

# David J. Siemers

## Office

Department of Political Science  
University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh  
800 Algoma Blvd.  
(920) 424-3456  
fax: (920) 424-0739

## Home

2172 Hickory Lane  
Oshkosh, WI 54901  
(920) 426-4289  
email: siemers@uwosh.edu

## Positions Held and Teaching Experience

University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, Assistant Professor, 2001-05; Associate Professor, 2005-10, Professor, 2010-2018; Department Chair, 2011-15; Distinguished Professor, 2018-present

Courses taught: US Presidency; American Political Thought; Modern Political Thought; Ancient Political Thought; American Government and Politics; Power, Justice, and the State (FYE offering); Congress and the Legislative Process; Political Film; Political Analysis (major capstone) Honors American Government and Politics; Honors Introductory Seminar-Ethics, Honors Introductory Seminar-Education; Honors College Capstone: "Government," Lincoln's Politics; Politics, Power and Protest in Great Britain (study abroad)

Colorado College Colorado Springs, Colorado, Visiting Asst. Professor, 1999-2001  
American Political Thought, Western Political Tradition, Politics and Film, the Presidency, American Politics

Wellesley College Wellesley, Massachusetts, Visiting Asst. Professor, 1998-1999  
American Pol. Thought, Intro. to American Gov't, Congress and the Leg. Process

Bradley University Peoria, Illinois, Visiting Asst. Professor, 1997-1998  
Intro. to American Government, Intro. to Theory, American Political Thought

University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Teaching Assistant, 1992-96--Depts. of Pol. Sci. and Integrated Liberal Studies  
American Politics, Ancient Political Thought, Modern Political Thought

## Education

University of Wisconsin (Madison, Wisconsin)

Ph.D. Political Science, August, 1997

M.A. Political Science, December, 1992

St. Olaf College (Northfield, Minnesota)

B.A. Political Science, 1991, Magna cum Laude

## Publications

**Book:** *The Myth of Coequal Branches: Restoring the Constitution's Separation of Functions*, University of Missouri Press, 2018.

**Book:** *Presidents and Political Thought*, University of Missouri Press, 2009.

**Book:** *The Antifederalists: Men of Great Faith and Forbearance*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2004.

**Book:** *Ratifying the Republic: Antifederalists and Federalists in Constitutional Time*, Stanford University Press, 2002.

**Journal Essay:** "America's Machiavellian Moment" for *The Constitutionalist*, a national compendium of essays in American Political Thought addressing current issues, 12/15/2020: <https://theconstitutionalist.org/2020/12/15/americas-machiavellian-moment/>

**Journal Article:** "Presidential Coequality: The Evolution of a Concept" with Paul T. Beach. September 2012 issue of *Congress & the Presidency*, vol. 39 (3): 316-339.

**Journal Article:** "The Roosevelts in Superior," in the Autumn 2009 *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, vol. 93 (1): 2-13.

**Journal Article:** "Bill Clinton's Contractarian Worldview: The Intellectual Origins and Public Face of the Clinton Philosophy." Autumn 2008 issue of *Congress & the Presidency*, vol. 35 (2): 65-86).

**Journal Article:** "Theories about Theory: A Typology of Theory Based Claims from the Case of James Madison," in the March 2008 issue of *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 38 (1): 78-95.

**Journal Article:** "Principled Pragmatism: Abraham Lincoln's Method of Political Analysis" in the December 2004 issue of *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 34 (4): 804-827.

**Journal Article:** "'It is Natural to Care for the Crazy Machine': The Anti-Federalists' Post-ratification Acquiescence," in Fall 1998 *Studies in American Political Development*, vol. 12 (2): 383-410.

**Book Chapter:** "'A Faultless Plan was not to be Expected': James Madison and the Separation of Powers" in *James Madison's Constitution: A Double Security and a Parchment Barrier* (under consideration at the University of Georgia Press), Eric T. Kasper and Howard Schweber, eds.

**Book Chapter:** “Publius and the Antifederalists: ‘A Satisfactory Answer to all the Objections?’” in *Cambridge Companion to the Federalist*, Jack N. Rakove and Colleen Sheehan, eds., Cambridge University Press, 2020, pp. 18-51.

**Book Chapter:** “John Adams’ Political Thought,” in *A Companion to John Adams and John Quincy Adams*, Wiley-Blackwell, David Waldstreicher, ed., 2013, pp. 102-124.

**Book Chapter:** “James Madison’s Presidency: Foreign Affairs,” in *A Companion to James Madison and James Monroe*, Wiley-Blackwell, Stuart Leibiger, ed., 2012, pp. 207-223.

**Book Chapter:** “The Electoral Dynamics of Ratification: Federalist and Antifederalist Strength and Cohesion, 1787-1803,” pp. 233-266 in *The House and the Senate in the 1790s: Petitioning, Lobbying, and Institutional Development*, Ohio University Press, 2002, Donald R. Kennon and Kenneth R. Bowling, eds., part of the United States Capitol Historical Society’s series in Congressional development.

**Contributor:** *America’s Forgotten Founders*, Gary L. Gregg II and Mark David Hall, eds., 2008. Louisville. KY: Butler Books.

**Encyclopedia Entry** in the *Encyclopedia of the American Enlightenment*, Marilyn Holme, Managing Editor, Bristol, UK: Continuum. Entry on “The Antifederalists,” 2012.

**Encyclopedia Entry** in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of American Political and Legal History*, Donald T. Critchlow and Phil Vandermeer, editors in chief. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Entry on the “Anti-Federalists,” 2012.

**Encyclopedia Entry** in the *Encyclopedia of Political Theory*, Mark Bevir, Editor in Chief, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. Entry on “The American Revolution,” 2010.

**Encyclopedia Entry** in the *Princeton Encyclopedia of United States Political History*, Michael Kazin, ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010. Entry on “the anti-Federalists.”

**Encyclopedia Entry** in *The Encyclopedia of Political Science*, George T. Kurian, ed., Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010. Entry on “The Constitution.”

**Encyclopedia Entry** in the *Encyclopedia of the Supreme Court of the United States*, David S. Tanenhaus, Editor in Chief, Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan, 2008. Entry on “The Articles of Confederation.”

**Encyclopedia Entries** in the *Encyclopedia of the New American Nation*, Paul Finkleman et al., eds. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 2006. Entries on “The Antifederalists” and “James Madison—Presidency” with annotated bibliographies.

**Encyclopedia Entries** in *The Encyclopedia of American Religion and Politics*, ed. Paul A. Djupe and Laura R. Olson. New York: Facts on File, 2003. Entries on “Henry David Thoreau,” “Transcendentalism,” “James Madison” and “Thomas Jefferson.”

**Book Review:** Alexander Keyssar’s *Why Do We Still Have the Electoral College?* in the *Journal of American History* June 2022, 109 (1): 129-30

**Book Review:** Alan Levine, Thomas W. Merrill, and James R. Stoner, eds., *The Political Thought of the Civil War* in the *American Review of Politics* 37(1): 149-151, April 2020.

**Book Review:** Peverill Squire’s *The Rise of the Representative: Lawmakers and Constituents in Colonial America* in *Congress & the Presidency* 45(2): 220-221, April 2018.

**Book Review:** Calvin Jillson’s *The American Dream in History, Politics, and Fiction* forthcoming in the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 48(2): 277-278, Autumn 2017.

**Book Review:** Francis Cogliano’s *Emperor of Liberty: Thomas Jefferson’s Foreign Policy* (Yale University Press), in the December 2016 (46: 4) issue of *Presidential Studies Quarterly*.

**Book Review:** Saikrishna Bangalore Prakash’s *Imperial from the Beginning: The Constitution of the Original Executive* (Yale University Press, 2015). In the September 2016 (103: 2) issue of the *Journal of American History*.

**Book Review:** Michael J. Gerhardt’s *The Forgotten Presidents: Their Untold Constitutional Legacy* Oxford U. Press, for H-Net’s H Law electronic book review forum, Sept. 2013

**Book Review:** *Madison’s Metronome* by Greg Weiner (University Press of Kansas, 2012) in *The Journal of American History*, March 2013.

**Book Review:** Jurgen Heideking’s *The Constitution Before the Judgment Seat* (University of Virginia Press, 2012) in the *Journal of the Early Republic*, Summer 2013.

**Book Review:** Benjamin A. Kleinerman’s *The Discretionary President* (Kansas, 2009) on H-Net’s H Law electronic book review forum: <http://www.h-net.org/~law/> (September 2010).

**Book Review:** Alison L. LaCroix’s *The Ideological Origins of American Federalism* (Harvard, 2010) in Autumn 2010 (vol. 97: 3) *Journal of American History*.

**Book Review:** Robert McCluer Calhoun’s *Political Moderation in America’s First Two Centuries* (Cambridge, 2009) in the October 2009 *American Historical Review*.

**Book Review:** *Formative Acts*, Stephen Skowronek and Matthew Glassman, eds. (University of Pennsylvania Press) and David Brian Robertson’s *The Constitution and America’s Destiny* (Cambridge University Press) in September 2008 *Perspectives on Politics*.

**Book Review:** Jon L. Wakelyn's *The Birth of the Bill of Rights*, vol. 1 (Greenwood Press), on H-NET's Law book review site.

**Book Review:** Daniel Wirls and Stephen Wirls's *The Invention of the United States Senate* (Johns Hopkins University Press), in the *Journal of American History*, June 2005.

**Book Review:** Gary V. Wood's *Heir to the Fathers: John Quincy Adams and the Spirit of Constitutional Government* (Lexington Books) in Fall 2004 *Perspectives on Political Science*.

**Book Review dialogue** with Richard B. Bernstein on *Ratifying the Republic*, appearing electronically on the Society of Historians of the Early American Republic's H-NET book review page, March 2004.

**Book Review:** Sotirios A. Barber's *Welfare and the Constitution* (Princeton University Press) in the June 2004 issue of *Perspectives on Politics*.

**Book Review:** John Kane's *The Politics of Moral Capital* (Cambridge University Press) appeared in the March 2003 issue of *Presidential Studies Quarterly*.

**Book Review:** David P. Currie's *The Constitution in Congress* (University of Chicago) appeared in the Spring 1999 *Congress & the Presidency*.

**Book Review:** Alan Brinkley, Nelson W. Polsby and Kathleen M. Sullivan's *New Federalist Papers* (W. W. Norton) appeared in Spring 1998 issue of *Perspectives on Political Science*.

**Book Reviews:** Stanley A. Renshon's *The Psychological Assessment of Presidential Candidates* (NYU Press) and *High Hopes: The Clinton Presidency and the Politics of Ambition* (NYU Press) in the Fall 1996 issue of *Congress & the Presidency*.

## Current Research

**Book Chapter:** "Yet Another Rogue President? Recent Developments in Presidential Constitutionalism" for an edited volume on "Positive Constitutionalism," edited by Benjamin A. Kleinerman and Connor M. Ewing. This work follows up on a theme in my book *The Myth of Coequal Branches* and aims to develop a set of standards for presidents in a separation of powers system where a feature is contestation over constitutional meaning. I describe what approaches to constitutional arguments are valid and useful and which should be avoided, using the last three presidents to illustrate my argument.

**Book Chapter in Progress:** "The Antifederalists: Resistance and Opportunity" in *A New History of American Political Thought*, Princeton University Press, edited by Nicholas Buccola, Susan McWilliams, and Roosevelt Montas. After 20 years away from studying

the Antifederalists I will offer an updated interpretation of the critics of the Constitution. These figures should be reassessed in light of American political development research and current developments within the polity. They contributed substantially to the settlement of constitutional meaning in the early republic, enabling the success of federalism with an ongoing feature of “agonistic” constitutionalism.

## **National Conference Presentations**

“Whither the Vortex? The Constitutionalism of Control and Chaos” presented at the annual conference of the American Political Science Association in Montreal, Quebec, Canada in September 2022.

“Yet Another Rogue President?” conference paper delivered in Portland, OR in March 2022 at the annual conference of the Western Political Science Association.

“In Their Proper Places: James Madison’s Separation of Functions Constitution.” Was to be delivered at the April 2020 Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting, which was cancelled due to the pandemic, but I wrote the conference paper.

“Coequal and Dysfunctional: Judging the Presidency by a Separation of Functions Standard” delivered at the Lincoln Symposium in American Political Thought at the Jack Miller Center, Philadelphia, PA, August 2018.

“From Impetuous Vortex to Tyrannophobia: Four Approaches to the Placement of Institutional Power,” delivered at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, April 2017

“Publius and the Antifederalists: ‘A Satisfactory Answer to all the Objections’?” paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in San Francisco, CA, September 2015

“Coequality in the First Branch: Congressional Assertions about Institutional Equilibria,” paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association’s annual meeting in New Orleans, LA, January 2015.

“For Every Action an Equal and Opposite Reaction: Coequality in the Popular Mind,” paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association’s annual meeting in Seattle, WA, April 2014.

“The Judicial Face of Coequality” delivered at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association in Los Angeles, CA, April 2013.

“The Philosophical Origins of Coequality” delivered at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association in Portland, OR, March 2012.

“Presidential Coequality: The Evolution of a Concept” (with Paul T. Beach) delivered at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association in San Antonio, TX, April 2011.

“Calhoun and Coequality: Dubious Origins of a Respected Ideal” delivered at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association in San Francisco, CA, April 2010.

“The Myth of Equality: The Theory and the Founding of Institutional Power” to be delivered at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association in Atlanta, Georgia, January 2010.

“FDR as Trimmer: Franklin Roosevelt’s debt to the political thought of Thomas Babington Macaulay” delivered at the Western Political Science Association’s annual conference in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, March 2009.

“Ambivalent Sage: Thomas Jefferson and Political Philosophy” presented at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association in San Diego, March 2008

“Adams and Jefferson: Two Differing Approaches to Political Theory” presented at the Southern Political Science Association in New Orleans, January 2008.

“Leading the People away from the Presidency?: The Paradoxes of the Whig Inaugurals,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association in Las Vegas, March 2007.

Roundtable panelist on David Brian Robertson’s *The Constitution and America’s Destiny* (Cambridge) at the annual meeting of the Social Science History Association in Minneapolis, November 2006.

“Theories about Theory: A Typology of Theory Based Claims from the Case of James Madison,” conference paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Philadelphia, September 2006

“Hiding in Plain View: The Social Contractarianism of Bill Clinton,” conference paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting in Chicago, April 2006.

“Hiding in Plain View: The Social Contractarianism of Bill Clinton,” conference paper presented at the Western Political Science Association’s Annual meeting in Albuquerque, March 2006.

“Woodrow Wilson and Political Philosophy,” conference paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April, 2005.

“Presidents and Political Thought: Four Perspectives,” conference paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, LA, Jan., 2005.

“James Madison and Political Philosophy,” conference paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, August, 2003.

“American Fabius,” conference paper presented at the 2002 annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Savannah, GA, November, 2002.

Roundtable discussion on my *Ratifying the Republic*, at the annual meeting of the Wisconsin Political Science Association, Oshkosh, October, 2002.

“American Fabius: The Machiavellian Nature of Abraham Lincoln’s Political Thought,” conference paper presented at the 2002 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April, 2002.

“Publius in Constitutional Time: Madison, Hamilton and the Mutual Search for Incompatible Equilibria,” conference paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association in Chicago, April 2001.

“Constitutionalism, Consensus and Conflict,” address given at the 42nd annual U.S. Air Force Academy Assembly in Colorado Springs, Feb. 2000.

“Continuity and Change in the Transition to Partisanship, 1789-1801,” conference paper presented at the Northeastern Political Science Association in Philadelphia, Nov. 1999.

“The Electoral Dynamics of Ratification,” invited conference paper presented at the annual meeting of the United States Capitol Historical Society in Washington, D.C. April 1999.

“The Unbearable Transience of Federalist #10,” conference paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association in Chicago, April 1998.

“Antifederalism, Consensual Legitimacy, and the American Constitutional Order,” conference paper presented at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association in Tucson, March 1997.

“Republican Rivalry Revisited: A Comparison of Federalist and Antifederalist Approaches to Committee Work in the U.S. Congress,” conference paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in San Francisco, August 1996.



## Grants, Awards, and Honors

Year Sabbatical—University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2016-17  
Faculty Development Grant—Research Component, 2012  
Community Engagement Award 2011 (Community-wide award presented at the Oshkosh Area Community Foundation and Oshkosh *Northwestern's* “Evening of Stars” \$2500  
Willard Smith Teaching Award co-winner, 2010-11  
Give Students a Compass Award, 2010-11 (for student mentoring), \$500  
Special Projects Coordinator, (summer money for civic engagement projects, 2010)  
Rosebush Professorship (most distinguished campus “lifetime” merit award)  
TRISS Endowed Professor, University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, 2009-2014  
Faculty Development Grant—University of Wisconsin Oshkosh, Summer and Fall 2009  
Commencement Address deliverer, May 2009, University of Wisconsin Oshkosh  
Beeke-Levy Research Fellowship, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, 2008  
Editorial Board Member, *Oshkosh Northwestern*, 2007-8  
Year Sabbatical-University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2007-8  
Distinguished Teaching Award Nominee, 2007  
Faculty Development Grant—Teaching Component  
Distinguished Teaching Award Nominee, 2006  
Willard Smith Outstanding Teacher Award, 2005-6  
Distinguished Teaching Award Nominee, 2005  
Faculty Development Grant—University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2005  
Chapter Activity Grant—Pi Sigma Alpha, 2005  
Willard Smith Outstanding Teacher Award, 2003-4  
Faculty Development Grant—University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2004  
Faculty Development Grant—University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, 2002  
Lloyd E. Worner Teacher of the Year Award Nominee—Colorado College, 2001  
Congressional Research Award—Dirksen Congressional Center and Caterpillar Foundation  
Colorado College Social Science Research Council—research grant—2000  
Pinanski Teaching Excellence Award Nominee—Wellesley College, 1999  
Louise Overacker Fund Award—Wellesley College, 1999  
United States Capitol Historical Society Research Grant, 1998  
Schattschneider Award Nominee, for best dissertation in American politics, 1998  
Advanced Research Fellowship-Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation, 1996-7  
High Pass-American Government Preliminary Examination, 1993  
High Pass-Political Theory Preliminary Examination, 1993  
Research Grant-Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation, 1992-3  
Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation Year-Fellowship, 1991-2  
Phi Beta Kappa, 1991  
Intern in Washington for Representative Les Aspin, 1990  
Pi Sigma Alpha, 1989  
National Merit Scholar, 1987

**Manuscript reviewer:** *American Political Science Review*, Oxford University Press, *Publius*, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, *Review of Politics*, *Journal of American History*, *American Political Thought*, *American Journal of Political Science*, Stanford University Press, University of Virginia Press, Vanderbilt University Press, Northern Illinois University Press, Edinburgh University Press.

**Professional Memberships:** American Political Science Association, Midwest Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, Western Political Science Association, Presidency Research Group, APSA Politics and History Section

**Major Recent Service Activities:**

- Faculty Workload Task Force (2021)
- Instructional Academic Staff Task Force (Chair, 2019-2020)
- United Faculty and Staff of UW Oshkosh Executive Board (2017-
- Bachelor of Arts degree requirement reform committee, 2017-2018 (co-chair)
- Promotion and Post-Tenure Review Committee, 2013-2016, 2017-present
- Department Chair 2011-15
- Faculty Senate 2011-14, including Executive Committee 2012-13,
- Letters and Science Faculty Committee 2011-15 and co-chair 2013-15, --
- American Democracy Project, (2005-present) including 4 years as campus chair
- NEW ERA Leadership Team 2013-present, General Education Reform Team --
- UW Oshkosh Chancellor search committee 2014

**References**

Prof. James H. Read  
Dept. of Political Science  
St. Johns College  
Collegeville, MN  
(320) 363-2723  
[jread@csbsju.edu](mailto:jread@csbsju.edu)

Prof. Jack N. Rakove  
Department of History  
Stanford University  
Stanford, CA 94305-2024  
(415) 723-4545  
[rakove@leland.stanford.edu](mailto:rakove@leland.stanford.edu)

Dr. Charles O. Jones  
Brookings Institution emeritus  
Route 1, Box 701  
Roseland, VA 22967  
(434) 325-9256  
[jchuckjonesva@gmail.com](mailto:jchuckjonesva@gmail.com)

Prof., Emeritus Paul Schumaker  
Dept. of Political Science  
University of Kansas  
504 Blake Hall  
Lawrence, KS 66045  
(785) 864-9038  
[schu@KU.edu](mailto:schu@KU.edu)

Prof. Benjamin A. Kleinerman  
Dept. of Political Science  
Michigan State University  
Case Hall  
842 Chestnut Rd, Room S311  
East Lansing, MI 48825  
(517) 432-1579  
[bkleiner@msu.edu](mailto:bkleiner@msu.edu)

Prof. David Brian Robertson  
Dept. of Political Science  
University of Missouri-St. Louis  
8001 Natural Bridge Rd.  
St. Louis, MO 63121-4499  
(314) 516-5855  
[daverobertson@umsl.edu](mailto:daverobertson@umsl.edu)

Prof. George C. Edwards III  
Department of Political Science  
Texas A&M University  
College Station, TX 77843-4348  
[gedwards@politics.tamu.edu](mailto:gedwards@politics.tamu.edu)

Prof. Emeritus Robert Booth Fowler  
Department of Political Science  
University of Wisconsin  
110 North Hall, 1050 Bascom Mall  
Madison, WI 53706  
[fowler@polisci.wisc.edu](mailto:fowler@polisci.wisc.edu)

Prof. Keith Whittington  
Dept. of Politics  
Princeton University  
113 Fisher Hall  
Princeton, NJ 08544  
(609) 258-3453  
[kewhitt@princeton.edu](mailto:kewhitt@princeton.edu)

Prof. Andrew O'Shaughnessy  
Director-Robert H. Smith Center for  
Jefferson Studies  
Thomas Jefferson Foundation  
P.O. Box 316  
Charlottesville, VA 22902  
(434) 984-7500  
[icjs@monticello.org](mailto:icjs@monticello.org)

Prof. Calvin C. Jillson  
Department of Political Science  
Southern Methodist University  
Dallas, TX 75275  
(214) 768-3469  
[cjillson@mail.smu.edu](mailto:cjillson@mail.smu.edu)

Prof. Emeritus Emily R. Gill  
Department of Political Science  
Bradley University  
Bradley Hall  
Peoria, IL 61625  
(309) 677-2493  
[gill@bradley.bradley.edu](mailto:gill@bradley.bradley.edu)