
Table of Contents

Preface.....	v
Table of Cases	xxiii
The Constitution of the United States.....	xlv
CHAPTER I. CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE NEW	
DEAL	1
A. Before the Constitution	1
<i>The Mayflower Compact</i>	2
<i>Declaration of Independence</i>	12
<i>Articles of Confederation</i>	17
B. Adoption of the Constitution	24
<i>The Federalist No. 51 (James Madison)</i>	27
<i>The Address and Reasons of Dissent of the Minority of the [Ratification] Convention of the State of Pennsylvania to their Constituents</i>	31
<i>Consider Arms, Malachi Maynard, & Samuel Field, Dissent to the Massachusetts Convention</i>	38
“ <i>Phileleutheros</i> ”.....	40
<i>McCulloch v. Maryland</i>	41
<i>U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Thornton</i>	44
C. Early Years of the Republic	53
1. Establishing the Federal Courts	53
2. The Early Amendments—and the Latest	54
<i>A Countryman II</i>	55
<i>The Address and Reasons of Dissent of the Minority of the [Ratification] Convention of the State of Pennsylvania to their Constituents</i>	55
<i>The Federalist No. 84 (Alexander Hamilton)</i>	56
<i>Letter from James Madison to Thomas Jefferson</i>	57
<i>Barron v. City of Baltimore</i>	61
3. Assertion of the Power of Judicial Review.....	66
a. The Neutrality Controversy.....	66
b. <i>Marbury v. Madison</i>	69

D. National and State Powers Before the Civil War	71
1. The Bank Issue.....	71
<i>Thomas Jefferson, Opinion on the Constitutionality of a National Bank</i>	72
<i>Alexander Hamilton, Opinion on the Constitutionality of a National Bank</i>	75
<i>President Andrew Jackson, Veto Message on Bill to Recharter the Second Bank of the United States</i>	82
2. The Nullification Crisis and Its Precursors.....	87
3. The Commerce Power	88
<i>Willson v. Black Bird Creek Marsh Company</i>	89
<i>The License Cases</i>	91
E. Slavery Before the Civil War	94
<i>Frederick Douglass, Debate at the Scottish Anti-Slavery Society, The Constitution of the United States: Is it Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery?</i>	94
1. The Fugitive Slave Controversy.....	100
2. The Mobility and Expansion of Slavery	107
<i>Scott v. Sandford</i>	109
F. The Civil War	127
1. Secession	127
<i>Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union</i>	128
<i>President Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address</i>	133
2. War Powers Under Lincoln	139
a. The Use of Force	139
b. Suspension of Habeas Corpus.....	139
c. Military Tribunals.....	141
<i>Ex Parte Milligan</i>	141
3. Emancipation	149
<i>Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation</i>	150
<i>Benjamin R. Curtis, Executive Power</i>	153
G. Reconstruction	156
1. West Virginia	156
2. Presidential Reconstruction Under Lincoln	156
3. The Thirteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1866.....	157
4. The Reconstruction Acts	159
<i>Mississippi v. Johnson</i>	160
5. The Impeachment of Johnson.....	165

6.	Adoption and Initial Judicial Construction of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments	166
a.	Privileges or Immunities of Citizens	166
	<i>The Slaughter-House Cases</i>	167
b.	Equal Protection Clause	173
	<i>United States v. Cruikshank</i>	175
c.	Enforcement Power	177
	<i>City of Boerne v. Flores</i>	179
	<i>Michael McConnell, Institutions and Interpretation: A Critique of City of Boerne v. Flores</i>	181
7.	The End of Reconstruction	184
H.	The Advent of the Regulatory Age	184
1.	Substantive Due Process	185
2.	Federal Power Under the Commerce Clause	191
I.	Crisis and Transformation in the New Deal Era	193
1.	State Power and Individual Liberties	195
	<i>Home Building & Loan Association v. Blaisdell</i>	195
	<i>Nebbia v. New York</i>	206
2.	Federal Power	215
3.	1937	221
4.	Denouement	224
a.	Individual Rights	224
b.	The Commerce Power	226
CHAPTER II. INTERPRETING THE CONSTITUTION		229
A.	Interpreting the Constitution—How?	229
	<i>District of Columbia v. Heller</i>	230
	<i>Justice David H. Souter, Harvard Commencement Remarks</i>	250
B.	Interpreting the Constitution—Who?	253
1.	Judicial Review	254
	<i>William Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England</i>	254
	<i>Oliver Ellsworth, Speech at the Connecticut Ratifying Convention</i>	255
	<i>Brutus XII</i>	256
2.	The Counter-Majoritarian Difficulty	264
a.	The Difficulty Defined	264
b.	Judicial Duty and the Mechanistic Solution	267

c.	The Dead-Hand Problem with the Mechanistic Solution	269
d.	Odysseus and the Deeper “We”	270
e.	Some Things Are More Important than Majoritarian Democracy	272
f.	Representation Reinforcement.....	275
g.	Letting Sleeping Dogs Lie.....	277
3.	Interpretation Outside the Courts	278
a.	Departmentalism	278
	<i>Thomas Jefferson, Letter to William Jarvis</i>	278
	<i>President Andrew Jackson, Veto Message</i>	279
	<i>President Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address</i>	280
	<i>Attorney General Edwin Meese, The Law of the Constitution</i>	281
b.	Interpretive Method in the Political Branches	285
	<i>Memorandum for Attorneys of the Office of Legal Counsel Re: Best Practices for OLC Legal Advice and Written Opinions</i>	285
C.	Interpreting the Constitution—When?	286
1.	Political Questions	287
	<i>Alexander Bickel, The Passive Virtues</i>	288
	<i>Zivotofsky v. Clinton</i>	290
2.	Standing.....	304
	<i>Lujan v. Defenders of Wildlife</i>	305
	<i>City of Los Angeles v. Lyons</i>	315
	<i>Massachusetts v. Environmental Protection Agency</i>	320
3.	Ripeness and Mootness.....	330
D.	State Action	333
	<i>Marsh v. Alabama</i>	334
	<i>Georgia v. McCollum</i>	339
 CHAPTER III. FEDERALISM: DISTRIBUTION OF AUTHORITY BETWEEN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE STATES		
349		
A.	Congressional Power	349
1.	The Enumeration Principle	349
	<i>James Wilson, Speech at the Philadelphia State House</i>	350
	<i>A Citizen of New York [John Jay], An Address to the People of the State of New York</i>	350
	<i>James Bowdoin, Speech at the Massachusetts Ratifying Convention</i>	351
	<i>Federal Farmer XII–XIII</i>	351

	<i>The Federalist No. 45 (James Madison)</i>	352
	<i>A Farmer</i>	353
2.	The Necessary & Proper Clause	353
	<i>Brutus V</i>	354
	<i>The Federalist No. 44 (James Madison)</i>	355
	The Bank Controversy.....	356
	<i>McCulloch v. Maryland</i>	356
3.	The Commerce Clause	375
	a. Commerce Clause—the Framework.....	375
	<i>Gibbons v. Ogden</i>	379
	i. Commerce Clause Framework—Command-and-Control Regulation	388
	<i>United States v. E.C. Knight Co.</i>	389
	“ <i>The Shreveport Rate Cases</i> ” (<i>Houston, East & West Texas Railway Company v. United States</i>).....	395
	<i>Stafford v. Wallace</i>	398
	ii. Commerce Clause Framework—Border Controls	401
	<i>Champion v. Ames (“The Lottery Case”)</i>	401
	<i>Hammer v. Dagenhart</i>	407
	b. Commerce Clause—the New Deal Transformation	413
	<i>A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Corporation v. United States</i>	414
	<i>National Labor Relations Board v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.</i>	427
	<i>United States v. Darby</i>	434
	<i>Wickard v. Filburn</i>	439
	c. Commerce Clause—Aftermath of the Transformation	443
	<i>Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States</i>	444
	<i>Katzenbach v. McClung</i>	447
	d. Commerce Clause—the Rehnquist “Revolution”	453
	<i>United States v. Lopez</i>	454
	<i>Gonzales v. Raich</i>	467
4.	The Taxing Power.....	475
	<i>United States v. Doremus</i>	477
	<i>Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co. (“Child Labor Tax Case”)</i>	481
	<i>United States v. Kabrigger</i>	485
5.	The Spending Power.....	488
	<i>South Dakota v. Dole</i>	494

6.	Interlude: The Tenth Amendment as an Independent Limit.....	500
	<i>Printz v. United States</i>	511
	<i>Reno v. Condon</i>	522
7.	Bringing Things Together: <i>NFIB v. Sebelius</i>	525
	a. Background of the Litigation.....	527
	b. An Essay on Federalism.....	532
	c. Commerce Clause	535
	d. The Taxing Power.....	556
	e. Medicaid Expansion and the Spending Power.....	568
	f. Severability.....	585
8.	The Treaty Power.....	588
	The Founding Generation and the Treaty Power	589
	<i>Missouri v. Holland</i>	591
	<i>Medellín v. Texas</i>	594
	<i>Bond v. United States</i>	598
9.	The Power to Enforce the Reconstruction Amendments	608
	“ <i>The Civil Rights Cases</i> ”	608
	<i>Katzenbach v. Morgan</i>	614
	<i>City of Boerne v. Flores</i>	621
	<i>United States v. Morrison</i>	630
	Note—the Thinnest Possible View of the Enforcement Power	634
	A Note on the Voting Rights Act.....	636
B.	Federalism Constraints on the States	640
1.	The Supremacy Principle.....	640
	<i>A Rhode-Island Man</i>	640
2.	The Dormant Foreign Affairs Power	642
	<i>Zschernig v. Miller</i>	642
3.	The Dormant Commerce Clause	649
	a. Dormant Commerce Clause—the Basic Framework.....	654
	<i>City of Philadelphia v. New Jersey</i>	655
	<i>Kassel v. Consolidated Freightways Corp.</i>	662
	<i>Maine v. Taylor</i>	672
	b. Dormant Commerce Clause—Some Exceptions	678
	i. Market Participation	678
	<i>Reeves, Inc. v. Stake</i>	678

	<i>White v. Massachusetts Council of Construction Employers, Inc.</i>	682
ii.	Subsidies	684
	<i>West Lynn Creamery, Inc. v. Healey</i>	684
c.	Dormant Commerce Clause—Congressional Authorization	691
	<i>Prudential Insurance Co. v. Benjamin</i>	692
CHAPTER IV. THE “SEPARATION” OF POWERS: DISTRIBUTION OF AUTHORITY		
WITHIN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT		
695		
A.	Presidential Power—a Conceptual Framework	695
	<i>In re Neagle</i>	697
	<i>Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer</i>	702
B.	Powers of the President	723
1.	The President as Regulator-in-Chief.....	723
a.	The Administrative State.....	723
	<i>The Federalist No. 47 (James Madison)</i>	726
	<i>The Federalist No. 37 (James Madison)</i>	728
	<i>David Dyzenhaus, The Constitution of Law: Legality in a Time of</i> <i>Emergency</i>	728
	<i>Nicholas Bagley, The Procedure Fetish</i>	729
b.	Delegation Doctrine and Its Consequences	730
	<i>A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Corporation v. United States</i>	732
	<i>Whitman v. American Trucking Associations, Inc.</i>	740
c.	The Obligation of Faithful Execution	749
	<i>Walter Dellinger, Presidential Authority to Decline to Execute Unconstitutional</i> <i>Statutes</i>	750
2.	The President as Personnel Manager	753
a.	The President’s Power of Appointing Executive Branch Personnel.....	753
	<i>Buckley v. Valeo</i>	754
	<i>Morrison v. Olson</i>	762
b.	The President’s Power of Removal.....	773
	<i>Morrison v. Olson</i>	780
	<i>Seila Law v. Consumer Financial Protection Bureau</i>	794
3.	The President’s Powers over Foreign Affairs.....	812
	<i>Dames & Moore v. Regan</i>	814
	<i>Medellín v. Texas</i>	825
	<i>Zivotofsky v. Kerry</i>	831

4.	The President's War Powers	843
a.	War Powers—the Framework.....	843
	<i>James Madison's Notes of the Federal Convention</i>	844
b.	The President's Use of Authorized Force	849
	<i>Joint Resolution to authorize the use of United States Armed Forces against those responsible for the recent attacks launched against the United States.</i>	851
	<i>Hamdi v. Rumsfeld</i>	852
c.	The President's Use of Unauthorized Force.....	865
	<i>Joint Resolution Concerning the War Powers of Congress and the President</i>	866
	<i>Authority to Use Military Force in Libya</i>	870
	<i>Harold Koh, Testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee</i>	878
C.	Checking the President	880
1.	Legislative Veto.....	880
	<i>Immigration and Naturalization Service v. Chadha</i>	881
2.	Suing the President	898
	<i>United States v. Nixon</i>	899
	<i>Nixon v. Fitzgerald</i>	908
	<i>Harlow v. Fitzgerald</i>	913
	<i>Trump v. Vance</i>	918
	<i>Trump v. Mazars USA</i>	927
3.	Impeaching the President	935
	U.S. Constitution.....	936
	<i>Rep. Gerald Ford, Speech on Proposed Impeachment of Justice William Douglas</i>	937
	<i>Staff Report, House Judiciary Committee, Constitutional Grounds for Presidential Impeachment</i>	938
	<i>Minority Report, House Judiciary Committee, Impeachment of Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States</i>	942
	<i>Rep. Barbara Jordan, Speech on the Impeachment of President Richard Nixon</i>	945
	<i>Articles of Impeachment Exhibited by the House of Representatives of the United States of America in the Name of Itself and of All of the People of the United States of America, Against Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States of America, in Maintenance and Support of Its Impeachment Against Him for High Crimes and Misdemeanours</i>	947
	CHAPTER V. EQUAL PROTECTION	953
A.	Rational Basis Review—Discriminating Between Paper and Plastic	953
1.	Rational Basis: Commercial Regulations	956
	<i>United States v. Carolene Products Co.</i>	956
	<i>Railway Express Agency v. New York</i>	959

	<i>Williamson v. Lee Optical of Oklahoma, Inc.</i>	961
2.	Rational Basis: Harder Cases.....	964
B.	Strict Scrutiny—Discriminating Among Racial Groups	967
1.	The Core Case: Racial Subjugation.....	968
	<i>Strauder v. West Virginia</i>	968
	<i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i>	973
	<i>Korematsu v. United States</i>	982
	The Road to <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>	999
	<i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka</i>	1001
	<i>Loving v. Virginia</i>	1008
	<i>Palmer v. Thompson</i>	1013
	“What Is Race/Nationality/Ethnicity?”.....	1019
	<i>Michael James and Adam Burgos, Race</i>	1019
	<i>David A. Hollinger, The One Drop Rule and the One Hate Rule</i>	1021
2.	Potentially Non-Subjugating Racial Classifications.....	1025
	<i>Lee v. Washington</i>	1025
	<i>Johnson v. California</i>	1026
3.	Facial Neutrality.....	1035
a.	Facial Neutrality—Disparate Impact.....	1036
	<i>Washington v. Davis</i>	1036
b.	Facial Neutrality—Demonstrable Racial Purpose.....	1043
	<i>Hunter v. Underwood</i>	1044
c.	Facial Neutrality—Extraordinary Disproportion.....	1050
	<i>Yick Wo v. Hopkins</i>	1051
	<i>Gomillion v. Lightfoot</i>	1055
d.	Facial Neutrality—Obvious Proxies.....	1057
	<i>Ho Ah Kow v. Nunan</i>	1057
	<i>Rogers v. American Airlines, Inc.</i>	1061
	<i>Hernandez v. New York</i>	1065
e.	Facial Neutrality—Mixed Motives.....	1072
	<i>Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp.</i>	1073
	<i>North Carolina State Conference of the NAACP v. McCrory</i>	1080
4.	Race-Conscious Remedies for Racial Injustice.....	1086
a.	Race Conscious Remedies—by the Judicial Branch.....	1086
b.	Race Conscious Remedies—by the Political Branches.....	1110
	<i>An Act to Establish a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees</i>	1110

<i>City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co.</i>	1114
<i>Grutter v. Bollinger</i>	1136
<i>Gratz v. Bollinger</i>	1159
Epilogue to the <i>University of Michigan</i> Cases	1166
The <i>University of Texas</i> Litigation.....	1167
The <i>Parents Involved</i> Case.....	1170
C. Heightened Scrutiny—Other Suspect Classifications	1177
1. Animus, or “Rational Basis Plus”?	1181
<i>James Boyd White, Keep Law Alive</i>	1182
<i>United States Department of Agriculture v. Moreno</i>	1183
<i>Palmore v. Sidoti</i>	1186
<i>City of Cleburne v. Cleburne Living Center</i>	1189
2. Gender.....	1198
a. Facial Classification—Gender.....	1198
<i>Craig v. Boren</i>	1207
<i>United States v. Virginia</i>	1217
b. Facial Neutrality—Gender	1237
<i>Geduldig v. Aiello</i>	1238
<i>Personnel Administrator of Massachusetts v. Feeney</i>	1241
3. Alienage	1249
<i>Graham v. Richardson</i>	1249
<i>In re Griffiths</i>	1251
<i>Foley v. Connelie</i>	1255
<i>Mathews v. Diaz</i>	1261
4. Classifications and Fundamental Rights	1264
CHAPTER VI. DUE PROCESS	1267
A. Procedural Due Process	1268
1. PDP: What Interests Are Protected?.....	1268
<i>Goldberg v. Kelly</i>	1268
<i>The Board of Regents of State Colleges v. Roth</i>	1276
<i>Perry v. Sindermann</i>	1282
2. PDP: What Process Is Due?	1286
<i>Mathews v. Eldridge</i>	1287
<i>Hamdi v. Rumsfeld</i>	1297
B. Substantive Due Process	1305
1. “But the Constitution Doesn’t Say Anything About . . .”	1305

	<i>John Hart Ely, Democracy and Distrust: A Theory of Judicial Review</i>	1310
2.	Incorporation of the Bill of Rights	1312
	<i>McDonald v. City of Chicago</i>	1314
	Incorporation and Reverse Incorporation.....	1331
3.	SDP: Economic Liberty.....	1332
a.	Economic Liberty—the Era of Significant Supervision	1333
	<i>Lochner v. New York</i>	1334
	<i>Munn v. Illinois</i>	1347
	<i>Muller v. Oregon</i>	1352
b.	Economic Liberty—Anything Goes	1355
	<i>West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish</i>	1356
	<i>Ferguson v. Skrupa</i>	1360
4.	SDP: Privacy, Dignity, and Autonomy.....	1362
a.	SDP—Family and Relationships	1365
	<i>Meyer v. Nebraska</i>	1365
	<i>Pierce v. Society of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary</i>	1369
	<i>Moore v. City of East Cleveland</i>	1372
	<i>Roberts v. United States Jaycees</i>	1379
	<i>Troxel v. Granville</i>	1382
b.	SDP—Bodily Integrity and Medical Autonomy	1389
	<i>Rochin v. California</i>	1391
	<i>Griswold v. Connecticut</i>	1394
c.	SDP—Abortion	1407
	<i>Roe v. Wade</i>	1407
	<i>Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey</i>	1428
d.	SDP—a Right to Die?.....	1461
	<i>Washington v. Glucksberg</i>	1461
5.	SDP: Discrimination and Fundamental Rights	1476
	<i>Skinner v. State of Oklahoma ex rel. Williamson</i>	1477
	<i>San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez</i>	1480
	<i>Plyler v. Doe</i>	1491
6.	LGBTQ+ Rights and the (Re-)Intersection of Due Process and Equality.....	1501
	<i>Lawrence v. Texas</i>	1504
	<i>Obergefell v. Hodges</i>	1520
	<i>Evancho v. Pine-Richland School District</i>	1537
	INDEX	1545