow, University of Chicago.
- 1964-65 Falk Fellow in American Politics, University of Chicago.

Publications

Books

The Cambridge Companion to the Declaration of Independence, co-editor (forthcoming 2023)

A Nation So Conceived: Abraham Lincoln and the Paradox of Democratic Sovereignty,
University Press of Kansas, forthcoming 2022.

Lincoln and Democratic Statesmanship, ed. and contributor (University Press of Kansas,
2020).

Thomas Jefferson's Legal Commonplace Book, co-editor with David Konig, (Papers of Thomas
Jefferson, Princeton University Press, 2019)

The Spirit of Religion and the Spirit of Liberty: the Tocqueville Thesis Revisited ed. and
contributor (University of Chicago Press, 2017).

Leo Strauss and the Problem of Political Philosophy, with Catherine H. Zuckert
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 380 pages plus index.

*Transcript of the 2013 Walter Berns Constitution Day Lecture: Slavery and the Constitutional
Convention* (American Enterprise Institute, 2013).

Launching Liberalism, Chinese translation.

The Anti-Federal Writings of the Melancton Smith Circle, Co-editor with Derek Webb
(Liberty Fund, 2009).

The Truth about Leo Strauss: Political Philosophy and American Democracy, with
Catherine H. Zuckert (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

Protestantism and the American Founding, Co-author and Co-editor, a series of essays addressed
to my *Natural Rights Republic* (University of Notre Dame University Press, 2004).

Launching Liberalism: John Locke and the Liberal Tradition (University of Kansas Press, 2002).

*Thomas Jefferson and the Politics of Nature: Essays in Response to Michael Zuckert's NATURAL
RIGHTS REPUBLIC*, ed. Thomas Engeman, an edited version of part of my *Natural Rights
Republic* book with a series of response to it by scholars in the field, concluded with a
response by me to the other essays (University of Notre Dame Press, 2000).

The Natural Rights Republic (University of Notre Dame Press, 1996).

Natural Rights and the New Republicanism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

Articles - Peer Reviewed

- “Madison’s Consistency on the Bill of Rights,” *National Affairs* 51 (Spring 2022).
- “Populism and Our Political Institutions,” *National Affairs* (Spring 2019).
- “The Insoluble Problem of Free Speech,” *National Affairs* 37 (Fall 2018): 151-63.
- “Two Great Americanists,” *National Affairs* 35 (Spring 2018): 142-153.
- “The Polemic against Liberalism,” *The American Journal of Jurisprudence* 62, no. 1 (2017): 45-50.
- “Something Wicked this Way Comes: Machiavelli, Macbeth, and the Conquest of Fortuna” *Review of Politics* 78, no. 4 (Fall, 2016): 589-607.
- “On the Esoteric Boomerang Effect,” with Catherine H. Zuckert, special issue on Arthur Melzer’s Philosophy Between the Lines, *Perspectives on Political Science* 44, no. 3 (2015): 155-8.
- “Strauss-Cropsey: One Word or Two?” *Perspectives in Political Science* 43, no. 2 (Spring 2014): 68-72.
- “On the Separation of Powers: Liberal and Progressive Constitutionalism” *Social Philosophy and Policy* 29, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 335-364.
- “Constitutionalism in the Age of Terror” (with Felix Valenzuela) *Social Philosophy and Policy* (Winter 2011): 72-114.
- “Judicial Liberalism and Capitalism: Justice Field Reconsidered” *Social Philosophy and Policy* (Summer 2011): 102-134.
- “John Locke and Liberalism” invited article for Italian journal, *Revista di Filosofia* (Fall 2011).
- “The Locke Chapter: Promise and Achievement” *Perspectives in Political Science* 39, no. 2 (July 2010): 92-96.
- “Jaffa’s New Birth: Harry Jaffa at Ninety,” *The Review of Politics* 71 (2009): 207-73, reprinted in Harry Jaffa, *Crisis of the Strauss Divided* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2021).
- “On Alan Bloom” *The Good Society*, Fall 2008.
- “Legality and Legitimacy in the Dred Scott Case” *Chicago Kent Law Review* (2007).
- “The Fullness of Being: Thomas Aquinas and Natural Law” *Review of Politics* (2006).
- “Strauss, Father of the Right? er, Wrong,” Times [of London] *Higher Education Supplement* (2006).
- “Locke—Religion—Equality”, *The Review of Politics*, Summer 2005, 419-431.

“Reconsidering Lockean Rights Theory” *Interpretation*, Fall 2005, 257-268.

“Natural Rights and Imperial Constitutionalism: the American Revolution and the Development of the American Amalgam”, *Social Philosophy and Policy*, col. 22, no.1, Winter 2005, pp.27-55 (reprinted in Ellen F. Paul, Fred Miller, and Jeffrey Paul, eds. *Natural Rights Liberalism from Locke to Nozick*).

“Perhaps He Was,” *Review of Politics*, Fall 2004.

Book Review of *John Winthrop: America’s Forgotten Founding Father*, published in *Claremont Review of Books*, (Winter 2003).

Book Review of Judd Owen: *Religion and the Demise of Liberal Rationalism: The Foundational Crisis and the Separation of Church and State*, published in *Claremont Review of Books*, (Fall 2003).

“Ravelstein” in *Perspectives in Political Science*, (2002).

“Locke’s Project of a Natural Law Theory,” *Interpretation* (Winter 2001).

"Herbert Storing’s Turn to the American Founding," *Political Science Review*, Spring-Summer 2000.

"Do Natural Rights Derive from Natural Law?" *Harvard Journal of Policy and Legislation*, 1998.

"The New Rawls and Constitutional Theory: Does It Really Taste That Much Better?" *Constitutional Commentary* (Winter 1994).

"Completing the Constitution: the Fourteenth Amendment," *Publius*, Spring 1992.

Editor of Robert Horwitz, "*John Locke’s Questions Concerning the Law of Nature: A Commentary*," *Interpretation* (Spring 1992).

"The Virtuous Polity, the Accountable Polity: Freedom and Responsibility in *The Federalist*," *Publius*, Winter 1991.

"The Federalist at 200—What’s It to Us," *Constitutional Commentary*, Winter 1990.

"'Bringing Philosophy Down from the Heavens': Natural Right in the Roman Law," *Review of Politics* Winter 1989.

Contribution to Symposium, "Constitutional Scholarship, What Next?" in *Constitutional Commentary*, Winter 1988.

"Federalisms and the Founding," *Review of Politics*, Spring 1986.

"What Was So Great about the Founding Fathers, After All?" *Carleton Observer*, Spring 1987.

"Self-Evident Truths and the Declaration of Independence," *The Review of Politics*, Summer

1987.

"Completing the Constitution I: The Thirteenth Amendment," *Constitutional Commentary*, Summer 1987.

"Congressional Power under the Fourteenth Amendment," *Constitutional Commentary*, Winter 1986.

"Liberalism and Nihilism: The Performance Philosophy of Rawls, Nozick, and Ackerman," *Constitutional Commentary*, Fall 1985.

"Rationalism and Political Responsibility: Plato's Apology and The Clouds," *Polity*, Winter 1985.

"Oedipus and the Seven Dwarfs," *Carleton Observer*, Winter 1985.

"Judicial Biography and Justice Brandeis," *Constitutional Commentary*, Winter 1985.

"Meaning and Appropriation in the History of Political Philosophy: Reflections on Skinner's New History," *Interpretation*, September 1985.

"Contemporary Liberalism and the Theory of Constrained Performance," in Timothy Fuller, ed., *The Prospects of Liberalism* (Colorado Springs, 1984).

"Hobbes on Rights and Obligation," *Review of Politics*, Spring 1984.

"Justice Deserted: A Critique of Rawls' Theory of Justice," *Polity*, Summer 1981.

"Reviewing Tenured Faculty," *Improving College and University Teaching*, Spring 1980.

"An Introduction to Locke's First Treatise," *Interpretation*, 1979.

"Of Wary Physicians and Weary Readers: The Debates on Locke's Way of Writing," *The Independent Journal of Philosophy*, Fall 1977.

"The Recent Literature on Locke's Political Philosophy," *Political Science Reviewer*, Fall 1975.

"Fools and Knaves: Reflections on Locke's Theory of Philosophic Discourse," *Review of Politics*, October 1974.

". . . and in its wake we followed': The Political Thought of Mark Twain," *Interpretation*, Autumn 1972 (with Catherine Zuckert).

Book Chapters

"On Liberal Citizenship," in Carol McNamara and Trevor Shelly, eds., *Citizenship and Civic Leadership in America* (Lexington Books, 2022), 17-30.

"Sovereignty in the American Founding," in Stella Arichilleus and Antonis Balaspoulos, *Reading Texts on Sovereignty* (Bloomsbury, 2021), 121-28.

- “The Sound of the Third Hand Clapping: James Madison’s Reading of the Necessary and Proper Clause,” in Gary Schmitt and Rebecca Burgess, ed., *McCulloch v. Maryland at 200* (American Enterprise Institute, 2020).
- “*The Federalist’s* New Federalism,” in Jack Rakove and Colleen Sheehan, *The Cambridge Companion to The Federalist* (Cambridge University Press, 2020), 164-93.
- “The American Founders and the Fundamentals of Governance,” in Will R. Jordan, ed., “*From Reflection and Choice*”: *The Political Philosophy of the Federalist Papers and the Ratification Debate* (Mercer University Press, 2020).
- “Lincoln and Douglas on Democratic Statesmanship,” in M. Zuckert, ed. *Lincoln and Democratic Statesmanship* (University Press of Kansas, 2020), 100-21.
- “On Founding: City and Soul in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*,” in Denise Schaeffer, ed., *Writing the Poetic Soul of Philosophy* (St. Augustine Press, 2019), 222-49.
- “Completing the Constitution: The Reconstruction Amendments,” in Alan Levine, Thomas Merrill, and James Stoner, ed., *The Political Thought of the Civil War* (University Press of Kansas, 2018), 293-319.
- ”James Madison” in *Liberal Moments*, Alan Kahan and Ewa Atanossow, eds., (Bloomsbury Press, 2017).
- “Providentialism and Politics: Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address and the Problem of Democracy” in Nicholas Buccola, ed., *Abraham Lincoln and Liberal Democracy* (University Press of Kansas, 2016), 44-70.
- “The Peak of American Political Religion: Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address,” in Barbara McGraw, ed., *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Religion and Politics in the U.S.*, (Wiley-Blackwell, 2016), 200-212.
- ”Caveat Lilla: On Public Intellectualism in the Twenty-First Century,” in Michael Desch, ed., *Public Intellectuals in the International Arena* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2016), 314-332.
- “Launching Liberalism: Philosophic Anthropology and the Leviathan State,” in *Philosophy, Politics, & the Conversation of Mankind*, ed. Todd Breyfogle, Paul Franco, and Eric Kos (Colorado College, 2016), 79-92.
- “The Separation of Powers” in S. Adam Seagrave, ed., *Liberty and Equality: the American Conversation* (University Press of Kansas, 2015), 163-179.
- “Strauss: Hermeneutics or Esotericism?” with Catherine H. Zuckert in Jeff Malpas and Hans-Helmuth Gander eds., *The Routledge Companion to Hermeneutics* (Routledge, 2015), 127-36.

- “John Locke” in the *Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, ed. Michael Gibbons, et. al. (Wiley-Blackwell, 2014). (major article).
- “Leo Strauss” (with Catherine Zuckert) in *Ibid* (major article).
- “Hugo Grotius” in *Ibid*. (medium article).
- “Human Dignity” in *Ibid* (medium article).
- “Strauss on Locke and the Law of Nature” in Major, ed., *Leo Strauss’s Defense of the Philosophic Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 153-172.
- “Leo Strauss’s Two Agendas for Education” in von Heyking and Trepanier, eds., *Teaching in an Age of Ideology* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2013), 183-203.
- “‘It is Difficult for a City with Good Laws to Come into Existence’: on Book 4” in Recco and Sanday eds., *Plato’s Laws* (Indiana University Press, 2013), 86-104.
- “Two paths from Revolution: Jefferson, Paine and the Radicalization of Enlightenment Thought” in Newman and Onuf, *Paine and Jefferson in the Age of Revolutions* (University of Virginia Press, 2013), 252-276.
- “James Madison in The Federalist” in S. Leibiger, ed., *A Companion to James Madison and James Monroe* (Wiley Blackwell, 2013), 91-108.
- “On the Separation of Powers: Liberal and Progressive Constitutionalism” in E. Paul et al. eds., *Natural Rights Liberalism and Progressivism in American Political Philosophy* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- “Jaffa’s New Birth” in Harry V. Jaffa, *Crisis of the Strauss Divided*, (Rowman and Littlefield, 2012). (reprint of earlier publication)
- “Thomas Jefferson and Natural Morality: Classical Moral Theory, Moral Sense, and Rights” in Peter Onuf and Nicholas Cole, eds., *Thomas Jefferson, the Classical World, and Early America* (University of Virginia Press, 2011), 328.
- “Constitutionalism in the Age of Terror” (with Felix Valenzuela) in Ellen F. Paul, et. al., eds. *What Should Constitutions Do?* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 354.
- “Judicial Liberalism and Capitalism” in Ellen F. Paul, et al eds., *Liberalism and Capitalism* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 308.
- “Why Leo Strauss is not an Aristotelian: an Exploratory Study” in Justin G. York and Michael Peters, eds., *Leo Strauss, Education and Political Thought* (Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2011), 216.
- “On the Power of Rhetoric: Gorgias and the Philosophic Foundations’ of Sophistry” in Tim Burns, ed., *On Classical Political Rationalism: Essays in Honor of Thomas Pangle* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2010), 502.

Judicial Review and the Incomplete Constitution: a Madisonian Perspective on the Supreme Court and the Idea of Constitutionalism,” Richard Zinman et al eds. *The Supreme Court and the Idea of Constitutionalism* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 328.

“Straussians” in Steven B. Smith ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Leo Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 263-286.

“Radical Whigs and Natural Law” on *Witherspoon Institute’s Natural Law, Natural Rights and American Constitutionalism* Online Resource Center. (2009).

“Natural Rights and the Post civil War Amendments” Ibid. (2009).

“Natural Law without God?” In Di Blasi et al eds., *Ethics Without God? The Divine in Contemporary Moral and Political Thought* (St. Augustine’s Press, 2008).

“Human Rights as the Basis of Justice” *The Hedgehog Review*, (Fall 2007).

“The New Welfare Constitutionalism” in Ellen Paul ed., *The Old Liberalism and the New*. (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

“Who was Publius?” In S. Minkov, ed. *Enlightening Revolutions*, Lexington books, (2006).

“Lincoln and the Problem of Civil Religion,” in Deutsch and Forniery, eds., *Lincoln’s American Dream* (Potomac Books) (reprint 2006).

“The fourteenth Amendment”, “The Constitutional Convention,” “Fugitive Slave Clause,” “Dred Scott Case”, “Corfield v Coryell” in *Federalism in America: an Encyclopedia*, (Greenwood Press, 2005).

“Casey at the Bat: Taking another Swing at Planned Parenthood v. Casey” in Christopher “Wolfe, ed. *That Eminent Tribunal: Judicial Supremacy and the Constitution*. (Princeton University Press, 2004).

“The Contribution of William Blackstone,” in Ronald Pestritto and Thomas West, eds., *The American Founding and the Social Compact*. (Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

“James Madison’s Political Science” in Sikkenga and Frost eds., *History of American Political Thought* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

"Natural Rights" in *The Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, A. Kors. ed., (Macmillan, 2002).

"Big Government and Rights" in R. Zinman and J. Weinberg, eds., *Politics at the Turn of the Century* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).

"Natural Law, Natural Rights and Classical Liberalism: Montesquieu’s Critique of Hobbes," F. Miller, et. al. eds., *"Natural Law and Modern Moral Philosophy"* (Cambridge University Press, 2000).

"An American Paradox: Natural Rights and the American Revolution," in Lynn Hunt, et. al., ed., *Human Rights* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).

- "Refinding the Founding: Martin Diamond, Leo Strauss and the American Regime," in K. Deutsch and J. Murley, eds., *The Influence of Leo Strauss on the Study of the American Regime* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1999).
- "Rights" in *Blackwell's Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (2nd ed.), Jack Greene and J.R. Pole, eds. (1999).
- "The Thirteenth Amendment: Enforcement" and "Application of the Fourteenth Amendment" in *The Constitution and Its Amendments* (an encyclopedia) (Macmillan, 1998).
- "Fundamental Rights, the Supreme Court and American Constitutionalism: The Lessons of the Civil Rights Act of 1866," in B. Wilson and K. Masugi, eds., *The Supreme Court and American Constitutionalism* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1997).
- "Empirical Theory 1997--Who's Kissing Him/Her Now?" (with Catherine Zuckert), in Kristin R. Monroe, ed., *Contemporary Political Theory* (University of California Press, 1997).
- "Is Modern Liberalism Compatible with Limited Government? The Case of Rawls," in Robert George, ed., *Natural Law, Liberalism, and Morality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- "Toward a Theory of Corrective Federalism" in E. Katz and A. Tarr, *Federalism and Rights* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1996).
- "The New Medea: Portia's Comic Triumph in The Merchant of Venice," in J. Alulis and V. Sullivan, eds., *Shakespeare's Political Pageant* (Savage, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996).
- "Hobbes, Locke and the Problem of Rule of Law," in Ian Shapiro, ed., *The Rule of Law* (Nomos 1994).
- "On Social State," in Peter A. Lawler and Joseph Alulis, eds., *Tocqueville's Defense of Liberty* (Garland Publishers, 1993).
- "Lincoln and the Problem of Civil Religion," in *Law and Philosophy: The Practice of Theory*, ed. by Robert Stone, William Braithwaite, and John Murley (Ohio University Press, 1992).
- "Thomas Jefferson on Nature and Natural Rights," in Robert Licht, ed., *The Framers and Fundamental Rights* (Washington, D. C.: A. E. I, Press, 1991).
- "Two Cheers (at least) for Allan Bloom," Essays on *CLOSING OF THE AMERICAN MIND*, ed. Robert Stone (Chicago, 1990).
- "Epistemology and Hermeneutics in the Constitutional Jurisprudence of John Marshall," in Thomas Shevory, ed., *John Marshall's Achievement: Law, and Constitutional Interpretation* (Greenwood, 1989).
- "Orwell's Hopes, Orwell's Fears: 1984 as a Theory of Totalitarianism," Robert Savage, ed. *The*

Orwellian Moment (Little Rock: University of Arkansas Press, 1989).

"Towards an Agenda for the Third Century," in Sarah B. Thurow, ed., *E Pluribus Unum--Constitutional Principle and the Institutions of Government* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988).

Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson, a radio play, based on their correspondence, under an N. E. H. grant (with Charles Umbanhowar and Ruth Weiner), broadcast by American Public Radio, Spring 1988.

Re-union," a stage play based on the Adams-Jefferson correspondence (with Ruth Weiner and Charles Umbanhowar).

"A System without Precedent: Federalism in the American Founding," in Leonard Levy and Dennis Mahoney, ed., *The Constitution: A History of Its Framing and Ratification* (New York: Macmillan, 1987).

"Locke and the Problem of Civil Religion," A Bicentennial Essay of the Claremont Institute (Claremont, CA, 1985); reprinted in Robert Horwitz, ed., *The Moral Foundations of the American Republic*, 3rd ed. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1986).

Lectures and Papers

"The Intent of the Framers: John Bingham and the 14th Amendment," Conference on the Reconstruction Amendments, Constitutional Studies & the Law School, University of Notre Dame, October 2021.

"Madison on the Bill of Rights," Constitution Day talk, Jacksonville State University, September 2021, and University of Georgia, September 2020

Podcast on Leo Strauss on Liberal Education, *Enduring Interest* (podcast), August 2021.

"On Lincoln's Eulogy for Henry Clary, The New Thinkery (podcast), June 2021.

"Slavery and the Constitution," SCETL Visiting Scholar Lecture, March 2021.

"Lincoln's Perpetuation Address," *History of Political Thought Seminar*, (zoom), University of Houston, March 2021.

"Locke on Toleration, "Locke on the Law of Nature," and "Locke on Natural Rights," three lectures (via zoom) for Minho University, Portugal, July 2020.

"On Liberal Citizenship," SCETL Conference, February 2020.

"Madison and the Founding," Montpelier, VA, October 2019.

"Ruth Grant's Liberalism," Duke University, October 2019.

"Launching Liberalism," Constitution Day Talk, St. John's College, Annapolis, September 2019.

“The Origins of Modern Constitutionalism,” Constitution Day Talk at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, September 2019.

“The Insoluble Problem of Free Speech,” Coastal Carolina University, March 2019.

“Populism and American Political Institutions,” School of Civic and Economic Thought and Leadership Conference, Arizona State University, February 2019.

“Madison on the Necessary and Proper Clause,” American Enterprise Institute, February 2019.

“The American Founders’ Fundamentals of Governance,” Keynote Address, Mercer University Conference on the Ratification Debate: Federalists and Anti-Federalists, April 2018.

“The Insoluble Problem of Free Speech,” Claremont McKenna College, March 2018.

“Thinkin’ about Lincoln,” University of Richmond, May 2018.

“On Federalism” Baylor University, October, 2017.

Keynote Speaker, “The Rebirth of American Constitutionalism: The Political Thought of Martin Diamond and Herbert Storing.” James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions, Princeton University, September 25, 2017.

“Presidential War Powers and the Constitution” University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire, September 22, 2017.

“Lincoln and War Powers” United States Air Force Academy, Constitution Day Lecture, September 14, 2017.

“Philosophic Anthropology and the Leviathan State,” George Mason University April 2016.

“Lincoln and Habeas Corpus” Princeton University, May 2016.

“The Right to the Pursuit of Happiness,” The National Constitution Center, Philadelphia, October 2016.

Lecture Series on Literature and Politics, University of the Andes, Santiago, Chile (with Catherine Zuckert) May 2016.

“Montesquieu and Money,” Roosevelt University, April 2016.

“Montesquieu and Money,” Jack Miller Center Institute, Chicago, May 2016; Philadelphia, August 2016.

“Freedom of, Freedom for, and Freedom from: the Contested Meanings of Religious Freedom in America,” Utah Valley University, April 2016.

“The Role of the US in World Politics according to the Federalist,” JMC Institute, Chicago, July 2016.

“Montesquieu and World Politics” Baylor University, October 2016.

“Freedom of, Freedom for, and Freedom from Religion: ``the Contested Meanings of Religious Freedom in America,” Library of Law and Liberty, (Liberty Fund site) lead essay and response to three critics, (paid contribution), 2016.

”The Paths of the Historian” (review essay on the work of Bernard Bailyn, especially his *Sometimes an Art*), Library of Law and liberty (Liberty Fund Site paid contribution) 2016.

“Shakespeare on Power” Liberty Matters (Liberty Fund site paid contribution), 2016.

“Launching Liberalism: Philosophic Anthropology and the Leviathan State”, in Todd Breyfogle, Paul Franco, and Eric Koss, eds., *Philosophy, Politics, and the Conversation of Mankind*, Colorado College, 2016, 79-92.

“Thinkin’ about Lincoln” St. Johns, Santa Fe, February 2, 2015.

“Jean Louis DeLolme as a Theorist of Separation of Powers” Liberty Fund, Indianapolis March 26, 2015.

“On Forde’s Locke” Boston College, April 10, 2015.

“On the Origin of Property: Grotius and Locke” Jack Miller Institute, Pasadena June 18, 2015.

“The Constitution in Hard times: Lincoln and the Rule of Law” Constitution Day Address, Boston College, October 8, 2015.

“The Future of Constitutional Studies”, Jack Miller Center Summit, Philadelphia, November 5, 2015.

“Freedom and Modernity” Ethics and Culture conference, Notre Dame, November 21, 2015.

“The Discourse of Human Dignity in Sophocles’ ‘Ode on the Human Being,’” conference on Human Dignity and Human Rights, University of Utrecht, November 24, 2015.

“Locke, Hume, Property: on the Philosophic Foundations of Capitalism” College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA, April 22, 2014.

“On Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address: Four contexts, Four Readings” University of Wisconsin, Political Philosophy colloquium, April 25, 2014.

“Lincoln and the Failure of Political Religion,” Linfield College, May 9, 2014.

Five Lecture Series, “On Leo Strauss”, University of the Andes, Santiago, Chile, June 26-30, 2014.

Four Lecture Series, “On the Foundations of Liberalism,” University of Navarre, Spain, October 22-24, 2014.

“Locke, Hume, Property: The Philosophic Foundations of Property” Jack Miller Summer Institute, Pasadena, July 4, 2014.

“Completing the Constitution: the 14th Amendment” Constitution Day Lecture, University of Missouri, September 17, 2014.

“Looking for Love in all the Wrong Places? America as a Lockean Republic” Lee University, February 2013.

“Slavery at the Constitutional Convention” Xavier University, February 2013.

“Slavery at the Constitutional Convention” The John Paynter Memorial Lecture, Michigan State University, March 2013.

“Slavery at the Constitutional Convention” Northern Illinois University, March 2013

“My Path to the American Amalgam” Utah State University, April 2013.

“Caveat Lilla” Notre Dame NDIAS Conference on Public Intellectuals, April 2013.

Chico State University, “Thinkin’ about Lincoln” Chico State University, May 2013.

“The Scottish Connection: David Hume, James Madison and Modern Republicanism” University of California, Davis, May 2013.

“Slavery at the Constitutional Convention” Duke University, September 2013.

“Launching Liberalism: Overcoming the Leviathan State”, University of North Carolina, September 2013.

“Slavery at the Constitutional Convention” Holy Cross College, September 2013.

“An Immoral Compromise? Slavery at the Constitutional Convention” The Walter Berns Constitution Day lecture, (American Enterprise Institute, May 2013).

“Leo Strauss and Civic Education” (JMC Summer Institute Charlottesville, June 18-19, 2012).

“Rereading Brown v Board of Education” (Sarah Lawrence College, April 25, 2012).

“American Revolution and the American Amalgam” at (Yale University, May 2012).

“Completing the Constitution: the 14th Amendment” (University of Texas, Austin, Sept. 2012).

“Polybius and the Mixed regime” Murphy Institute, (Tulane University, Fall 2010).

“On the Separation of Powers: Liberal and Progressive Constitutionalism” (Center for Social Philosophy and Policy, Bowling Green, May 12, 2010)

Ross Lence Master Teacher Residency – 3 lectures (University of Houston February 16-18, 2010):

- 1) “Shakespeare’s *Tempest*, and Machiavelli’s *Prince*: Who is Prospero?”
- 2) “Jefferson’s Moral Philosophy”.
- 3) “Slavery at the Constitutional Convention”.

“Natural Rights Jurisprudence in Ante-Bellum Slavery Cases” (Princeton University, 2010).

Concordia College – 2 lectures (University of Montreal, 2010):

- 1) “Slavery and the Constitutional Convention”.
- 2) “On the Power of Rhetoric: Speech and Being according to Gorgias of Leontini”.

“Slavery at the Constitutional Convention” (Colorado College, 2010).

“Completing the Constitution: the 14th Amendment” (American University, 2010).

“Popular Sovereignty and the Problem of Secession” (University of Wisconsin, 2010).

“Robert Dahl and Progressivism” (University of Virginia, 2010).

“Completing the Constitution” Constitution Day Address, (Emory University, 2010).

“Was Lincoln War Criminal?” (Jack Miller Center Conference, 2010).

“Plato vs. Rawls: On Justice” (North Park College Fall 2009).

“Slavery at the Constitutional Convention” (Mercer University, Spring 2009).

“Straussians” (Washington and Lee University November 6, 2008).

“Thomas Jefferson and the Moral Sense,” Rome Italy, Oct. 13-15, 2008 (Thomas Jefferson International Center for Scholars).

“Liberty and American Foreign Policy” Big Sky, Montana July 17-19, 2008 (Liberty Fund).

“Thomas Jefferson: Natural Rights and the Moral Sense” (University of Virginia July 8-9, 2008 Jack Miller Center for the Principles of the American Founding).

“Mill and Tocqueville” Burlington VT. June 26-28. (Liberty Fund).

“The Moral Sense in Lord Kames and Thomas Jefferson” Palo Alto May 8-11, 2008. (Liberty Fund).

“What Really Happened in the Dred Scott Case” (Baylor University, April 24, 2008).

“Classics of Liberty” (Indianapolis, March 20-24, 2008, Liberty Fund).

“Rousseau and the French Revolution,” (San Diego, CA, invited lecture: Dec. 7-10, 2006).

Discussant, “Symposium on Cicero,” (University of Notre Dame, Oct. 27-28, 2006).

“Completing the Constitution: The 14th Amendment,” Saturday Scholar Series, (University of

Notre Dame, Oct. 21, 2006).

“The Invention of Judicial Review,” (Inaugural Lecture of the Jack Miller Center for the Study of the American Founding, University of Chicago, Oct. 16, 2006).

“The American Revolution: Fulfillment or Departure from English Tradition?” (Philadelphia Society, invited lecture: Oct. 13, 2006).

“Political Philosophy and the Book of Genesis: On Pangle’s *God of Abraham*,” Presented at the Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, (Sept. 2006).

“Negative Rights and the Constitution,” Presented at the Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, (Sept. 2006).

“The Juridical Thought of Roscoe Pound,” (New Hampshire – invited lecture: Sept. 14-17, 2006).

“On the Declaration of Independence,” (Hesburgh Lecture – invited: South Bend, IN. June 22, 2006).

“Natural Law in Grotius and Pufendorf,” (Cincinnati, OH. Invited lecture: August 17-20, 2006).

Workshop on Film (with Jim Collins), (May 22-26, 2006).

“On the Declaration of Independence,” (Hesburgh lecture – invited: Wilmington, Del: May 4, 2006).

“Completing the Constitution: The 14th Amendment,” (University of California, Davis – invited lecture: Spring 2006).

Panel Discussant: “On American Political Thought,” Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL. (April 2006).

Workshop on Darwin and Evolution with Phil Sloan (University of Notre Dame, April 28, 2006).

“Legality and Legitimacy,” (University of Notre Dame Law School, invited lecture: April 18, 2006).

“Legality and Legitimacy in the Dred Scott Case,” University of Texas Law School, invited lecture: April 1, 2006).

Panel on Steven Smith’s Law’s Quandary (Notre Dame Law School, March 31, 2006).

“John Locke: Toward a Politics of Liberty” (Emory University, invited lecture: March 30, 2006).

Panel on “Academic Freedom and Shakespeare’s Merchant of Venice.” (University of Notre Dame, Feb. 2006).

“Political Thought of James Madison,” (San Diego, invited lecture: Jan. 5-7, 2006).

“Was Leo Strauss an Esoteric Writer?” (Claremont McKenna College, 2005).

“Giving the Barber a Trim: the constitution and Welfare Rights” (Bowling Green State University, 2005).

“How the Supreme Court Got Such Big Britches” (Baylor University, 2005).

“The Fullness of Being: Aquinas and the Modern Critique of Natural Law” (Palermo, Italy, 2005).

“Strauss—Modernity—America”, (New School for Social Research, 2005).

“The Supreme Court and the Problem of Liberty in American Constitutionalism.” (Earhart Foundation 2005).

“Natural Rights and Imperial Constitutionalism,” (Indiana University, 2004).

“Must Political Theory Be Secular?” (Texas A&M University, 2004).

“On the Theory of the Declaration of Independence” (Bellarmine University, 2004).

De(a)dication: Lincoln at Gettysburg, Gettysburg and 9/11” Bellarmine University, (2004); Furman University, 2004; University of Texas, 2003, University of Chicago, (2003); University of Houston, (2003).

“The EU’s Federalism Deficit: a Madisonian Perspective” (Lisbon, Portugal, 2004).

“On Waldron’s Locke” (Southern Political Science Association, 2005).

"The Best Laid Plans of Mice and Men, or How the Supreme Court Got such Big Britches," University of Michigan (1999), Bucknell University (2000); University of Toronto (2000).

"Thinkin' About Lincoln," President's Day Speech, Juniata College, February (2000). McKenna Lecturer, University of Dallas, April, (2000).

"At the Crossroads: Leo Strauss on the Coming of Modernity," (APSA, 1999).

Respondent, Round Table Discussion of Michael Zuckert, *The Natural Rights Republic* (APSA 1999).

"Machiavelli and Shakespeare: New Modes and Orders in *Midsummer Night's Dream*," (MWPSA April, 1997).

"The Civil Rights Act of 1866: A Structural Analysis," University of Minnesota Law School, January (1997); Chicago-Kent School of Law, March, (1997).

"Thinkin' about Lincoln," Presidents' Day Convocation, (Carleton College, February 1997).

"Natural Law and Natural Rights" AALS, (January, 1997).

"Roundtable on Equality in the Declaration of Independence" (APSA, Fall, 1996).

- "Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson: A Study in Character," (APSA, Fall, 1996).
- "America before Modernity: Pilgrims, Puritans and the Origins of the American Political Tradition," (Boston College, Spring, 1996).
- "Big Government and Rights," (Michigan State University, Fall, 1995).
- "New Rawls and Constitutional Theory," (University of Notre Dame, April, 1994).
- "Natural Rights and the New Republicanism," (Harvard University, April 1994).
- "Natural Rights and American Republicanism," (5 lecture series), Frank Covey Lectureship in Political Analysis, (Loyola University of Chicago, March 1994).
- "Is Egalitarian Liberalism Compatible with Limited Government?" American Public Philosophy Institute conference on Natural Law and Modern Liberalism, (Washington, D. C., Fall 1993).
- "New Rawls and Constitutional Theory: Does It Really Taste That Much Better," (Bowling Green State University, Fall 1993).
- "Toward a Theory of Corrective Federalism," N. E. H. Conference on the Future of Federalism," (Temple University, November 1992).
- "Jefferson's Political Legacy," (University of Virginia, October 1992).

Doctoral Dissertations - Supervised

- Fr. Jeffrey Langan, Ph.D. (2001) (co-directed), "Over the Top and Down Under: A Comparison of American and Australian Commerce Clause Jurisprudence" (co-directed with Donald P. Kommers) was at Holy Cross College, now an Opus Dei Priest.
- Geoffrey C. Bowden, Ph.D. (2003) "The old razzmatazz: Joseph Raz and the Prospects of a Perfectionist Liberalism" now at Savannah State University.
- Heike Schotten, Ph.D. (2005) "Nietzsche's Revolutionary Body Critique without Contempt, or, Learning to Laugh at Lack" now at University of Massachusetts at Boston.
- David Thunder, Ph.D. (2006) "Rethinking modern citizenship: towards a politics of integrity and virtue" now at University of Navarre in Spain.
- Jarrett Carty, Ph.D. (2006) "Machiavelli, Luther, and the Reformation of Politics" now at Honors College of Concordia University in Canada.
- Jacob W. Johnson, Ph.D. (2008) "The Enlightenment In Praxis: An Experiment in Unifying Theories of American Political Development" now works for the Democratic Party in Chicago, IL.

Brendon Dunn, Ph.D. (2008) "The original functional constitution: democratic means in the service of substantive ends" now on staff for Senator Mitch McConnell.

Derek Webb, Ph.D. (2008) "Paving the Rights Infrastructure: Civic Education in the Presidencies of Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Franklin Roosevelt." He went on to earn a law degree at Georgetown and is now working as a lawyer in Washington.

Sarah Houser, Ph.D. (2009) "Loving Pimlico: Patriotism in the Age of the Cosmopolis" now a Lecturer at American University.

S. Adam Seagrave, Ph.D. (2009) "Beyond Ancients and Moderns: Solving the Puzzle of Natural Justice" now at Arizona State University.

Ana Samuel, Ph.D. (2010) "Legislating Morality: Montesquieu's Case for the Regulation of Sexual Morals" now at The Witherspoon Institute, Princeton.

Matthew Holbreich, Ph.D. (2011) "Between Sovereignty and Freedom: Tocqueville and the Project of French Liberalism." He went on to get a law degree at NYU, now a lawyer in New York City and adjunct teaching at Yeshiva.

Lori Molinari, Ph.D. (2014) "The Ancient Republics and the Mixed Regime in Montesquieu's Political Thought" now a postdoctoral fellow at Clemson University.

Ryan Anderson, Ph.D. (2014) "Neither Liberal Nor Libertarian: A Natural Law Approach to Social Justice and Economic Rights" Heritage Foundation.

Matt van Hook, Ph.D. (2015) "Alexander Hamilton: A Theory of Statesmanship" now at Ebo University

Joe Brutto, Ph.D., (2015) "The Many Faces of Aristotle: Neo-Aristotelianism and Contemporary Political Theory" now at Christendom College.

Christopher McMillion, (2016) Ph.D., "Federalism and Freedom: The Precedential and Normative Roots of the Rehnquist Court's Federalism Revolution" now at Oklahoma Baptist College.

Zachary German, Ph.D. (2017) "Spirit, Statesmanship, and the New Sciences of Politics: Montesquieu, the Federalists, and the Anti-Federalists" now at Arizona State University.

Kevin Vance, Ph.D. (2017) "American Religious Liberty Jurisprudence in Comparative Perspective" now at Benedictine College

Catherine Sims Kuiper, Ph.D. (2017) "Through the Features of Men's Faces": The Political Community in Francisco Suárez and John Locke" now at Hillsdale College

Doctoral Dissertations – Committee Member

Jeremy John, Ph.D. (2004) "The Mirror of Justice: A Plea for Mercy in Contemporary Liberal Theory" now at Southern Virginia University.

Frank Colucci, (2004) “The Jurisprudence of Justice Anthony Kennedy” now at Purdue University Northwest.

Kevin Cherry, Ph.D. (2007) “Aristotle’s First Critique: The Eleatic Stranger and the Politics” now at University of Richmond.

John Perry, Ph.D. (2007) “Subverting the Republic: Christian Faithfulness and Civic Allegiance in John Locke’s America” now in the Theology Department, Christ Church College, Oxford University.

Jesse Covington, Ph.D. (2007) “Taken on Faith: The Concept of Religion in First Amendment Jurisprudence” now at Westmont College.

Emma Cohen de Lara, Ph.D. (2008) “The Lawgiver and the Physician: Medical Imagery in Plato’s Laws” now at Amsterdam University, Netherlands.

Jeffrey Church, Ph.D. (2008) “Divided Individualism: On the Political Individual in Hegel and Nietzsche” now at the University of Houston.

Matthew Mendham, Ph.D. (2009) “Gentleness, Severity, and the System of Rousseau: Responses to Modern Commerce and Enlightenment” now at Hillsdale College.

Catherine Borck, Ph.D. (2009) “Becoming Friends in Speech and Deed: Socratic Friendship in the Platonic Dialogues” now at the University of Hartford.

Jill Budny, Ph.D. (2009) “The Education of the Irrational in Plato’s Laws” now at Beloit College.

Nicholas Miller, PhD. (2010) “The Religious Roots of the First Amendment: Dissenting Protestantism and the Separation of Church and State” Now a historian at Andrews University.

Alexander Duff, Ph.D. (2010) “The Paradox of Heideggerian Politics” now a Postdoctoral fellow at Holy Cross College.

Ashleen Menacha Bagnulo, Ph.D. (2013) “My City Before My Soul”: Reading the Discourses on Livy as a Retelling of Augustine’s City of God” now at Texas State University.

Faisal Baluch, Ph.D. (2013) “Machiavelli on Liberty, Empire, and Necessity” now at Holy Cross College.

Rebecca McCumbers Flavin, Ph.D. (2014) “The Battle of the Unarmed Prophets: Religion and Republicanism in the Thought of Girolamo Savonarola and Niccolo Machiavelli” now a Senior Lecturer, Baylor University.

Sarah Spengeman, Ph.D. (2014) “Saint Augustine and Hannah Arendt on Love of the World: An Investigation into Arendt’s Reliance on and Refutation of Augustinian Philosophy” now at NGO, Washington, D.C.

Michelle Kundmueller, Ph.D. (2014) “Politics and the Flight from Honor: Homer and the Human Good” now at Christopher Newport University.

Robert L’Arrivee, Ph.D. (2015) “The Roots of Islamic Political Philosophy: A Comparative Study of Al-Farabi’s Virtuous City and Political Regime” Colgate University.

Timothy Webster, Ph.D. (2016) “Natural Law, Religion, and the Political Common Good” now a fundraiser in Washington, D.C.

Nathan Sawatzky, Ph.D. (2016) “Building Cities, Turning Souls: Necessity in the “City in Speech” of Plato’s Republic” (Postdoctoral fellow at the University of California at Berkeley.
Tae Hyun Ahn, returning to Korea.

Jakub Voboril, Ph.D. (2017) “Democratic Political Leadership and Education in Thucydides and Plato” Christendom College