## McCONNELL BERG LUND

# RELIGION AND THE CONSTITUTION

Fourth Edition



# RELIGION AND THE CONSTITUTION

## Fourth Edition

#### Michael W. McConnell

Richard & Frances Mallery Professor, Stanford Law School Director, Stanford Constitutional Law Center Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution

## Thomas C. Berg

Professor of Law University of St. Thomas Law School (Minnesota)

## Christopher C. Lund

Associate Professor of Law Wayne State University Law School



Copyright © 2016 CCH Incorporated.

Published by Wolters Kluwer in New York.

Wolters Kluwer serves customers worldwide with CCH, Aspen Publishers, and Kluwer Law International products. (www.WKLegaledu.com)

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or utilized by any information storage or retrieval system, without written permission from the publisher. For information about permissions or to request permissions online, visit us at www.WKLegaledu.com, or a written request may be faxed to our permissions department at 212-771-0803.

To contact Customer Service, e-mail customer.service@wolterskluwer.com, call 1-800-234-1660, fax 1-800-901-9075, or mail correspondence to:

Wolters Kluwer Attn: Order Department PO Box 990 Frederick, MD 21705

Printed in the United States of America.

1234567890

ISBN 978-1-4548-6826-2

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: McConnell, Michael W., author. | Berg, Thomas C., 1960- author. | Lund, Christopher C., 1977- author.

Title: Religion and the constitution / Michael W. McConnell, Richard & Frances Mallery Professor, Stanford Law School, Director, Stanford Constitutional Law Center, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution; Thomas C. Berg, Professor of Law, University of St. Thomas Law School (Minnesota); Christopher C. Lund, Associate Professor of Law, Wayne State University Law School.

Description: Fourth edition. | New York : Wolters Kluwer, 2016. | Series: Aspen casebook series | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016001699 | ISBN 9781454868262

Subjects: LCSH: Church and state--United States. | Freedom of

religion--United States. | Casebooks

Classification: LCC KF4865 .M34 2016 | DDC 342.7308/52--dc23

LC record available at http://lccn.loc.gov/2016001699

## RELIGION AND THE CONSTITUTION

#### **EDITORIAL ADVISORS**

#### **Erwin Chemerinsky**

Dean and Distinguished Professor of Law Raymond Pryke Professor of First Amendment Law University of California, Irvine School of Law

#### Richard A. Epstein

Laurence A. Tisch Professor of Law New York University School of Law Peter and Kirsten Bedford Senior Fellow The Hoover Institution Senior Lecturer in Law The University of Chicago

#### Ronald J. Gilson

Charles J. Meyers Professor of Law and Business Stanford University Marc and Eva Stern Professor of Law and Business Columbia Law School

#### James E. Krier

Earl Warren DeLano Professor of Law The University of Michigan Law School

#### Richard K. Neumann, Jr.

Professor of Law Maurice A. Deane School of Law at Hofstra University

#### Robert H. Sitkoff

John L. Gray Professor of Law Harvard Law School

#### David Alan Sklansky

Stanley Morrison Professor of Law Stanford Law School Faculty Co-Director Stanford Criminal Justice Center

# About Wolters Kluwer Legal & Regulatory Solutions U.S.

Wolters Kluwer Legal & Regulatory Solutions U.S. delivers expert content and solutions in the areas of law, corporate compliance, health compliance, reimbursement, and legal education. Its practical solutions help customers successfully navigate the demands of a changing environment to drive their daily activities, enhance decision quality and inspire confident outcomes.

Serving customers worldwide, its legal and regulatory solutions portfolio includes products under the Aspen Publishers, CCH Incorporated, Kluwer Law International, ftwilliam.com and MediRegs names. They are regarded as exceptional and trusted resources for general legal and practice-specific knowledge, compliance and risk management, dynamic workflow solutions, and expert commentary.

### PREFACE

The subject of religion and the state has unquestionably come of age in recent years. There is now a large enough body of court decisions on the First Amendment's religion provisions to support a full-length casebook—indeed, more than one. And the relationship of religion to government and public life has doubtless provoked even greater interest since the September 2001 terrorist attacks, which were inspired by a religious view radically opposed to the modern Western arrangement of religious liberty.

This casebook on religion and the U.S. Constitution reflects the authors' thinking on the subject over the period of a number of years. It reflects several premises about how to teach and understand the relations between government and religion.

The heart of the book is organized according to three fundamental ways in which government interacts with religion:

- the regulation of religious activity (Part III),
- the funding of religious activity (Part IV), and
- the treatment of religion in government's culture-shaping activities such as public schools (Part V).

Each of these ties together a number of sections—a structure that is designed to help students see logical relationships between cases that may involve quite different sets of facts. In each of these three major areas, we examine doctrines under both components of the First Amendment's religion provision:

- free exercise of religion and
- nonestablishment of religion.

One of the chief reasons why the Supreme Court's case law on religion has been so inconsistent and shifting is that for years the Court treated these two First Amendment concepts in isolation from each other, labeling cases as "Free Exercise Clause cases" or "Establishment Clause cases." The structure of this casebook—with free exercise rulings immediately followed by nonestablishment rulings in the same area, and vice versa—is designed to help teachers

xx Preface

and students think about the two clauses together, to consider the implications of nonestablishment in every free exercise dispute, and vice versa. The interaction of these two clauses is the key point of Part I; it continues to be emphasized throughout the text.

This casebook seeks throughout to integrate current issues concerning religion and the state with historical and theoretical perspectives on those issues. One of the great rewards of studying church-state relations is the rich history of reflection and debate on the subject that extends back for centuries. The questions that underlie today's debates—for example, how to maintain a moral framework for society and at the same time respect the rights of conscientious dissenters—are truly perennial questions, even though they may take different forms in different times and places. Accordingly, Part II of the book provides a concentrated historical background on the development of religious liberty in America from the established churches of the colonial era up through the enactment of the First Amendment. Subsequently, each of the three largest parts of the book (III through V listed above) begins with a historically oriented section, and the text returns to historical and theoretical materials throughout.

To make possible the integration of these rich historical and theoretical perspectives, the casebook relies on fairly significant notes following the leading cases. It is difficult to make sense of the Supreme Court's case law under the Religion Clauses, which is so shifting and inconsistent taken on its own terms, without understanding that there are various historical and theoretical tensions that pull the Justices in different directions. The notes following the cases aim to help students by summarizing the holding and rationale of the case before delving into its complications and variations. And the authors have worked hard to include questions on both sides of the issues. People who look through the book will find citations to a wide range of authors.

The richness of the subject of religion and the state means that it is difficult to cover every page of these materials in one course. Different emphases are possible: basic Religion Clause doctrines, the historical background of current issues, the legal problems faced by religious organizations, and so forth. The Teacher's Manual accompanying the book provides instructors with suggested syllabi for these varying emphases.

New developments following the publication of this edition, such as Supreme Court decisions and significant lower court decisions and scholarly commentary, will be posted on the supplemental website at http://aspenlawschool.com/books/religionandtheconstitution/default.asp.

A word about editing style: Another advantage of a subject as focused as religion and the Constitution is that students can read opinions in something resembling their actual form, without the need for constant severe editing. Therefore, a number of the cases here are lightly edited. We have, however, tried to streamline the reading by eliminating reported citations within excerpts. (The case citation almost always appears somewhere else in the materials.) We

Preface xxi

have indicated the editing out of text within an excerpt by ellipses, but we have not indicated where citations or footnotes have been dropped.

Finally, as with the previous editions, we welcome comments from teachers and readers on all aspects of the book.

Michael W. McConnell Thomas C. Berg Christopher C. Lund

February 2016

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

Professor McConnell thanks the many colleagues and students who have helped him to grapple with these issues over the years, and the law schools of Stanford University, the University of Chicago, and University of Utah, which have supported his research.

Professor Berg thanks his colleagues and students for their insights over the years, and the University of St. Thomas School of Law (Minnesota) and Cumberland Law School (Samford University) for their support of his research.

Professor Lund thanks his colleagues and students for their contributions, large and small, to his thinking on this subject, and thanks Wayne State University Law School for the variety of ways in which it has supported his research.

The authors together thank the many colleagues at law schools and elsewhere who have used the first three editions and provided comments on them, and those who generously permitted the use of excerpts from their own publications. We especially thank two colleagues: John Garvey, who made so many contributions as co-author on the first three editions; and Douglas Laycock, who has contributed not only a wealth of advice and encouragement on the book, but also years of intellectual inspiration and challenge on its subject matter. Finally, the authors thank Stanford law students Josh Dos Santos and Trevor Ezell and St. Thomas law students Bridget Duffus and Katie Zuroski for their assistances with the index, tables, and cross-references for the fourth edition.

## RELIGION AND THE CONSTITUTION

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

## SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

Contents	ix
Preface	xix
Acknowledgments	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. HISTORY	13
III. RELIGION IN THE REGULATORY STATE	77
IV. THE POWER OF THE PURSE	303
V. RELIGION AND THE GOVERNMENT'S INFLU	JENCE ON
CULTURE	451
VI. WHAT IS "RELIGION"?	665
Table of Cases	703
Table of Statutes	709
Table of Authorities	713
Index	723

## CONTENTS

	face	xix
Ac	nowledgments	xxiii
Ī.	INTRODUCTION	1
Α.	The Religion Clauses and Underlying Values: The Case	
	of Sabbath Observances	3
	Stansbury v. Marks	3
	Estate of Thornton v. Caldor, Inc.	7
	Notes and Questions	10
II.	HISTORY	13
Α.	The Theory and Practice of Religious Establishments	13
	Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan	16
	Notes and Questions	16
	George Washington, Farewell Address	18
	Constitution of Massachusetts (1780)	19
	Barnes v. First Parish in Falmouth	20
	Notes and Questions	23
R.	Evangelical and Enlightenment Ideas of Church-State Separation	24
2.	Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia	26
	Elisha Williams, The Essential Rights and Liberties of	-
	Protestants	27
	John Locke, A Letter Concerning Toleration	28
	Notes and Questions	32
	George Washington, Letter to the Religious Society	
	Called Quakers	36
	Thomas Jefferson, Letter to a Committee of the	
	Danbury Baptist Association	36
	Notes and Questions	37

C. The Virginia Assessment Controversy	39
Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776)	40
Notes and Questions	40
A Bill Establishing a Provision for Teachers of the	
Christian Religion (1784)	41
Notes and Questions	42
James Madison, Memorial and Remonstrance Against	
Religious Assessments	43
Notes and Questions	47
A Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom (1786)	48
Notes and Questions	50
D. The Constitutional Brazilians	F0
D. The Constitutional Provisions	50
1. Framing the First Amendment	50
Annals of Congress, Aug. 15, 1789	52
Journal of the First Session of the Senate of the	F 4
United States of America, Sept. 3, 1789	54
Senate Journal, Sept. 9, 1789	55
Annals of Congress, Aug. 17, 1789	56
a. Issues Concerning Establishment	56
b. Issues Concerning Free Exercise	59
2. Perspectives and Developments in the Early Republic	61
James Madison, Detached Memorandum	61
Notes and Questions	63
3. Incorporation in the Fourteenth Amendment	65
Permoli v. New Orleans	65
Notes and Questions	66
Elk Grove Unified School District v. Newdow	69
Abington School District v. Schempp	70
Notes and Questions	72
Robert Nozick, Anarchy, State, and Utopia	74
Notes and Questions	74
III. RELIGION IN THE REGULATORY STATE	77
A. Free Exercise: Is Accommodation Required?	78
1. The Historical Debate	78
Michael W. McConnell, The Origins and Historical	
Understanding of Free Exercise of Religion	79
Philip A. Hamburger, A Constitutional Right of	
Religious Exemption: An Historical Perspective	86
Notes and Questions	92
2. The First Free Exercise Cases	94
People v. Philips	94
Simon's Executors v. Gratz	99
Notes and Questions	100
3. Belief and Conduct: The Mormon Cases	101
Reynolds v. United States	103
Notes and Ouestions	106

Contents xi

4. The Rise of Exemptions	109
Sherbert v. Verner	110
Notes and Questions	115
Wisconsin v. Yoder	118
Notes and Questions	122
5. The Exemptions Period	123
Thomas v. Review Board	124
Notes and Questions	127
Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective	
Association	129
Notes and Questions	134
6. The Decline of Exemptions	137
Employment Division v. Smith	137
Notes and Questions	143
7. The Return of Exemptions	146
a. The Religious Freedom Restoration Act	146
b. RFRA's Partial Invalidation: City of Boerne	148
c. The Modern Patchwork of Free Exercise	149
B. Free Exercise After Smith	150
1. The Free Exercise Clause Itself	150
Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye v. City of Hialeah	151
Notes and Questions	154
Rader v. Johnston	154
Fraternal Order of Police v. City of Newark	156
Notes and Questions	160
2. RFRA	164
Gonzales v. O Centro Espirita Beneficente Iniao	164
Notes and Questions	169
Burwell v. Hobby Lobby Stores, Inc.	172
Notes and Questions	186
3. State RFRAs (and State Constitutional Provisions)	189
Elane Photography v. Willock	190
Notes and Questions	194
Stinemetz v. Kansas Health Policy Authority	198
Notes and Questions	201
4. RLUIPA	201
Holt v. Hobbs	202
Notes and Questions	206
5. Targeted Legislative Accommodations	208
Spencer v. World Vision	209
Notes and Questions	218
C. The Establishment Clause: Is Accommodation Unconstitutional?	221
1. An Introduction	222
a. Case Law and Theoretical Arguments	222
Welsh v. United States	222
Notes and Ouestions	226

	b. The Historical Understanding	232
	Annals of Congress, Aug. 17, 20, 1789	233
	Notes and Questions	235
	2. The Current Doctrine	236
	Cutter v. Wilkinson	237
	Notes and Questions	240
9	3. Denominational Neutrality	244
	Larson v. Valente	245
	Board of Education, Kiryas Joel Village School	410
	District v. Grumet	246
	Notes and Questions	254
	rotes and Questions	434
D. 1	Institutional Religion	257
	1. Formation of Churches	258
	a. Religious Structures	258
	b. Civil Legal Structures	259
	c. First Amendment Concerns	261
	Madison's Veto Message	261
	Notes and Questions	262
5	2. Internal Church Property Disputes: The Rise of	
	"Neutral Principles of Law"	263
	Watson v. Jones	263
	Notes and Questions	266
	Jones v. Wolf	267
	Notes and Questions	272
	Masterson v. Diocese of Northwest Texas	274
	Notes and Questions	278
	3. The Reaffirmation of Church Autonomy: Hosanna-Tabor	279
	Hosanna-Tabor Evangelical Lutheran Church and	
	School v. E.E.O.C.	281
	Notes and Questions	286
4	4. Churches and Tort Law	290
	Kubala v. Hartford Roman Catholic Diocesan Corporation	290
	Notes and Questions	294
	Redwing v. Catholic Bishop for Diocese of Memphis	296
	Notes and Questions	299
IV.	THE POWER OF THE PURSE	303
Α.	Introduction: Government Aid in Modern Times and in	
	the Founding Generation	303
	Everson v. Board of Education	304
	Notes and Questions	313
	Note on the Uses of History: Religious Assessments	
	and the Establishment Clause	315
	Board of Education v. Allen	316
	Notes and Questions	317

Contents	xiii
Contents	XII

B. The Historical Struggle over Nonpublic Education:	
Subsidy or Suppression?	318
1. Before the Civil War	318
John C. Jeffries, Jr., and James E. Ryan, A Political	
History of the Establishment Clause	319
Notes and Questions	321
2. After the Civil War	323
a. Reconstruction	323
b. The Blaine Amendment	323
c. Continued Conflict	328
Pierce v. Society of Sisters	329
Notes and Questions	330
Brief for the Governor of Oregon in Pierce v.	
Society of Sisters	330
Notes and Questions	331
C. The Lemon Approach: No Aid to Religious Teaching	334
1. The Basic Decisions	334
Lemon v. Kurtzman	334
Notes and Questions	340
Committee for Public Education v. Nyquist	343
Notes and Questions	345
2. Lemon Applied: Different Forms of Aid, Different Institutions	348
a. Forms of Aid to Nonpublic Schools	348
b. Distinctions Among Institutions	350
i. Hospitals	351
ii. Universities	351
iii. Social Service Organizations	353
c. Conclusion: The Relevance of the <i>Lemon</i> Approach	353
D. The New Approach: The Permissibility of Neutral Aid	354
1. Indirect Aid Through Genuine Private Choice	355
Witters v. Washington Dept. of Services for the Blind	355
Notes and Questions	358
Zelman v. Simmons-Harris	359
Notes and Questions	371
2. Direct Aid to Religious Institutions	373
Mitchell $v$ . Helms	373
Notes and Questions	377
Freedom From Religion Foundation v. McCallum	379
Notes and Questions	382
E. Is Neutrality Concerning Aid Constitutionally Required?	386
Rosenberger v. Rector and Visitors of Univ. of	
Virginia	386
Notes and Questions	388
Locke v. Davey	389
Notes and Questions	397