

**VINCENT PHILLIP MUÑOZ**  
 Tocqueville Professor of Political Science  
 Concurrent Professor of Law  
 University of Notre Dame  
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### **ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

- University of Notre Dame, 2009-present
  - Tocqueville Professor, Department of Political Science and Concurrent Professor of Law (2023)
  - Tocqueville Associate Professor and Concurrent Associate Professor of Law (with tenure, 2011)
  - Founding Director, Center for Citizenship & Constitutional Government (2021-present)
- Princeton University, William E. Simon Visiting Fellow in Religion & Public Life, 2008-2009
- Tufts University, Assistant Professor, 2005-2009
- Seattle University School of Law, Faculty Affiliate, 2008
- North Carolina State University, Assistant Professor, 2001-2005
- Claremont McKenna College, Visiting Assistant Professor—D.C. Program, 2003-2004
- Pomona College, Lecturer in Politics and Critical Inquiry, 1998-2001
- California State University, San Bernardino, Visiting Instructor, 1996-1998

### **EDUCATION**

- Claremont Graduate School, Ph.D. Political Science, 2001  
 Major Fields: American Politics and Political Philosophy  
 Dissertation: *Religious Liberty and American Constitutionalism: John Locke, the American Founders, and the Free Exercise Clause*
- Boston College, MA Political Science, 1995 (with honors)  
 Concentrations: American Politics and Political Philosophy
- Claremont McKenna College, BA Economics and Government, *magna cum laude*, 1993  
 Honors thesis: “Aquinas’ Theory of Natural Law”

### **RESEARCH AREAS**

Church-State Jurisprudence  
 The American Founding  
 Early Modern Political Thought  
 Natural Rights Constitutionalism

### **TEACHING FIELDS**

American Political Thought  
 History of Political Thought  
 Constitutional Law/Jurisprudence  
 American Presidency/Executive Power

### **ACADEMIC AWARDS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND GRANTS RECEIVED**

- Non-residential Fellow, Civitas Institute, University of Texas, 2022-24
- Department of Education, GAANN Grant, 2019-22 (\$597,000)
- 2020 Charles E. Test Lecturer – Princeton University
- National Endowment for the Humanities, 2019-20 (\$60,000)
- Institute for Humane Studies – George Mason University, 2019 (\$15,000)
- Arizona State University, Visiting Faculty Fellowship, 2019 (\$5,500)
- Rev. Edmund P. Joyce, C.S.C. Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching, University of Notre Dame, 2016
- Notre Dame Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts: 2022 (\$1000), 2016 (\$2,000), 2013 (\$5,000), 2010 (\$2,500)
- Notre Dame Institute for Advanced Study, 2014 Sabbatical Grant (awarded but not accepted)
- Earhart Foundation, 2014 (\$35,000)
- James Madison Fellowship, Princeton University, 2008 (\$47,000)
- *Civitas* Fellowship, The Pew Charitable Trust, 2003-2004 (\$16,000)
- National Endowment for the Humanities, Summer Seminar Fellow, 2003 (\$3,600)
- Summer Faculty Research Grant – North Carolina State University, 2002 (\$5,000)
- *Civitas* Fellow, The Center for Public Justice, 2001 (\$3,000)
- Claremont Graduate University Dissertation Grant, 2000-2001 (\$5,000)
- Humane Studies Fellowship, Institute for Humane Studies, 1999-2001 (\$6,000)
- Salvatori Fellowship for the Study of the American Founding, Intercollegiate Studies Institute, 2000 (\$10,000)
- Bradley Fellowship, 1997-1999 (\$27,000 + tuition)
- Summer Research Fellow, Institute for Humane Studies, 1998 (\$3,000)
- Earhart Fellowship, 1995-1997 (\$24,000 + tuition)
- John M. Olin Fellowship, 1996 (\$3,000)
- Bradley Fellowship, 1993-1995 (\$10,000 + tuition)

### **GIFTS & GRANTS TO SUPPORT DIRECTED ACADEMIC PROGRAMS**

- Cueno Foundation (\$250,000), 2023
- John Menard Foundation (\$1,200,000), 2020-23
- Napa Institute (\$1,500,000), 2019-26
- Bradley Foundation, 2018-24 (\$150,000)
- Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation, 2011-2019 (\$1,639,650)
- M&T Foundation, 2016-2018 (\$3,050,000)
- Jack Miller Foundation, 2011-2019 (\$114,000)
- Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, University of Notre Dame, 2013 (\$5,000)
- Provost's Grant for Constitution Day Programming, 2013-15 (\$4,500)
- Miller Center for the Teaching of America's Founding Principles, 2007 (\$10,000)
- More than \$10,000,000 in gifts and pledges from private individuals

### **SUPREME COURT CITATIONS**

- *Fulton v. City of Philadelphia*, 593 U.S. \_\_\_\_ (2021), slip op. at 30 n.34, 50-51, 51 n. 69, 71 n. 81, Justice Alito’s concurring opinion citing “The Original Meaning of the Free Exercise Clause: The Evidence from the First Congress”
- *Espinoza v. Montana Department of Revenue*, 591 U.S. \_\_\_\_ (2020), slip op. at 15 n.3, Chief Justice Robert’s majority opinion citing *God and the Founders*
- *Espinoza v. Montana Department of Revenue*, 591 U.S. \_\_\_\_ (2020), slip op. at 3, Justice Thomas’s concurring opinion citing “The Original Meaning of the Establishment Clause and the Impossibility of Its Incorporation”
- *Town of Greece v. Galloway*, 572 U.S. 565, 606 (2014), Justice Thomas’s concurring opinion citing “The Original Meaning of the Establishment Clause and the Impossibility of Its Incorporation”

### **GOVERNMENT TESTIMONY**

- Department of Justice, Forum on Free Speech in Higher Education, September 17, 2018
- Senate Judiciary Committee, Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights and Property Rights Hearing, “Beyond the Pledge of Allegiance: Hostility to Religious Expression in the Public Square,” June 8, 2004

### **BOOKS**

- *Religious Liberty & the American Founding: Natural Rights and the Original Meanings of the First Amendment Religion Clauses*. University of Chicago Press, 352 pages. 2022
  - Subject of a five-scholar symposium in *American Political Thought*, v. 12 (2023)
- *God and the Founders: Madison, Washington, and Jefferson*, Cambridge University Press, 254 pages. 2009
  - Recipient of the Hubert Morken Award from the American Political Science Association for the best book in religion and politics in 2009-2010
  - Cited by Chief Justice John Roberts in *Espinoza v. Montana Department of Revenue*, 591 U.S. \_\_\_\_, slip op. at 15 n.3 (2020)

### **EDITED CONSTITUTIONAL LAW CASEBOOKS**

- *Religious Liberty and The American Supreme Court: The Essential Cases & Documents*  
Edited First Amendment church-state casebook designed for classroom and reference use. Rowman & Littlefield, 654 pages. 2013. Revised edition, 2015
- *American Constitutional Law, Vol. I: The Structure of Government*  
*American Constitutional Law, Vol. II: The Bill of Rights and Subsequent Amendments*  
Co-edited with Ralph Rossum & G. Alan Tarr two-volume constitutional law case book designed for undergraduate classroom use. Routledge, 630 and 880 pages. 11<sup>th</sup> edition, 2020

### **REFEREED JOURNAL ARTICLES, LAW REVIEW ARTICLES & REFEREED BOOK CHAPTERS**

- “What is an Establishment of Religion? And What Does Disestablishment Require?”  
*Constitutional Commentary* [forthcoming]
- “Liberty and the Good in the American Founding,” in *Beyond Classical Liberalism*, eds. James Dominic Rooney and Patrick Zoll (New York: Routledge, 2024): 241-50
- “The Possibility and Meaning of the Natural Right of Religious Liberty: A Response”  
*American Political Thought* 12 (2023): 417-23

- “Constructing the Establishment Clause,” with Kate Hardiman Rhodes  
*Loyola University Chicago Law Journal* 54 (2022): 387-453
- “James Madison’s Political Science of Religious Liberty”  
*American Political Thought* 10, no. 4 (2021), pp. 552-76
- “Two Concepts of Religious Liberty: The Natural Rights and Moral Autonomy Approaches to the Free Exercise of Religion,” *American Political Science Review* 110, no. 2 (2016), pp. 369-81
  - Subject of a nine-scholar forum hosted by St John’s Law School Center for Law & Religion
  - Republished in *The Cambridge Companion to the First Amendment and Religious Liberty*, eds. Michael D. Breidenbach and Owen Anderson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019): 276-306
- “If Religious Liberty Does Not Mean Exemptions, What Might It Mean? The Founders’ Constitutionalism of the Inalienable Rights of Religious Liberty”  
*Notre Dame Law Review* 91, no. 4 (2016), pp. 1387-1417
- “How the Founders Agreed about Religious Freedom but Disagreed about the Separation of Church and State,” with Kevin Vance, in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Religion and Politics in the U.S.*, ed. Barbara McGraw (Oxford, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), pp. 85-97
  - Republished in *Civil Religion in Modern Political Philosophy: Machiavelli to Tocqueville*, eds. Frankel, Doneson, and Yaffe (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2020)
- “Church & State in the Founding-era State Constitutions”  
*American Political Thought* 4, no. 1 (2015), pp. 1-38
- “The Founding Fathers’ Competing Visions for the Proper Separation of Church and State,” in *Religious Freedom in America: Constitutional Roots and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. Allen D. Hertzke (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), pp. 53-68 (adapted from previously published material)
- “The Founding Fathers’ Disagreements about Church and State,” in *Resistance to Tyrants, Obedience to God*, eds. Gish and Klinghard (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013), pp. 169-82 (adapted from previously published material)
- “The Original Meaning of the Free Exercise Clause: The Evidence from the First Congress”  
*Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 31, no. 3 (2008), pp. 1083-1120
  - Multiple citations by Justice Samuel in *Fulton v. City of Philadelphia*, 593 U.S. \_\_\_\_ (2021)
- “The Original Meaning of the Establishment Clause and the Impossibility of its Incorporation”  
*University of Pennsylvania Journal of Constitutional Law* 8, no. 4 (2006), pp. 585-639
  - Cited by Justice Clarence Thomas in *Espinoza v. Montana Department of Revenue*, 591 U.S. \_\_\_\_, slip op. at 3 (2020)
  - Cited by Justice Clarence Thomas in *Town of Greece v. Galloway*, 572 U.S. 565, 606 (2014)
- “Thou Shalt Not Post the Ten Commandments? *McCreary, Van Orden*, and the Future of Religious Display Cases,” *Texas Review of Law and Politics* 10, no. 2 (2006), pp. 357-400
- “James Madison’s Principle of Religious Liberty”  
*American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (2003), pp. 17-32
- “George Washington on Religious Liberty”  
*The Review of Politics* 65, no. 1 (2003), pp. 11-33

### **NON-REFEREED BOOK CHAPTERS**

- “Defending American Natural-Rights Republicanism,” in *Leisure with Dignity: Essays in Honor of Charles R. Kesler*, eds. Michael Anton and Glenn Ellmers (New York: Encounter, 2024): 149-65

- “Conscience, Conformity, and Religious Diversity in the American Founding,” in *Diversity, Conformity, and Conscience in Contemporary America*, ed. Bradley Watson (Lexington Books, 2019)
- “Thomas Jefferson’s Philosophy of Religious Freedom: The Political Philosophy of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom,” in *The Crisis of Religious Liberty: Reflections from Law, History, and Catholic Social Thought*, ed. Stephen Krason (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), pp. 49-66 (revised version of my Jefferson chapter in *God and the Founders*)
- “The Place of Religion Among the American Founders,” in *A Second Look at First Things*, eds. Beckwith, George, and McWilliams (South Bend, IN: St. Augustine Press, 2013), pp. 190-205 (adapted from previously published material)
- “Religion in the Life, Political Thought, and Presidency of James Madison,” in *Religion and the Presidency*, ed. Mark Rozell (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), pp. 51-72
- “Current Separation of Church and State Doctrine: Suppressing Public Displays of Faith,” in *You Decide! 2006: Current Debates in American Politics*, ed. John T. Rourke. (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2005), pp. 53-54
- “Religion and the Common Good: George Washington on Church and State,” in *The Founders on God and Government*, eds. Dreisbach, Hall, and Morrison (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004) pp. 1-22 (revised version of “George Washington and Religious Liberty,” originally published in *The Review of Politics*)

## **REVIEWS & ESSAYS**

- “Response to Johnathan Ashbach”  
*The Review of Politics* 85 (2023): 349-51
- “A Natural Rights Approach to Religious Liberty”  
*Anchoring Truths*, July 21, 2023
- “Before Critiquing the American Founding, We Should First Understand It”  
*Public Discourse*, October 31, 2022
- “What is an Establishment of Religion?”  
*First Things*, May 27, 2022
- “Natural Rights and Religious Liberty: The Founders’ Perspective”  
*Real Clear Politics*, April 21, 2021
- “More is Needed”  
Review of *Divided We Fall* by David French, *First Things*, December 2020
- “The Founders’ Religious Liberty, Beyond Rakove”  
Review of *Beyond Belief, Beyond Conscience* by Jack Rakove, *Law & Liberty*, October 26, 2020
- “No ‘Wall of Separation,’” *First Things*, July 9, 2020
- “Espinoza: Roberts v. Thomas on the Future of Religious Liberty Jurisprudence”  
*George Washington Law Review On the Docket*, July 3, 2020
- “A Learned but Dismissive Take on Conservative Constitutionalism”  
Review of *Conservatives and the Constitution* by Ken Kersch, *Law & Liberty*, January 1, 2020
- “Religious Liberty and Religious Exemptions: A Response to Yoo and Phillips”  
*National Review Online*, December 26, 2018
- “How the Founders Protected the Natural Right of Religious Liberty”  
*National Review Online*, December 7, 2018
- “Securing Free Speech and Free Inquiry on Campus,” *Public Discourse*, September 17, 2018
- “The Ingredient for an LGBT Triumph?” *Berkley Forum*, June 27, 2018

- “Defending American Classical Liberalism,” *National Review Online*, June 11, 2018
- “A Bad Aftertaste in the *Masterpiece Cakeshop* Decision,” *AmericanGreatness.com*, June 9, 2018
- “Natural Rights, God, and Marriage in the American Founding,” *Public Discourse*, May 23, 2018
- “Free Exercise Exemptionism and the Evaporation of the Inalienable Character of Religious Liberty,” *Journal of Law and Religion* 32 (2017): 512-14
- “How is Equality Baked into Our Constitution?” *AmericanGreatness.com*, December 5, 2017
- “Why I Invited Charles Murray to Speak at Notre Dame,” *Real Clear Politics*, March 22, 2017
- “The Founders in Full,” *Claremont Review of Books*, XVII, no. 4, Fall 2017  
Review of *The Political Theory of the American Founding* by Thomas G. West
- “The Founders and the Natural Right of Religious Free Exercise: A Response,” *Law and Religion Forum* [lawandreligionforum.org](http://lawandreligionforum.org) (St. John’s University Law School Center for Law & Religion), January 24, 2017
- Review of *Rediscovering America: Liberty, Equality, and the Crisis of Democracy* by John Agresto, *Review of Politics* 79 (2017)
- “Justice Scalia was Right about Religious Free Exercise,” *Law and Religion Forum* (St. John’s University Law School Center for Law & Religion), September 6, 2016
- “A More Accommodating Accommodation? Justice Kennedy’s Invitation to Compromise” *Commonweal.com*, July 16, 2014
- “Justice Sotomayor Misses the Mark: Religious Non-Profits Should Prevail” *Public Discourse*, July 8, 2014
- “The Soul of Liberty,” *Claremont Review of Books* XIV, no. 2, Spring 2014  
Review of *Conscience and Its Enemies* by Robert P. George
- “Sustaining American Liberalism in Principle and Practice” *Public Discourse*, March 5, 2013
- “Why Social Conservatives Should Be Patriotic Americans: A Critique of Patrick Deneen” *Public Discourse*, November 28, 2012
- “The Religious Liberty Case Against Religious Liberty Litigation: Renewed Focus on Reasonable, Not Sectarian Arguments” *Public Discourse*, October 12, 2012
- “The Religious Liberty Case Against Religious Liberty Litigation: Non-Universal Exemptions and Judicial Overreach,” *Public Discourse*, October 11, 2012
- “Catholic Bishops Take on Obama,” *The Weekly Standard Online*, April 23, 2012
- “The Virtues of Conflict Over War Powers,” with Benjamin Kleinerman, *The Weekly Standard Online*, June 16, 2011
- “Block that Metaphor,” *Claremont Review of Books* X, no. 4, Fall 2010  
Review of *Church, State, and Original Intent* by Donald L. Drakeman
- “Saving the Pledge,” *First Things*, no. 149, pp. 8-10, January 2005
- “One Nation, Under God?” *Claremont Review of Books* V, no. 3, Summer 2005  
Review of *To the Flag: The Unlikely History of the Pledge of Allegiance*, by Richard Ellis
- Review of *On Two Wings: Humble Faith and Common Sense at the American Founding* by Michael Novak and *The Founding Fathers and the Place of Religion in America* by Frank Lambert  
*Interpretation: A Journal of Political Philosophy* v. 31, no. 1, pp. 105-109, Winter 2004-05
- “Debating Free Exercise: Response to Critics,” *First Things*, no. 142, April 2004
- “Establishing Free Exercise,” *First Things*, no. 138, pp. 14-19, December 2003
- “Religious Liberty and The American Founding” *The Intercollegiate Review* 38, no. 2 (2003), pp. 33-43

- “A Postmodernist’s Prayer,” *Claremont Review of Books*, Spring 2003  
Review of *Getting Over Equality: A Critical Diagnosis of Religious Freedom in America* by Steven D. Smith
- Review of *Farewell to Christendom: The Future of Church and State in America* by Thomas J. Curry.  
*Perspectives on Political Science*, Winter 2003
- “George Washington,” in *Encyclopedia of American Religion and Politics*, eds. Paul A. Djupe and Laura R. Olson. Facts on File, 2003
- “A Wall of Separation?” *Claremont Review of Books*, Spring 2001  
Review of *Religion and Political Culture in Jefferson’s Virginia*, ed. G.W. Sheldon and D.L. Dreisbach, and *Religion and the New Republic*, ed. James H. Hutson
- Review of *The American Myth of Religious Freedom* by Kenneth R. Craycraft.  
*Perspectives on Political Science*, Winter 2001

## **INVITED LECTURES**

### **2023**

Acton University  
Arizona State University  
Brigham Young University  
Catholic University of America  
Georgetown Law School  
Grand Valley State University  
Gerard Ford Museum  
Intercollegiate Studies Institute  
UC Berkeley Law School  
University of Nebraska-Omaha  
University of Texas  
University of Virginia  
University of Wisconsin  
Utah Valley University  
Thomistic Institute

Dartmouth University  
Emory University  
Ethics & Public Policy Center (twice)  
Faulkner University  
Franciscan University of Steubenville  
Furman University  
Georgia State University Law School  
George Fox University  
Georgetown University  
Georgetown University Law School  
Grand Valley State University  
Grove City College  
Harvard Law School  
Harvard College  
Hillsdale College (thrice)  
Holy Cross College  
Hope College  
Huntington University  
Indiana University, School of Law  
Intercollegiate Studies Institute  
Jagiellonian University  
Kenyon College  
Lee University  
Loyola University Chicago Law School  
Mercer University  
Middlebury College  
Monmouth College  
Newman University  
North Carolina State University  
NYU Thomistic Institute  
Oxford University  
Pomona College (twice)  
Princeton Theological Seminary  
Princeton University (thrice)  
Regent University  
Rutgers University, Camden Law School

### **2003-2022**

Akron University School of Law  
American Enterprise Institute (twice)  
America’s Future Foundation  
American University of Iraq (Sulaimani, Iraq)  
Arizona State University (twice)  
Baylor University (twice)  
Belarusian State University  
Benedictine College  
Boise State University  
Boston Collage  
Cal Poly San Luis Obispo (twice)  
Carroll College  
Carthage College  
Chapman University Law School  
Christendom College  
Claremont McKenna College (twice)  
College of the Holy Cross  
Cornell University Law School

Seattle Pacific University	University of Oklahoma (thrice)
Saint Vincent College	University of Portland
Skidmore College	University of Richmond Law School
Texas State University	University of San Diego
Thomas Aquinas College	University of South Carolina
Uline Corporation	University of Virginia (twice)
University Faculty for Life	University of Virginia Law School
UC Berkeley Law School	University of Wisconsin (twice)
University of Cincinnati	University Bookman/Morningside Institute
University of Chicago Law School	United States Department of Justice
University of Dallas	United States Embassy: Minsk, Belarus
University of Kansas	Utah Valley University
University of Maryland	Vanderbilt University, School of Law
University of Missouri	Wake Forest University
University of Montana	Washburn University, School of Law
University of Nebraska Law School	Western State University College of Law
University of Nebraska, Omaha	Yale Law School
University of Notre Dame Law School (thrice)	

### CONFERENCE PAPERS (SINCE 2008-09)

- “Constructing the Establishment Clause” with Kate Hardiman Rhodes  
Loyola University Chicago Law Journal Symposium on “Religious Liberty at a Historic Crossroads,”  
Chicago, April 8, 2022
- “James Madison’s Politics of Religious Liberty”  
2021 American Political Science Association Meeting, Seattle, WA
- “Defending American Classical Liberalism”  
*First Things* Colloquium on Religious Faith and Liberalism, New York, June 18, 2018
- “Marriage and the Family in Tom West’s *The Political Theory of the American Founding*”  
Hillsdale College,” Hillsdale, MI, November 4, 2017
- “Social Compact Theory, Freedom of Worship, and Religious Liberty as an Inalienable Right”  
Jack Miller Center, Philadelphia, PA, August 9-12, 2017
- “Two Concepts of Religious Liberty,” conference on “Religion in the Public Space of the Legal State  
of the 19<sup>th</sup> Through 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries,” Jagiellonian University, Krakow Poland, April 27-29, 2016
- “The Theological Foundations of the Right to Privacy”  
Kenyon College conference on “The Expectation of Privacy,” Kenyon, OH, April 6-8, 2016
- “Two Concepts of Religious Liberty: The Natural Rights and Moral Autonomy Approaches to the  
Free Exercise of Religion,” Montpelier/Smith Center for the Constitution. Orange, VA, July 2015
- “Religious Diversity, Conformity, and Conscience in the American Founding,” St. Vincent College  
conference on “Diversity, Conformity, and Conscience in Contemporary America,” April 2015
- “Two Concepts of Religious Liberty”  
Jack Miller Center for Teaching America’s Founding Principles and History, Philadelphia, PA, August 2013
- “Why Social Conservatives Should be Patriotic Americans”  
2012 Center for Ethics and Culture Fall Conference, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN
- “Church and State in the States: The Founding-Era State Constitutions”  
2009 American Political Science Association Meeting, Toronto, Canada
- “Religious Liberty and the American Founding: The State Constitutions”



Georgetown University conference on “American Political Thought: Ideas and Institutions,”  
Washington, DC, January 2009

- “Jefferson’s Secular Politics of Church-State Separation”  
2008 American Political Science Association Meeting, Boston, MA
- “The Original Meaning of the Free Exercise Clause”  
2008 American Political Science Association Meeting, Boston, MA (nominated for the Paul J. Weber Award for best paper on religion and politics at the APSA meeting)
- “The Enlightenment and the American Founding”  
2008 Southern Political Science Association Meeting, New Orleans, LA (nominated for the Pi Sigma Alpha Best Paper Award)

### **SELECTIVE CONFERENCE/COLLOQUIUM/PANEL PARTICIPATION (SINCE 2008)**

- Panelist, “Securing Intellectual Diversity on Campus,” Ohio Public University Governance Symposium, Columbus, OH, October 23, 2023
- Author, Author Meets Critics panel on *Religious Liberty and the American Founding*, with Harvey Mansfield (Harvard), Hon. Jeff Sutton (6<sup>th</sup> Circuit), Michael Moreland (Villanova), University of Notre Dame, September 22, 2023
- Moderator, “Cooper & Dyer’s *The Classical & Christian Origins of American Politics*”  
2023 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, (virtual), September 1, 2023
- Presenter, “The Founders on Religious Liberty and Church-State Relations,” Princeton University, James Madison Program 2023 Giuffra Conference, “America’s Once and Future History,” June 6, 2023
- Presenter, “Domesticating Religion or Domesticating Politics? Why the Separation of Church and State Need Not be an Attack on Religion.” Michigan State University / American Enterprise Institute conference on “Religion’s Refusal to Die,” Washington, DC, April 20-21, 2023
- Participant, “Liberalism/Post-Liberalism,” University of Texas, Austin, April 12-13, 2023
- Panelist, “Originalism and the Free Exercise Clause: Should the Court Overturn *Smith*?”  
2023 Original Symposium, Federalist Society, University of Virginia Law School, March 24, 2023
- Director and Organizer, “The Principles of American Constitutionalism: Natural Rights & Natural Law,” law faculty conference, February 9-10, 2023
- Discussant, “Citizenship, Character, and the Common Good,” Southern Political Science Association Conference, Tampa, FL, January 12, 2023
- Author, Author Meets Critics panel on *Religious Liberty and the American Founding* featuring Teresa Bejan (Oxford), Rogers Smith (Penn), and George Thomas (Claremont McKenna)  
2022 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, CA, September 17, 2022
- Panelist, “The Free Exercise Clause and the Supreme Court,” 2022 Judicial Conference of the Sixth Circuit, Louisville, KY, September 2, 2022
- Panel Moderator, “The Leak, Abortion, and the Future of the Supreme Court,” featuring John Yoo, Carter Snead, and Sherif Girgis, University of Notre Dame (zoom), May 3, 2022
- Keynote Lecture, “Natural Rights, Natural Law, and the American Founding”  
2022 Shawnee Trail Conference on American Politics & Constitutionalism, April 28-29, 2022, Baylor University
- Organizer and Host, Conference on “The Reconstruction Amendments,” University of Notre Dame, October 28-29, 2021. Proceedings to be published in *Notre Dame Law Review*
- Panelist, “Religious Exemptions from the Founding to Today,” National Constitution Center (Zoom), September 30, 2021

- Panelist, Book panel on *The Unbroken Thread* by Sohrab Ahmari, Notre Dame Center for Ethics and Culture, May 6, 2021
- Panelist, “SCOTUS After the Barrett Nomination,” Federalist Society, Florida Chapters Conference, Orlando, January 30, 2021
- Panelist, “Pandemic Consequences: Opportunities in Higher Education,” Bradley Foundation, Lake Geneva, WI, October 9, 2020
- Panelist, “Challenges or Irreconcilable Differences? Nationalism, Markets, Morality, and Culture,” Bradley Foundation, Naples, FL, January 25, 2020
- Panelist, “Catholicism and the Contemporary World,” American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, August 30, 2019
- Panelist, “The Declaration and the Constitution,” Bradley Foundation Graduate and Post-Graduate Conference on “We the People: Fidelity to the Constitution,” Chicago, IL, April 13, 2019
- Commentator, “*Masterpiece Cakeshop* and the Future of Religion Liberty,” by Mark L. Movessian. Conference on “The Future of Religious Liberty,” George Mason University, March 22, 2019
- Panelist, “Does Politics Need God,” Thomistic Institute, New York University, March 9, 2019
- Panelist, “Issues in Religious Liberty,” Federalist Society Midwest Regional Conference, University of Chicago, February 23, 2019
- Commentator, “‘A Free and Sovereign State’: The Emergence of the Concept of Sovereignty in Iceland,” by Ragnhildur Helgadóttir. Conference of “History and Theory in Development of Public Law,” University of Notre Dame in London, February 14-15, 2019
- Keynote Panelist, “Catholicism and the American Project,” Notre Dame Center for Ethics and Culture Fall Conference, November 3, 2018
- Panelist, “Can God Save the University? The Religious Roots of an Academic Crisis,” conference on “The Catholic Intellectual and the Challenge of the Contemporary University,” NYU Thomistic Institute, April 21, 2018
- Panel Organizer and Moderator, “Author Meets Critics: Tom West’s *The Political Theory of the American Founding*,” 2018 MPSA Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 7, 2018
- Panel Commentator, “Federalists and Anti-Federalists,” 2017 MPSA Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, April 6, 2017
- Panelist, “Is the Religious Freedom Restoration Act the Future of Religious Liberty?” Federalist Society Lawyer’s Convention, Washington, DC, November 17, 2016
- Session Designer and Leader, St. John’s Center for Law & Religion Conference on “Tradition in Law and Politics,” New York, NY, October 20-22, 2016
- Discussant, “Freedom of Religion and Speech in the American Social Compact,” 2016 APSA Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, September 2, 2016
- Chair, “The Jurisprudence and American Legacy of Justice Antonin Scalia,” 2016 APSA Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, September 3, 2016
- Commentator, Roundtable conference on Linda Brady’s *The Distinctiveness of Religion in American Law*, Notre Dame Law School, April 15, 2016
- Paper Presenter and Discussant, “Religious Liberty and the Future of Liberal Tolerance,” Claremont McKenna College, May 19-21, 2016
- Chair & Discussant, “Can the Left Get Right with the Founding?” 2016 SPSA Annual Meeting, San Juan, Puerto Rico, January 2016

- Roundtable Participant, “Sebelius v. Hobby Lobby: The Morning After Pill, Corporate Convictions, and the Future of Religious Liberty,” 2014 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, September 2014
- Chair and Panel Organizer, “Benjamin Radclif’s *The Political Economy of Human Happiness: How Voters Choices Determine the Quality of Life*,” 2014 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, September 2014
- Moderator, “The Supreme Court and Social Progress: *Roe v. Wade at 40*,” conference on the Milestones in the History of a Free Society, Princeton University, May 2013
- Chair, Discussant, and Panel Organizer, “Author Meets Critics, *American Grace* by Robert Putnam and David Campbell,” 2012 Southern Political Science Association Meeting, New Orleans, January 2012
- Discussant, “Liberalism and the Rule of Law,” 2012 Southern Political Science Association Meeting, New Orleans, January 2012
- Discussant, “*Church, State, and Original Intent*,” panel on *Church, State, and Original Intent* by Donald L. Drakeman, Princeton University, April 2010
- Discussant, “The American Founders and Free Speech,” 2009 American Political Science Association Meeting, Toronto, CA
- Participant, “The Constitution & The Bill of Rights,” Claremont McKenna College, Claremont, CA, May 2009
- Consultant, “Law and Religion: Historical and Philosophical Perspectives,” Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, April 2009
- Discussant, “Natural Rights and the American Constitutional Experiment,” Georgetown University, Washington, DC, January 2009

### **LEADERSHIP IN CIVIC EDUCATION**

- Curriculum Designer & Instructor, Seminars for 20-40 high school teachers, James Madison’s Montpelier:
  - “Choice, Privacy, and American Constitutionalism” (3 days, 15 lecture hours, 2022)
  - “The Evolution of Rights in the American Constitutional Tradition” (Zoom, 3 days, 4.5 lecture hours, 2021)
  - “The Evolution of Rights in the American Constitutional Tradition” (3 days, 15 lecture hours, 2018)
  - “Religious Liberty and American Constitutionalism” (3 days, 7.5 lecture hours, 2016)
- Curriculum Designer and Faculty Instructor, “Religion and the Constitution,” The Bill of Rights Institute. Designed and delivered three 60-minute lectures to a group of 40 high school teachers, July 25-26, 2016
- Faculty Instructor:
  - 1789 Fellowship in American Political Thought and Practice, American Enterprise Institute, two 3-hour seminars over two days, 2022
  - Civic Spirit Initiative, 2021, 2022
  - Publius and John Marshall Fellowship Programs. Delivered four to six days of lectures on the American founding to recent college graduates annually, 2014-2023
  - Jack Miller Center Ph.D. Student Summer Institute, 2019
  - First Liberty Institute, 2021-22
  - Leonine Forum, 2020, 2022
- Faculty, Tikvah Institute
  - Taught three-75 minutes sessions on the presidency and religion, 2022
  - Created and taught a five-week zoom class on “Principles of American Constitutionalism,” 2021-22
  - Taught a five-week zoom class on “Lincoln’s God” to middle school pupils, 2020

- Delivered three 2-hour lectures on the principles of American constitutionalism, 2013, 2014, 2020
- Course Development & Instructor, National Endowment for the Humanities—We the People Institutes for High School Teachers:
  - Milwaukee, WI (1 day, 3.5 lecture hours, 2012)
  - Princeton, New Jersey (3 days, 13.5 lecture hours, 2009)
  - Anderson, Indiana (2 days, 4.5 lecture hours, 2009)
  - Boise, Idaho (4 days, 18 lecture hours, 2005)
- Curriculum Development, National Endowment for the Humanities, EDSITEment Project, 2006-08
- Public/Invited Lectures on the Principles of American Constitutionalism and American History
  - Blackstone Fellowship, 2017-18; Chesterton Society of Seattle, 2014; Discovery Institute, 2010, 2013; Napa Institute, 2014, 2015, 2019, 2020, 2021
  - Notre Dame Hesburgh Lecture (Charlottesville, 2014), Cleveland (2012, 2013, 2015), San Diego (2015)
  - South Bend/Notre Dame Area: Phoenix Institute (2012), DeBartolo Performing Arts Center (2012), St. Joseph Catholic Church (2014), Archdiocese of Ft. Wayne/South Bend (2019), University Faculty for Life (2022)

### **SELECTIVE PODCAST & MEDIA APPEARANCES**

- Podcast, *First Things*, December 15, 2022
- Podcast, Thomistic Institute: Aquinas 101, December 2022
- Podcast, James Madison’s Montpelier, December 5, 2022
- Podcast, *Law and Liberty*, November 4, 2022
- Podcast, Anchoring Truths, October 2022
- Podcast, America’s Talking, September 12, 2022
- Podcast, *National Review*: The Bookmonger, August 29, 2022
- Podcast, Intercollegiate Studies Institute, August 23, 2022
- Podcast, Andrew Klavan Show, August 19, 2022
- Podcast, *First Things*: The Editor’s Desk, May 27, 2022
- Radio Show, Democracy Forum, WERU 89.9, November 19, 2021
- Podcast, National Constitution Center, September 30, 2021
- Print interview, *Christian Science Monitor*, July 10, 2020
- C-SPAN “Lectures in History” – Filmed on September 7, 2017; broadcast multiple times
- Tucker Carlson Tonight, Television Interview, March 28, 2017
- Tucker Carlson Tonight, Television Interview, March 24, 2017
- Print Interview, “Religious Freedom is Fundamental Principle,” Krynica.Info, Belarusian Christian News, June 13, 2016
- Radio Interview, “Justice Scalia and the Supreme Court,” Ave Maria Radio, Kresta in the Afternoon, Feb. 19, 2016
- Documentary Film Interviewee, *One Generation Away*, Ecolight Studios, 2014
- Radio Interview, “God & The Founders,” Ave Maria Radio, Kresta in the Afternoon, Oct. 15, 2014
- Radio Interview, “Religious Liberty & the HHS Mandate,” Ave Maria Radio, Kresta in the Afternoon, July 30, 2014
- Podcast Interview, “Catholic Bishops, Religious Liberty, & the HHS Mandate,” Research on Religion, May 7, 2012
- Radio Interview, “Bishops Take on Obama,” WOWO 1190AM Fort Wayne Morning News, April 26, 2012
- Television Interview, “Secularism and Religion in the US,” Turkish Radio and Television (TRT), June 2009

### **DOCTORAL DISSERTATION COMMITTEES AT NOTRE DAME**

- Fr. Henry Stephen, ABD, Civic Friendship
- Tyler Moore, 2022, “Interpretation’s Disputed Terrain”
- Tiernan Kane, 2022, “Reevaluating Legal Liberty of Conscience” (Chair)
- Bradley Rebeiro, 2021, “Natural Rights (Re)Construction: Frederick Douglass and Constitutional Abolitionism” (Chair)
- Robert Burton, 2020, “The Early Modern Conscience”
- Raul Rodriguez, 2020, “Tocqueville’s New Kind of Liberalism”
- Kevin Vance, 2017, “American Religious Liberty Jurisprudence in Comparative Perspective”
- Christopher McMillian, 2016, “Federalism and Freedom: The Precedential and Normative Roots of the Rehnquist Court’s Federalism Revolution”
- Matthew Van Hook, 2015, “Alexander Hamilton: A Theory of Statesmanship”
- Ryan Anderson, 2014, “Neither Liberal Nor Libertarian: A Natural Law Approach to Social Justice and Economic Rights”

### **UNDERGRADUATE THESES DIRECTED AT NOTRE DAME**

- Sierra Stinson, 2022-23, “A Close Examination of Affirmative Action at Notre Dame: The Effects on Minority Students”
- Patrick Aimone, 2021-22, “At the Border of Church and State: A Defense of Religious Accommodation of the Sanctuary Movement”  
Recipient of the Paul Bartholomew Prize for best senior thesis in political theory
- Hannah Lovejoy, 2019-20, “You are What You Eat: Classical Ethics and Education for 21<sup>st</sup> Century American Youth”
- John Paul L. Ferguson, 2019-20, “Republican Statesmen: The Political Philosophy of Cicero and Alexander Hamilton”
- Pedro Dominguez, 2018-19, “An Apple of Gold: On the Statesmanship of Abraham Lincoln”
- Mary Soren Hansen, 2018-19, “Girl Power: A Tocquevillian Analysis of the Crisis of Gender Among Millennials”
- Jack Puetz, 2017-18, “Justice Scalia’s Church-State Jurisprudence: An Analysis of Nino’s Notions of the Role of the Religion Clauses of the First Amendment”
- Cole Wintheiser, 2016-17, “One Nation Under God: An Examination of Clarence Thomas’s Evolving Establishment Clause Jurisprudence”
- Neil Joseph, 2016-17, “To Speak or Not to Speak: Why Universities Promote or Restrict Free Expression on Campus” – Recipient of the Paul Bartholomew Prize for best thesis in political theory – 2016-2017
- Alexandra DeSanctis, 2015, “Free Love: Sexual Autonomy and the American Family”
- Scott Englert, 2012-13, “South Bend and the Establishment Clause”
- Sarah Durzik, 2011-12, “The Development of Criminal Defendants’ Rights”

## **COURSES TAUGHT**

- University of Notre Dame
  - American Constitutional Theory and Development (graduate and law)
  - Conservatism After Trump
  - Constitutionalism, Law & Politics I: Constitutional Government & Public Policy
  - Constitutionalism, Law & Politics II: The American Constitutional Tradition
  - Constitutional Law I - National Powers
  - Constitutional Law II - Civil Liberties
  - Core Texts in Citizenship & Constitutional Government: Modern Constitutionalism
  - Human Excellence and the Political Order
  - Law, Morality, and Democracy
  - Lincoln's Political Thought and Statesmanship (with Michael Zuckert)
  - Program of Liberal Studies - Political & Constitutional Theory
  - Race and American Constitutionalism (with Judge Amul Thapar)
  - Religion and American Constitutionalism (with Justice Clarence Thomas)
  - Religion, the State, and American Constitutionalism (graduate, law, undergrad seminar and lecture)
- Tufts University
  - Civil Liberties
  - The Meaning of America
  - Religion, the State, and the Constitution
  - Democracy, Law, and Moral Politics
- North Carolina State University
  - Introduction to Political Philosophy
  - Law and Justice
  - Religion, the State, and the Constitution
  - Constitutional Law: Civil Rights
- Claremont McKenna College—DC Program
  - Law, Morality, and Public Policy
- Pomona College
  - The Philosophy and Politics of Liberal Arts Education
  - The American Presidency
  - Constitutional Law I: National Powers & Constitutional Law II: The Bill of Rights
- California State University, San Bernardino
  - American Political Thought
  - The Judicial Process
  - Constitutional Law II: The Bill of Rights & Constitutional Law III: Civil Liberties
  - Formation of Public Policy

### **SELECTIVE PROFESSIONAL SERVICE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

- American Political Science Association - American Political Thought Section
  - 2019-23 – Section Treasurer/Secretary
  - 2018 – Book Award Committee Chair
  - 2016 – APSA Annual Meeting Panel Co-Chair – Organized five panels for the 2016 Convention
- Journal Editorial Board Member: *American Political Thought*; *Journal of Religion, Culture & Democracy*
- APSA Book Award Committee: Religion and Politics (2012)
- Manuscript Referee: *American Journal of Legal History*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *American Political Thought*, *Journal of Church & State*, *Journal of Politics*, *Polity*, *Political Science Reviewer*, *Religion and Politics*, *Review of Politics*, *Yale Law Journal*, AEI Press, Cambridge University Press, Northern Illinois University Press, Oxford University Press, Palgrave, Princeton University Press, Rowman & Littlefield, University of Chicago Press, University of Kentucky Press, University of Kansas Press, University of Notre Dame Press
- Grant Proposal Evaluator: Earhart Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities—We the People Landmarks of American History and Culture Program, Templeton Foundation, Notre Dame Institute for Advanced Study

### **UNIVERSITY SERVICE AT NOTRE DAME**

- Founding Director, Center for Citizenship & Constitutional Government (2021-present)
- Director, Tocqueville Program in Religion & Public Life (2011-2021)
- Founding Director, Constitutional Studies Interdisciplinary Minor (2011-present)
- University Commencement Committee – Selection of Valedictorian Speaker (2013)
- College of Arts & Letters
  - Honesty Committee (Chair, Spring 2013-Spring 2015), (Member, 2012)
  - Catholicism Across the Disciplines – Implementation Committee (2017)
- Department of Political Science:
  - Ad hoc committee on Standards for Tenure and Promotion (2022-23)
  - Constitutional Studies Field Chair (2023-24, 2021-22, 2018)
  - Executive Committee of the Whole (2015-18)
  - Graduate Admissions Committee (2020, 2016, 2015, 2011)
  - Graduate Policy Committee (2022-23, 2013, 2009-10)
  - Search Committee, American Politics (2012-13)
  - Search Committee Chair, Constitutional Studies (2018-19, 2011-12)
  - Self-Study Committee (2011-12)
  - Undergraduate Policy Committee (2017-18, 2012-13)
- Student Club Faculty Advisor
  - *The Irish Rover* (2013-present)
  - Young Americans for Freedom (2017-present)
  - ND Votes (2017-2021)