

THE
CONSTITUTION
OF THE
UNITED STATES

MICHAEL STOKES PAULSEN

STEVEN G. CALABRESI

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SECOND EDITION

FOUNDATION PRESS

UNIVERSITY CASEBOOK SERIES®

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

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To Kristen, love of my life (MSP)

To Mimi, whose love is patient and kind (SGC)

To the next generation of constitutionalists (MWM)

To Abigail (SLB)

PREFACE

The second edition of this casebook continues the organizing principles and central themes of the first edition. As we said in the preface to that edition,

Why another casebook in the field of constitutional law? The existing casebooks are valuable. They offer a diverse array of approaches, and they are excellent compendia of cases. They tend, though, to focus *only* on cases—and almost exclusively U.S. Supreme Court decisions—as the source of constitutional law. They also emphasize present doctrine more than constitutional history. And they offer more attention to judicial discourse about the Constitution than to the document’s own words and phrases and organization.

On each of these points, this casebook offers a different emphasis. It considers how the Constitution is interpreted and applied not only by the Court but also by Congress, the executive branch, lower federal courts, and all branches of state governments. It offers more detail on the history of the formation of the Constitution and more treatment of its principles in our nation’s first 150 years. And in keeping with the premise that the document itself is the source of constitutional law, this book will emphasize the Constitution’s text and structure. . . .

Our aim is that students should learn how to think about constitutional issues, rather than learn every fine detail of what the Court’s most recent thinking is. We should not be in the business of producing law school graduates whose constitutional sophistication has a built-in obsolescence. We should be in the business of training future lawyer-citizens to be able to think about their Constitution, to deal with the constitutional law issues that will arise during their lifetimes, and to be able to place those issues in a broader context.

As in the first edition, four features are especially prominent. First, the organization largely tracks the Constitution’s own structure. Second, emphasis is placed on constitutional history. The history is *not* mere background. Rather, it reveals how other interpreters have addressed enduring questions; it shows the path-dependence of constitutional law; and it offers students a chance to interpret the Constitution a few steps removed from contemporary politics. Third, the focus is on “Great Cases.” These include not only the great good cases but also the great tragic ones (such as *Dred Scott*), and they include great “cases” of constitutional interpretation outside the courts (such as President Lincoln’s First Inaugural Address). Fourth, the casebook lays stress on questions of interpretive methodology. Throughout the book, attention is given to five types of constitutional argument: text, structure, historical purpose, practice and precedent, and policy. The relative merits of these types of constitutional argument, and their inevitable conflicts, are considered in many contexts.

Yet there are also refinements in the second edition. Materials have been added, both old and new—from James Madison’s speech in the House on the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States to the judicial opinions in *The Health Care Cases*. Greater attention is given to procedural due process, to the affirmative role of the federal judiciary, and to the First Amendment. (Indeed, the breadth of materials on the First Amendment will make the book a suitable core for some courses on that subject.) Other

cases have been cut or trimmed, especially ones that professors adopting the book rarely chose to assign. And the entire text has been revised for concision and clarity. In all, the book is substantially shorter than the first edition.

We appreciate the suggestions from professors and students who used the first edition. We are also grateful for the contributions of Hannah Dubina, Paul Harold, Joshua Hawley, the reference librarians of the UCLA School of Law, and the production team at Foundation Press. Their efforts have made the book a clearer and more useful introduction to the Constitution of the United States.

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May 2013

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THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

SECOND EDITION

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	V
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.....	1

PART 1. STRUCTURE AND POWERS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Chapter 1. Introduction to the Constitution of the United States	19
I. The Formation of the Constitution	19
II. Early Controversies Under the Constitution	53
Chapter 2. The Power of Constitutional Interpretation	123
I. Constitutional Supremacy and Interpretation	123
II. The Constitutional Dilemma of Judicial Supremacy	159
Chapter 3. The Distribution and Separation of Powers of the National Government	173
I. Article I: The Legislative Power.....	190
II. Article II: The Executive Power	296
III. Article III: The Judicial Power.....	486
Chapter 4. Federalism.....	577
I. National Powers in Article I, Section 8	588
II. Article IV Federalism: The Relationship of the States to Each Other and to the Nation as a Whole	741
Chapter 5. The Constitutional Amendment Process	817
I. A Perfect Problem	817
II. The Riddles of Article V	818

PART 2. RIGHTS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT

Chapter 6. The Bill of Rights	827
I. The First Amendment and Freedom of Speech	831
II. The First Amendment and Freedom of Religion	1103
III. The Second and Third Amendments	1192
IV. The Constitution and Criminal Proceedings: The Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Amendments.....	1212
V. The Takings Clause	1242
VI. The Ninth and Tenth Amendments.....	1258
Chapter 7. The Reconstruction Amendments	1265
I. Text, Structure, History, Early Interpretation, and Enforcement ...	1265
II. The Equal Protection Clause.....	1337
III. Due Process of Law	1443

Chapter 8. Representation, Voting, and Republicanism.....	1573
I. Republicanism and Electoral Structures	1573
II. Case Study: The Presidential Election Process	1611
 APPENDIX—THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.....	1633
TABLE OF CASES.....	1639
INDEX	1649

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	V
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.....	1

PART 1. STRUCTURE AND POWERS OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Chapter 1. Introduction to the Constitution of the United States	19
[Assignment 1].....	19
I. The Formation of the Constitution	19
A. The Adoption of the Constitution.....	19
English and American Constitutionalism	20
American Antecedents to the Constitution	21
The Convention and Ratification	25
The Federalist No. 1.....	27
The Federalist No. 40.....	28
The Federalist No. 43.....	30
Notes	31
[Assignment 2].....	32
B. The Nature of the Constitution: Purposes, Features, and Themes.....	32
The Federalist No. 39.....	32
Six Broad Themes of the Constitution.....	35
A Map of the Constitution	39
[Assignment 3].....	43
C. The Addition of the Bill of Rights	43
The Federalist No. 84.....	43
Herbert Storing, What the Anti-Federalists Were For	45
Did the Bill of Rights Bind the States?.....	47
Barron v. Baltimore	48
Notes	50
[Assignment 4].....	53
II. Early Controversies Under the Constitution	53
A. The First Bank of the United States.....	53
Representative Madison, Speech on the Constitutionality of the Bank.....	55
Secretary of State Jefferson, Opinion on the Constitutionality of the Bank	60
Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton, Opinion on the Constitutionality of the Bank	63
The Bank of the United States, 1791 to 1832	66
James Madison, Letter to Lafayette	67
President Jackson, Veto Message	68
The Death of the Bank of the United States	70
Constitutional Interpretation in the Bank Controversy	71

 TABLE OF CONTENTS

[Assignment 5].....	73
B. Slavery	73
The Quaker Anti-Slavery Petitions of 1790	75
The Petition of the Quakers of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Other States.....	76
The Petition of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery	77
Slave Trade Debates	78
Slave Trade Debates: Report of the Special Committee.....	83
Slave Trade Debates: Report of the Committee of the Whole House	84
Notes	85
C. The Neutrality Controversy	86
President Washington, The Proclamation of Neutrality.....	88
Pacificus, No. 1	88
Helvidius, Nos. 1 & 2	91
The Neutrality Act of 1794	96
Notes	97
[Assignment 6].....	97
D. The Alien and Sedition Act Controversies	97
The Alien Friends Act.....	98
The Alien Enemies Act	98
The Sedition Act.....	99
Notes	100
Judicial Enforcement of the Sedition Act	102
United States v. Lyon	102
Notes	105
The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions and the Northern Responses.....	106
The Virginia Resolutions of 1798.....	107
The Kentucky Resolutions of 1798.....	108
The Response of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.....	111
The Response of the State of New York.....	112
James Madison's Report on the Virginia Resolutions	113
Notes	116
The Election of 1800: We the People Speak	118
Jefferson's Pardons and His Defense of Presidential Interpretation	119
Notes	120
Chapter 2. The Power of Constitutional Interpretation	123
[Assignment 7].....	123
I. Constitutional Supremacy and Interpretation	123
A. Separation of Powers and Constitutional Supremacy	124
The Federalist No. 47	125
The Federalist No. 48	126
The Federalist No. 51	128
Notes	129

B.	The Debate Over Judicial Power.....	129
	Brutus, No. 11	129
	The Federalist No. 78.....	133
	The Federalist No. 81.....	138
	Notes	139
[Assignment 8].....		140
C.	Articulating the Doctrine of Judicial Review	140
	Marbury v. Madison.....	143
	Notes	153
	Stuart v. Laird.....	155
	Alexis de Tocqueville on the American Judiciary	156
[Assignment 9].....		159
II.	The Constitutional Dilemma of Judicial Supremacy	159
A.	Do the Supreme Court's Decisions Control the Constitutional Judgment of All Other Actors?	159
	Thomas Jefferson, Letter to Abigail Adams.....	159
	Thomas Jefferson, Letter to William Charles Jarvis.....	160
	James Madison, Letter to Unknown Addressee.....	160
	Abraham Lincoln, Speech at the Sixth Lincoln–Douglas Debate	161
	President Lincoln, First Inaugural Address.....	161
	Notes	162
B.	Judicial Supremacy as to Specific Judgments?	163
	A Case Study in Judicial Supremacy: Cooper v. Aaron.....	163
	A Case Study in Judicial Supremacy: <i>Ex parte Merryman</i>	164
	<i>Ex parte Merryman</i>	165
	President Lincoln, Message to Congress	167
	Attorney General Bates, Opinion on the Suspension of the Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus	168
	Notes	170
Chapter 3. The Distribution and Separation of Powers of the National Government 173		
[Assignment 10].....		173
	An Introduction to Separation of Powers	173
	Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer	175
	Notes	189
[Assignment 11].....		190
I.	Article I: The Legislative Power.....	190
	A Map of Article I.....	190
A.	Enumerated Powers and Federal Supremacy: “All legislative Powers herein Granted”	192
	McCulloch v. Maryland.....	193
	Notes	208
[Assignment 12].....		210
B.	Legislative Specificity and Delegation: “shall be vested in a Congress of the United States”	210
	The Post Roads Debate	210
	Mistretta v. United States.....	216

Notes	224
[Assignment 13].....	225
C. The Composition of Congress: “The House of Representatives . . . and the Senate of the United States shall be composed . . .”	225
Powell v. McCormack.....	226
Notes	231
U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Thornton.....	232
Notes	246
[Assignment 14].....	247
D. Legislative Procedure and Prerogatives: “Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings”	247
Kilbourn v. Thompson	248
McGrain v. Daugherty	252
Notes	255
A Case Study in Congressional Procedure: The Filibuster	257
Notes	259
A Note on Article I, Section 6	259
[Assignment 15].....	260
E. Bicameralism and Presentment: “Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall . . . be presented to the President”	260
INS v. Chadha	261
Notes	269
Clinton v. City of New York	272
Notes	280
A Note on Exclusive and Concurrent Powers in Article I, Section 8.....	281
[Assignment 16].....	283
F. Quasi-Judicial Legislation: “No . . . Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts”	283
United States v. Brown.....	284
Notes	292
Ex Post Facto Laws.....	294
The Contracts Clause.....	295
[Assignment 17].....	296
II. Article II: The Executive Power.....	296
A Map of Article II	296
A. The Nature of Executive Power	297
The Federalist No. 67	297
The Federalist No. 68	298
The Federalist No. 69	299
The Federalist No. 70	301
The Federalist No. 71	303
The Federalist No. 72	304
The Federalist No. 73	305
The Federalist No. 77	306

Notes	306
Inherent Executive Powers?	308
In re Neagle	308
Notes	315
[Assignment 18]	316
B. The Law-Executing Power:	
“he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed”	316
The Power to Direct Non-Prosecution	318
Attorney General Taney, Opinion on the Jewels of the Princess of Orange	319
United States v. Cox	321
Notes	330
The Take Care Clause	330
Attorney General Wirt, Opinion on the President and Accounting Officers	331
Notes	333
[Assignment 19]	334
C. The Appointment Power:	
“he . . . shall appoint”	334
The Federalist No. 76	335
Notes	337
Buckley v. Valeo	337
Notes	341
Morrison v. Olson	341
Notes	346
[Assignment 20]	348
D. The Power to Remove Executive-Branch Officers	348
Myers v. United States	351
Notes	366
Humphrey’s Executor v. United States	366
Notes	369
Morrison v. Olson	370
Notes	381
[Assignment 21]	383
E. Executive Power and Foreign Affairs:	
“He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties”	383
United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation	385
Notes	388
Attorney General Jackson, Opinion on Acquisition of Naval and Air Bases in Exchange for Over-Age Destroyers	390
Dames & Moore v. Regan	392
Notes	397
Goldwater v. Carter	399
Goldwater v. Carter	407
Notes	409
A Note on International Law and the Status of Treaties as U.S. Law	410

[Assignment 22].....	411
F. The War Power:	
“Congress shall have power . . . To Declare War” but	
“The President shall be Commander in Chief”	411
Madison’s Notes, “To Make War”	413
The Prize Cases	416
President Lincoln, The Preliminary Emancipation	
Proclamation.....	422
President Lincoln, The Final Emancipation Proclamation	423
Notes	424
Declaring War	425
Declaration of War Against Japan.....	426
The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution	426
Notes	426
The War Powers Resolution of 1973	428
President Nixon, Statement Vetoing the War Powers	
Resolution	430
Notes	432
Authorization for Use of Military Force	434
Notes	435
The War Powers Debate Continues: The Intervention in	
Libya and the Killing of Osama bin Laden	435
On Terminating War	438
[Assignment 23].....	439
G. Prisoners of War and Civilian Detentions.....	439
Ex parte Milligan	440
Ex parte Quirin	444
Notes	454
Korematsu v. United States	454
Notes	466
Hamdi v. Rumsfeld	468
Notes	474
[Assignment 24].....	475
H. Impeachment:	
“The President . . . shall be removed from Office on	
Impeachment . . . and Conviction”	475
Law Professors’ Letter on the Clinton Impeachment	476
Michael Stokes Paulsen, Impeachment.....	478
Cass Sunstein, Impeachment? The Framers Wouldn’t Buy It....	482
Representative Canady, Statement on Impeachment of	
President Clinton	484
Notes	485
[Assignment 25].....	486
III. Article III: The Judicial Power.....	486
A Map of Article III.....	486
A. The Nature and Role of the Federal Judiciary: Formative	
Interpretations	491
The Federalist No. 80	491
James Wilson on the Judicial Power	495

Hayburn's Case	496
Notes	500
The Correspondence of the Justices.....	501
Secretary of State Jefferson, Letter to the Justices of the Supreme Court	502
The Justices of the Supreme Court, Letter to President Washington	502
Notes	503
[Assignment 26].....	504
B. Adjudication of Genuine Disputes:	
“The judicial Power shall extend to . . . Cases [and] Controversies”	504
Ex parte Levitt	507
Notes	507
Massachusetts v. Mellon; Frothingham v. Mellon	508
Notes	512
Summers v. Earth Island Institute.....	513
Notes	519
[Assignment 27].....	519
C. The Political Question Doctrine	519
Luther v. Borden	520
Notes	528
(Walter) Nixon v. United States.....	528
Notes	536
[Assignment 28].....	537
D. Structure and Jurisdiction of the Federal Courts:	
“shall be vested in . . . with such Exceptions”	537
The Federalist No. 81.....	538
Notes	544
A Note on Congress’s Authority over Federal Jurisdiction	544
Sheldon v. Sill.....	549
Background to Ex parte McCordle.....	550
Ex parte McCordle	551
Notes	554
[Assignment 29].....	557
E. Sovereign Immunity and the Erie Problem:	
“The Judicial power . . . shall not . . . extend to”	557
The Eleventh Amendment and Sovereign Immunity	558
Chisholm v. Georgia.....	558
Notes	563
Hans v. Louisiana	566
Notes	569
Does Diversity Jurisdiction Confer Common Law–Making Power?	570
Erie Railroad Co. v. Tompkins	571
Notes	576