

ASPEN CASEBOOK SERIES

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AMERICAN
CONSTITUTIONAL LAW
Powers and Liberties

*Fourth
Edition*



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Law & Business

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American
Constitutional Law:
Powers and Liberties
Fourth Edition

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For Martha, Ellen, and Seth



Preface to the Fourth Edition

In the interest of brevity I have eliminated some cases, edited others more tightly, and eliminated some extraneous notes and commentary. I have reorganized the materials on the interstate commerce power to provide a more chronological approach. I have also altered the presentation of the materials on free expression, mostly in an attempt to bring more clarity to the content-based categories that are outside of the First Amendment. Significant new principal cases include *National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius*, *Snyder v. Phelps*, *United States v. Stevens*, *Brown v. Entertainment Merchants Association*, and *United States v. Alvarez*. Other significant cases decided since the prior edition went to press are included as note cases, sometimes with extensive excerpts. This edition is current through October Term 2011.

I continue to be grateful to the many people who make this casebook possible. I thank everyone who wrote me about errors or suggestions for change. I am grateful to all the people at Aspen Publishers who have supported this casebook since its inception. Particular thanks go to Barbara Roth, Barbara Lasoff, and Paul Sobel, each of whom shepherded this edition through the publication process. As always, I appreciate the students who read this book and think about the issues raised in its pages, and I am grateful to the professors who use my book as the springboard for their teaching. I am especially in debt to my wife, Martha Massey, who never complains about the time I devote to this book, and who is a marvelously acute lay critic of Constitutional Law. Of course, I continue to have the utmost respect for those statesmen of the eighteenth century who brought into being the structure of government and charter of liberties we call the Constitution, and to all those who have come afterwards who have preserved our fundamental law for us and our descendants.

Calvin Massey

Concord, New Hampshire
November 2012



Preface to the Third Edition

It continues to be difficult to be concise without being superficial. I have tried to accommodate new cases and more problems by the judicious editing of existing materials. A few note cases have disappeared, and some interstitial commentary has been shortened.

I have reorganized the materials dealing with voting rights as an aspect of equal protection, mostly by separating denial and dilution of the right to vote. I have also reorganized some materials in the discussion of free expression, particularly by separating false statements of fact from such “civility torts” as intentional infliction of emotional distress. I have added a new, and short, Chapter 12—The Right to Keep and Bear Arms—which contains *District of Columbia v. Heller* and the many questions raised by that decision. This edition is current through the October 2007 term of the Supreme Court. I have included more problems and queries in this edition. I hope that these problems will prove useful to teachers and students, yet still leave plenty of opportunity for individual teachers of constitutional law to employ their own devices and strategies. As with the prior editions, I have attempted to avoid ideological bias in the presentation of constitutional law.

I continue to be grateful to the many people who make this casebook possible. First, I thank the fellow professors who provided suggestions for change or who found errors, especially Mark Weiner, Brannon Denning, and Robert Natelson. Second, I continue to appreciate the people at Aspen Publishers who have supported this casebook since its inception. Third, I appreciate the careful attention of Katy Thompson and the copy editors at Publication Services. Finally, I particularly value the students who read and think about the content of my book and the professors who choose it as the vehicle for their teaching.

Calvin Massey

San Francisco, California
February 2009



Preface to the Second Edition

The second edition of this casebook is intended to be concise, but achieving that goal gets harder as the reach of constitutional law grows ever larger. I have tried to pare materials even as I have included important new cases. This edition is current through the 2003-2004 term of the Supreme Court. I have included more problems and hypothetical issues, but I have continued to give short shrift to academic commentary. This is not so much because I think the academic literature unimportant; it stems from my overall philosophy that my casebook should focus on what actually gets discussed in the constitutional law classrooms of America.

I am grateful to many people for their assistance in connection with this edition. First, I am especially thankful to fellow professors who provided suggestions for change or found errors. Special thanks go to Mike Allen, Brannon Denning, Brian Landsberg, and Randy Lee. I am always delighted to receive comments from students and professors. Please let me know your thoughts. As always, I appreciate the people at Aspen Publishers who make it possible for this book to exist. Special thanks go to Kathy Yoon, Ruth Kwon, and Carol McGeehan. Finally, I particularly appreciate the students who read and think about my book and the professors who choose to use my book as the vehicle for their teaching. I have tried to make this book a teaching vehicle, and I have approached the task of its creation as if I were teaching on paper. I have tried to leave ample room for the individual approaches of constitutional law teachers and have tried to eschew any particular bias in the presentation of constitutional law. I hope I have succeeded.

Calvin Massey

Boston, Massachusetts
February 2005



Preface to the First Edition

This casebook is intended to be concise. Given the breathtaking scope of American constitutional law, this has been no easy task. I have tried to include the material that is actually covered in most survey courses of constitutional law taught in American law schools.

Constitutional law is a political subject, but it is not just politics. Learning constitutional law is a bit like learning a new language. New vocabulary, grammar, and syntax need to be learned in order to speak politics through the vernacular of the law. This is to suggest not that the making of constitutional law is some version of Orwellian “newspeak” but that constitutional law deals with political disagreement in a fashion of its own. A principal objective of this book is to enable the student to master, as thoroughly as is possible in an introductory course, the fundamentals of the language of constitutional law.

Like many legal subjects, constitutional law involves several levels of understanding. At its simplest, there is a prevailing doctrine to be learned. But learning doctrine alone is a superficial undertaking. One needs also to ask why the doctrine is the way it is, to determine whether it is justifiable in terms of the fundamental premises of constitutional law, and to propose alternative ways of expressing our constitutional principles. A survey course not only must ground students in doctrine but must simultaneously challenge them to evaluate doctrine critically. There is a constant tension between these two objectives—description and prescription—and that tension is reflected to some extent in this casebook. If I have emphasized one aspect of these objectives, it is probably doctrine, but that is because I place great faith in my fellow teachers of constitutional law to use their classrooms to spark the creative and critical thinking of their students. I hope that my text has at least planted the seed of critical thought in students; I have not tried to write a casebook that emphasizes theory above all.

The individual teachers will, of course, make their own determination of what materials they choose to cover. If this book is to be used for a single-semester survey course, teachers must decide which portions to omit. I have included as much free expression material as space would permit, but in a

single-semester course substantial portions must be pared away. At the beginning of Chapter 9 I have included materials that capture the essential architecture of modern free expression law; beyond that it is for each instructor to choose. If this book is used in a year-long or two-semester survey course, virtually the entire book can be used, although teachers may wish to omit some materials and reorganize others. I have placed the subject of congressional power in the context of section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment in Chapter 11, but this material could easily be assigned at the end of Chapter 3, which deals with the powers of Congress. I start discussion of the commerce power with *United States v. Lopez*, but teachers who prefer to teach the commerce clause chronologically could assign the remainder of that section to be read before the *Lopez* material. Other simple choices of reorganization can readily be made. Most of all, I have tried to create a good teaching tool for students and teachers alike.

I have edited cases to be faithful to the original text, but I have omitted internal citations in the cases, renumbered footnotes so that they appear in consecutive numerical order within each chapter of this book, and changed antiquated punctuation to conform to modern usage. Omitted material in cases is indicated by ellipses or brackets, and material added to cases is always within brackets.

Calvin Massey

Boston
January 2001

The Constitution of the United States

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. [1] The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States; and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

[2] No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

[3] Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least One Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of

New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

[4] When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

[5] The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3. [1] The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

[2] Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

[3] No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

[4] The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

[5] The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

[6] The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

[7] Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section 4. [1] The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

[2] The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Section 5. [1] Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

[2] Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

[3] Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

[4] Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. [1] The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

[2] No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7. [1] All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

[2] Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to the House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in

like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevents its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

[3] Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8. [1] The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

[2] To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

[3] To regulate Commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

[4] To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

[5] To coin Money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

[6] To provide the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

[7] To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

[8] To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

[9] To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

[10] To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations;

[11] To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

[12] To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

[13] To provide and maintain a Navy;

[14] To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

[15] To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

[16] To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

[17] To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government

of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings; — And

[18] To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 9. [1] The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

[2] The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

[3] No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

[4] No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

[5] No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

[6] No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

[7] No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

[8] No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10. [1] No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

[2] No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

[3] No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

Section 1. [1] The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

[2] Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

[3] The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; a quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

[4] The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

[5] No person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

[6] In case of the removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President,

and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

[7] The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

[8] Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. [1] The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

[2] He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

[3] The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

Section 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time