CONTENTS

Preface		xxxiii
Acknowle	dgments	xxxix
Editorial Note		xli
The Cons	stitution of the United States	xliii
PART I	INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND TO THE CONSTITUTION	1
	Note: The "Constitution of Conversation" and the "Constitution of Settlement"	8
Chapter 1	The Bank of the United States: A Case Study	11
I. Early B	ackground	11
II. The Fin	rst Bank of the United States	12
A. The	Wilsonian View	13
B. Mad	lison's View [James Madison's Speech to the House of	
Rep	resentatives (1791)]	14
C. The	Attorney General's Opinion	19
D. Jeffe	erson's Critique of the Bank	20
E. Han	nilton's Defense	21
	Alexander Hamilton, Opinion on the Constitutionality of an Act to Establish a Bank (1791)	21
	Discussion	23
III. The Se	cond Bank	23
IV. Judicia	l Examination of Congress's Authority to Create the Bank	25
	Note on Reading and Editing Cases	25
	McCulloch v. Maryland [The First Question]	26
A. The	Reaction to McCulloch	40
B. Mar	shall's Methods of Constitutional Interpretation	43
	Note: Uncertainties of Meaning	50
	1. Ambiguity	50
	2. Vagueness	51
	3. Nonliteral Usage	52
		xi

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 11 17-12-2021 14:18:47

xii		Contents
V.	The States' Power to Tax the Bank of the United States	54
	McCulloch v. Maryland [The Second Question]	54
	Discussion	59
VI	. Ohio Dissents	62
VI	I. The Demise of the Second Bank	64
	Andrew Jackson, Veto Message (July 10, 1832)	65
	Discussion	68
	Walter Dellinger, Presidential Authority to Decline to Execute Unconstitutional Statutes (November 2, 1994)	70
	Discussion	72
	21004001011	. –
Ch	apter 2 The Constitution in the Early Republic	73
I.	The Constitution During the Washington Administration	73
	Early Struggles over State and National Sovereignty: Chisholm v.	
	Georgia and the Eleventh Amendment	75
	Chisholm v. Georgia	76
	Note: The Eleventh Amendment	79
III	. The Alien and Sedition Acts and the Kentucky and Virginia	
	Resolutions of 1798	80
	A. The Alien Act of 1798	80
	B. The Sedition Act	82
	1. The Meaning of the First Amendment	83
	2. The Original Understanding	84
	3. The Republican Response	87
	Discussion	89
	C. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and the Doctrine of Nullification	90
	1. Nullification and Interposition	90
	2. The Nullification Crisis and the "Tariff of Abominations"	94
	Discussion	97
	Note: Judicial Review Before Marbury: The Supreme Court	
** 7	in Its Early Years	99
	The Election of 1800	103
V.	Early Political Struggles over the Federal Judiciary	106
	A. Stuart v. Laird and the Elimination of the Intermediate Appellate Judiciary	109
	Stuart v. Laird	109
	Discussion	110

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 12 17-12-2021 14:18:47

Contents	xiii
B. Marbury and Judicial Review of Legislation	111
Marbury v. Madison	111
Discussion	126
C. Limitations on Judicial Power	132
1. Jurisdiction Stripping	132
2. Standing	134
3. Political Questions	135
D. Judicial Review in a Democratic Polity	137
1. The Countermajoritarian Difficulty	137
2. Justifications for Judicial Review	138
a. Supervising Inter- and Intra-governmental Relations	138
b. Preserving Fundamental Values	141
c. Protecting the Integrity of Democratic Processes	142
3. The Countermajoritarian Difficulty Challenged	143
a. The Countermajoritarian Features of the Political Branches	143
b. The "Majoritarian" Aspects of Judicial Review	145
Note: Judicial "Good Behavior" and Lifetime Tenure	147
VI. The Louisiana Purchase	148
Discussion	150
Note: The "Marshall Court"	151
Note: Limiting the President's Power as Commander-in-Chief	152
Discussion	154
VII. The Protection of Property Rights and the Natural Law Tradition	154
Fletcher v. Peck	154
Discussion	157
Note: Natural Law, Vested Rights, and the Written Constitution: Sources for Judicial Review	160
1. The Natural Law Tradition in America	161
2. The Judicial Protection of Vested Rights	163
Calder v. Bull	164
Discussion	165
3. The Explicit Federal Constitutional Protection of Rights	166
4. The Ninth Amendment	167
Note: Is Constitutional Law a Comedy or a Tragedy?	169
Discussion	171
VIII. American Indians and the American Political Community	172
Discussion	176
IX. Women's Citizenship in the Antebellum Era	177
Discussion	182

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 13 17-12-2021 14:18:47

xiv	Contents
X. Regulation of the Interstate Economy	183
Gibbons v. Ogden	183
Discussion	191
Note: Federal Preemption	197
Arizona v. United States	197
Note: Language, Purpose, and Meaning	198
1. Language and Purpose	198
2. Discovering the Adopters' Purposes	201
XI. The "General Welfare"	206
A. The Spending Clause and Disaster Relief	206
B. Internal Improvements	207
James Madison, Veto Message (March 3, 181'	7) 208
James K. Polk, Veto Message (December 15,	1847) 210
Discussion	214
Chapter 3 Are We a Nation? The Jacksonian Era to the	
War, 1835-1865	215
I. Interstate and Foreign Commerce and Personal Mob	ility 221
A. The States' "Police Powers" as a Constraint on the Commerce Power	National 221
Mayor of the City of New York v. Miln	222
Discussion	229
B. The Cooley Accommodation	235
Cooley v. Board of Wardens	235
Discussion	237
Note on Congressional Consent	238
C. The Privileges and Immunities of State Citizenship	and
Personal Mobility Among the States	240
1. The Privileges and Immunities Clause of Article	IV 240
Corfield v. Coryell	241
Discussion	242
2. Interstate Mobility	242
Crandall v. Nevada	242
Discussion	244
II. Slavery	245
A. The Interstate Slave Trade	245
Groves v. Slaughter	245
Note: The United States Mail and American	Pluralism 248

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 14 17-12-2021 14:18:47

Contents	
B. Fugitive Slaves	251
Prigg v. Pennsylvania	251
Discussion	259
Note: The Rights of Free Black People Before the Civil War	261
C. Prelude to Secession	263
Dred Scott v. Sandford	266
Discussion	283
Frederick Douglass, The Constitution of the United States: Is It Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery?	292
Discussion	296
D. Judicial Supremacy and <i>Dred Scott:</i> The Lincoln–Douglas Debates	297
Discussion	299
III. "And the War Came": The President as Commander-in-Chief and the Preservation of the Union	301
A. The Debate over Secession	301
1. President James Buchanan Opposes Both Secession and War	301
2. South Carolina Justifies Its Secession	302
Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union (December 24, 1860)	303
3. Judah Benjamin Defends Secession	304
4. Jefferson Davis Takes the Helm of the Confederate States of America	305
5. Lincoln Responds and Acts	306
Discussion	307
Texas v. White	310
Note: The Confederate Constitution	311
Discussion	313
B. The Authority of the President to Repel Attacks on the Union	313
Prize Cases	313
Discussion	316
C. Lincoln and the Suspension of Habeas Corpus	318
1. Chief Justice Taney on the Exclusive Authority of Congress	319
Ex parte Merryman	320
2. The President Asserts Executive Authority	321
Discussion	322
D. Lincoln: The Great Emancipator	323
Note: Former Justice Curtis Dissents	324
Discussion	326

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 15 17-12-2021 14:18:47

xvi	Contents
Note: "Reverence for Law"	328
Discussion	329
Note: The Gettysburg Address as Constitutional Interpr	retation 331
The Gettysburg Address (November 19, 1863)	331
Discussion	331
E. The Use of Military Tribunals as an Alternative to Trial by Jur	y 332
Ex parte Milligan	333
Discussion	335
F. The Legal Tender Cases and the Constitutionality of Paper M	Ioney 337
Discussion	344
Chapter 4 From Reconstruction to the New Deal: 1866-1934	347
I. The Reconstruction Constitution	347
A. History of the Adoption of the Reconstruction Amendments	347
1. The Thirteenth Amendment	347
Discussion	349
2. The Civil Rights Act of 1866	350
3. The Fourteenth Amendment	354
Senator Jacob Howard, Speech Introducing the Fourtee Amendment (May 23, 1866)	enth 357
Discussion	361
United States v. Hall	367
Discussion	369
Note: The Unusual Procedural History of the Fourteent Amendment	th 369
Discussion	373
4. The Fifteenth Amendment	378
Note: When Did the Civil War End?	379
B. The Fourteenth Amendment Limited	381
The Slaughterhouse Cases	382
Discussion	392
United States v. Cruikshank	398
Discussion	399
Bradwell v. Illinois	399
Discussion	401
Note: The "New Departure" and Women's Place in the	
Constitutional Order	402
Minor v. Happersett	405
Discussion	407

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 16 17-12-2021 14:18:47

Contents	xvii
Note: The Fourteenth Amendment, Birthright Citizenship,	400
and American Indians	408
Elk v. Wilkins	409
Note: "The Riddle of Hiram Revels"	412
Discussion	413
C. Early Application of the Fourteenth Amendment to Race Discrimination	413
Strauder v. West Virginia	413
Discussion	417
C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow	420
D. Creation of the State Action Doctrine	421
The Civil Rights Cases	421
Discussion	432
E. Establishment of the "Separate but Equal" Doctrine	436
Plessy v. Ferguson	436
Discussion	443
Charles Black, The Lawfulness of the Segregation Decisions	449
Note: The Spirit of <i>Plessy</i> and Black Disenfranchisement	450
Buchanan v. Warley	451
Discussion	452
Note: Black Disenfranchisement	453
Richard H. Pildes, Democracy, Anti-Democracy, and the Canon	454
Giles v. Harris	455
Discussion	456
II. Creating an "American" Nation	456
A. American Expansionism, Race, Ethnicity, and the Constitution	456
Downes v. Bidwell	456
Discussion	462
B. Ethnic Diversity and the Constitution: The Case of Chinese	
Immigration	464
Chae Chan Ping v. United States	464
Discussion	470
III. The Rise of the Modern Industrial Order and the Protection of Economic Rights	472
A. Economic Disorder and Emergency Powers	472
In re Debs	473
Discussion	476
B. The Rise of Due Process Protection Against State Economic	
Regulation	476
C. The Application of the Bill of Rights to the States	481
Discussion	484

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 17 14:18:47

XVIII	Contents
D. The Heyday of Police Power Jurisprudence, 1890-1934	485
Lochner v. New York	485
1. The Idea of Police Power Jurisprudence	491
2. The Meanings of "Liberty," "Property," and "Due Process"	492
3. The Scope of the Police Power: Permissible and Impermissible Objectives	494
	494
Coppage v. Kansas	496
Jacobson v. Massachusetts	497
Muller v. Oregon A Pundang of Proof and Questions of Dogwood	498
4. Burdens of Proof and Questions of Degree 5. Leisser Feire, Leyrors, and Level Scholarship	499
5. Laissez Faire, Lawyers, and Legal Scholarship	
6. A Survey of the Court's Work	502
Adkins v. Children's Hospital	504
E. Freedom of Contract and the Problem of "Involuntary Servitude"	505
IV. Congressional Regulation of Interstate Commerce and of the National Economy	510
A. The Commerce Power	510
Champion v. Ames [The Lottery Case]	512
Discussion	516
Hammer v. Dagenhart	517
Discussion	521
Note: On "Prisoner's Dilemmas" and Centralized Coordinat	ion 522
Note: Binary Oppositions and Congressional Ability to Invoke Its Power Under the Commerce Clause	524
B. The Taxing Power	526
Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co. (The Child Labor Tax Case)	526
C. The Spending Power	528
Discussion	530
D. The Treaty Power	531
Missouri v. Holland	531
E. The Eleventh Amendment and State Sovereign Immunity	535
Hans v. Louisiana	535
Discussion	536
V. "When a Nation Is at War": World War I and the First Amendment	537
Discussion	541
Note: Further Questions on the Constitution and	
"Emergency Power" During Time of War	543
VI. Constitutional Innovation During the Progressive Period	544
A. The Sixteenth Amendment	545

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 18 17-12-2021 14:18:47

Contents		XIX
	B. The Seventeenth Amendment	546
	C. The Eighteenth Amendment	546
D. The Nineteenth Amendment E. Constitutional Limits on Article V? 1. Time Limits		547
		550
		551
	Discussion	553
	2. Are There Substantive Limits to Constitutional Amendment?	553
P/	ART II CONSTITUTIONAL ADJUDICATION IN THE MODERN WORLD	557
Τŀ	he Evolution of the Bill of Rights and Its "Incorporation" Against the States	558
	Against the States	336
Cł	hapter 5 The New Deal and the Civil Rights Era	569
I.	The Decline of Judicial Intervention Against Economic Regulation	569
	A. 1934	569
	Home Building & Loan Association v. Blaisdell	
	[The Minnesota Mortgage Moratorium Case]	571
	Discussion	579
	B. 1935-1937	581
	West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish	582
	C. The Modern Doctrine of Economic Due Process	584
	United States v. Carolene Products Co.	584
	Discussion	587
	Williamson v. Lee Optical Co.	592
	Discussion	595
II.	. The Creation of the New Deal Settlement and the Relaxation of Judicial Constraints on Congressional Power	600
	A. 1935-1936—The Supreme Court Confronts Roosevelt	
	over Federal Power	600
	Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States	601
	Carter v. Carter Coal Co.	602
	Discussion	606
	United States v. Butler	607
	Discussion	610
	Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Fireside Chat" (March 9, 1937)	612
	Discussion	615
	NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.	616
	Discussion	617

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 19 17-12-2021 14:18:47

XX		Contents
	Franklin D. Roosevelt, Address on Constitution Day,	
	Washington, D.C. (September 17, 1937)	618
	Discussion	620
	B. The Emergence of Modern Commerce Clause Doctrine	620
	United States v. Darby	621
	Wickard v. Filburn	623
	Discussion	624
	Note: On Constitutional Revolution	626
	C. The Taxing and Spending Power	628
	Steward Machine Company v. Davis	629
	Discussion	631
III	. National Power in the Civil Rights Era	631
	A. The 1960s Civil Rights Legislation: Commerce Power or	
	Reconstruction Power?	631
	1. The Civil Rights Movement and the Civil Rights Act of 1964	631
	Discussion	637
	2. Congressional Power to Pass the Civil Rights Bill	637
	Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States	640
	Katzenbach v. McClung	640
	Discussion	642
	B. The Reconstruction Power in the Civil Rights Era	644
	Note: The Voting Rights Act of 1965	646
	Lyndon B. Johnson, Special Message to the Congress: The American Promise (March 15, 1965)	647
	Discussion	650
	South Carolina v. Katzenbach	651
	Katzenbach v. Morgan	655
	Discussion	661
	Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co.	664
	Oregon v. Mitchell	667
Αŗ	opendix to Chapter 5 (online)	5-1
I.	The Decline of Judicial Intervention Against Economic Regulation	5-1
	D. Modern Contract Clause Doctrine	5-1
	Discussion	5-4
	E. Modern Takings Clause Doctrine	5-5
	Jed Rubenfeld, Usings	5-5
	Discussion	5-12

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 20 17-12-2021 14:18:47

Contents		XX
Chapter 6	Federalism, Separation of Powers, and National Security in the Modern Era	671
I. Judicial	Constraints on Congressional Power	671
A. The I	Rehnquist and Roberts Courts: Finding Limits on Federal Power	671
1. Th	e Commerce Power	673
	United States v. Lopez	673
	Discussion	687
	National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius [The Health Care Case]	700
	Discussion	709
	United States v. Comstock	713
	Discussion	716
2. Th	e Taxing Power	718
	National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius [The Health Care Case]	718
	Discussion	724
3. Th	e Spending Power	727
	National Federation of Independent Business v. Sebelius [The Health Care Case]	730
	Discussion	741
4. Th	e Treaty Power	743
	Bond v. United States	743
	Discussion	745
5. Th	e Reconstruction Power	747
	City of Boerne v. Flores	748
	Discussion	758
	Akhil Reed Amar, Intratextualism	761
	United States v. Morrison	763
	Discussion	766
	Board of Trustees of the University of Alabama v. Garrett	769
	Discussion	773
	Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder	776
	Discussion	796
	Brnovich v. Democratice National Committee	801
	ive Limits on Congressional Regulations of State Governments	805
A. From	the Hughes Court to the Burger Court: Practically No Limits?	805
	National League of Cities v. Usery	80€

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 21 17-12-2021 14:18:47

xxii	Content
Garcia v. San Antonio Metropolitan Transit Authority	80%
Discussion	811
B. The Rehnquist Court: Finding Affirmative Limits	813
Gregory v. Ashcroft	815
Discussion	818
New York v. United States	819
Discussion	830
Saikrishna Bangalore Prakash, Field Office Federalism	833
Printz v. United States	835
Discussion	847
Note: State Sovereign Immunity	848
Discussion	851
Note: Cooperative (and Uncooperative) Federalism	854
III. Interstate Federalism and the National Economy	860
A. Dormant Commerce Clause	861
1. Burdensome Laws: The Development of a Balancing Test	862
2. Facially Discriminatory Laws: The "Per Se Invalidity" Test	863
3. The Market Participant Exception	864
4. General Theories of Dormant Commerce	865
B. Interstate Privileges and Immunities	866
IV. The Executive Power of the United States	868
A. The (Non)Prosecution Power	868
United States v. Cox	869
Discussion	880
United States v. Nixon, President of the United States	882
Discussion	888
Trump v. Vance	89
Discussion	908
Note: Congressional Oversight	909
Trump v. Mazars USA, LLP	913
Discussion	921
B. The Appointment Power	924
Morrison v. Olson	925
Discussion	938
Edmond v. United States	944
Discussion	947
United States v. Arthrex, Inc.	949
Seila Law LLC v. Consumer Financial Protection Bureau	955
Discussion	972

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 22 17-12-2021 14:18:47

Contents	xxiii
National Labor Relations Board v. Noel Canning	980
Discussion	985
C. The Veto Power	990
Immigration and Naturalization Service v. Chadha	991
Discussion	1007
D. The Power of the Sword	1015
1. Emergency Power During Wartime	1015
Executive Order: Directing the Secretary of Commerce to Take Possession of and Operate the Plants and Facilities of Certain Steel Companies	1016
Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer	1019
Discussion	1032
Note: The Power to Wage War	1037
2. Executive Detention	1046
Hamdi v. Rumsfeld	1046
Discussion	1061
3. Military Tribunals	1065
4. Habeas Corpus for the Guantanamo Detainees	1067
Boumediene v. Bush	1068
Discussion	1069
5. Torture and Presidential Power	1072
Discussion	1075
6. Targeted Killings	1076
7. Diplomatic Recognition	1079
Zivotofsky v. Kerry	1079
Discussion	1087
E. Presidential Privileges and Immunities	1090
F. Presidential Selection	1094
Appendix to Chapter 6 (online)	6-1
Note: The Emoluments Clauses	6-1
Discussion	6-4
Note: Presidential Impeachment	6-11
Chapter 7 Race and the Equal Protection Clause	1099
I. Brown v. Board of Education and the Constitutional Struggle	
over Desegregation	1099
A. Background to the School Desegregation Case	1099
Note: Brown and the Cold War	1101

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 23 17-12-2021 14:18:47

xxiv	
B. The School Desegregation Case	1105
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas	1105
Bolling v. Sharpe	1108
Discussion	1109
Note: A "Dissent" from Brown	1112
Discussion	1113
Note: Brown and the Original Understanding	1114
Discussion	1116
C. Brown's Legacy, Fulfilled or Betrayed? Four Decades of School Desegregation	1121
1. Brown II and "All Deliberate Speed"	1121
Brown v. Board of Education (Brown II)	112
2. "Massive Resistance" to School Desegregation	1122
3. The Political Branches Respond: 1964-1968	1123
4. The Supreme Court Reasserts Itself	1124
5. Swann and Metropolitan Segregation in the South	1125
6. School Segregation in the North—The Court Confronts the	1196
De Jure/De Facto Distinction 7. The Turning Point Inter District Police	1126 1129
7. The Turning Point—Inter-District Relief8. An Era of Retrenchment	1123
Missouri v. Jenkins (Jenkins II)	1132
Discussion	1134
II. The Antidiscrimination Principle and the "Suspect Classification"	113
Standard Standard	1136
A. The Origins of the Suspect Classification Doctrine	1136
1. The Japanese Internment Case	1136
Korematsu v. United States	1130
Discussion	1141
Oyama v. California	1143
Discussion	1144
2. The Court Strikes Down Antimiscegenation Statutes	1144
Loving v. Virginia	1146
Discussion	1149
B. The Reach of the Suspect Classification Doctrine	1157
1. Racial Segregation in Prisons	1157
Johnson v. California	1157
2. Family Formation	1158
a. Child Custody Decisions Following Divorce	1158
b. Race-Matching Policies in Adoption	1159

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 24 17-12-2021 14:18:47

Contents	XXV
3. Government Collection and Use of Racial Data	1161
Discussion	1162
Note: Four Concepts of "Race": Status-Based, Formal, Historical, and Cultural	1163
C. When Is a Decision Made "on the Basis of" Race?	1165
1. Early Cases	1166
Yick Wo v. Hopkins	1166
Ho Ah Kow v. Nunan	1167
2. Brown v. Board of Education and Desegregation	1168
3. The Interplay Between the Fourteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Acts	1170
Griggs v. Duke Power Co.	1170
Discussion	1172
4. The Court Separates the Fourteenth Amendment from the Civil Rights Acts	1174
Washington v. Davis	1175
Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp.	1179
Personnel Administrator of Massachusetts v. Feeney	1180
Discussion	1181
Note: Commentaries on the Intent Standard	1187
Discussion	1190
5. The Future of Disparate Impact Legislation	1193
Ricci v. DeStefano	1193
Discussion	1196
D. Race and the Criminal Justice System	1199
1. The War on Drugs and the Powder Cocaine/Crack Cocaine	
Distinction	1199
United States v. Clary	1199
Discussion	1201
2. Administering Death	1203
McCleskey v. Kemp	1203
Discussion	1208
3. Suspect Descriptions	1209
Brown v. City of Oneonta	1209
Discussion	1210
Note: Racial Profiling and the Equal Protection Clause	1211
E. "Preferential" Treatment for Racial Minorities	1215
1. The Central Issues	1215

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 25 17-12-2021 14:18:47

xxvi	Content
2. The Early Cases	1217
Regents of the University of California v. Bakke	1217
3. Affirmative Action from <i>Bakke</i> to <i>Croson</i>	1222
4. Affirmative Action in the Rehnquist Court	1224
City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co.	1225
Discussion	1236
Adarand Constructors v. Pena	1240
Note: Originalism and Affirmative Action	1242
5. The Court Reaffirms Bakke	1247
Grutter v. Bollinger	1248
Gratz v. Bollinger	1266
Discussion	1269
6. The Roberts Court Interprets Brown in Light of Affirmative Action	n 1273
Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No.	1 1273
Discussion	1300
Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin [Fisher II]	1303
Discussion	1304
Note: Racial Redistricting and the Equal Protection Clause	1305
F. Citizenship and Alienage Under the Equal Protection Clause	1306
1. The Early Interplay of Race and Alienage	1306
2. Regulation of Aliens by State Governments	1309
Graham v. Richardson	1309
Bernal v. Fainter	1312
Discussion	1319
3. Regulation of Resident Aliens by the Federal Government	1322
Discussion	1323
Appendix to Chapter 7 (online)	7-1
Trump v. Hawaii	<i>7</i> -3
Discussion	7-17
Chapter 8 Sex Equality	1327
I. The Sex Equality Claims Under the Fourteenth Amendment: Social	
Movements and Constitutional Change	1327
A. The Fourteenth Amendment's First Century	1327
B. Movement Roots of Modern Sex Discrimination Law	1330
Frontiero v. Richardson	1336

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 26 17-12-2021 14:18:47

Contents	xxvii
Discussion	1342
Note: Reasoning from Race in Frontiero and Beyond	1345
Note: The Equal Rights Amendment	1346
Discussion	1349
Note: The Nineteenth Amendment	1354
II. What Does Intermediate Scrutiny Prohibit?	1357
A. Intermediate Scrutiny, Sex Stereotyping, and Laws Enforcing Breadwinner/Caregiver Roles	1357
Note: On Sex, Gender, and Sexual Orientation	1363
B. Intermediate Scrutiny and the Race-Gender Analogy	1365
United States v. Virginia [The VMI Case]	1366
Discussion	1381
Note: Intermediate Scrutiny and Single-Sex Education	1384
Note: Affirmative Action and Intermediate Scrutiny	1389
C. Intermediate Scrutiny and Claims of Sex Difference: Pregnancy as a Justification for Sex-Differentiated Treatment of Men and Women	1390
Tuan Anh Nguyen v. INS	1393
Discussion	1397
Sessions v. Morales-Santana	1399
Discussion	1401
III. Distinguishing Sex-Based and Sex-Neutral Policies: Evolving Perspectives on Pregnancy	1402
A. Criteria for Distinguishing Sex-Based and Sex-Neutral Policies	1402
Personnel Administrator of Massachusetts v. Feeney	1403
Discussion	1409
B. Judicial and Legislative Perspectives on Pregnancy and Sex Equality:	
Alternative Understandings	1412 1412
Classifications on the Basis of Sex and Pregnancy Discussion	1412
	1413
Note: Abortion and Equal Protection	1419
2. Congress and the Court: Evolving Understandings of Pregnancy	1419
Nevada Department of Human Resources v. Hibbs Discussion	1420 1422
IV. Gender in the Military: Constitutional Change Outside the Courts	1428
,	1446
A. A Brief History of Women in the Military: The Creation and Erosion of "Combat Exclusion" Rules	1428
B. The End of the Combat Exclusion?	1431
C. Rostker and the Constitutionality of Gender-Based Conscription	1433
Discussion	1436

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 27 17-12-2021 14:18:48

XX	viii	Contents
V.	Other Suspect Bases of Classification: Thinking Outside the	
	"Tiers of Scrutiny" Model	1438
	City of Cleburne, Texas v. Cleburne Living Center	1442
	Discussion	1452
	Note: Accommodation as a Norm—The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990	1454
Ch	Liberty, Equality, and Fundamental Rights: The Constitution, the Family, and the Body	1455
I.	Historical Roots of Fundamental Rights Adjudication	1456
	A. Doctrinal Antecedents	1456
	B. Popular and Philosophical Debate About the Criminalization of Sex	1459
II.	Contemporary Fundamental Rights Adjudication	1461
	A. The Contraception Case	1461
	Griswold v. Connecticut	146
	Discussion	1474
	Note: The Reach of Griswold	1482
	Eisenstadt v. Baird	1482
	Note: Tradition as a Source of Fundamental Rights	1485
	Jack M. Balkin, Tradition, Betrayal, and the Politics of Deconstruction	1490
	Discussion	1492
III	. Reproductive Rights and Abortion	1494
	A. The Decision in Roe v. Wade	1494
	Roe v. Wade	1492
	Doe v. Bolton	1500
	Discussion	1507
	Note: Did <i>Roe</i> Cause the Abortion Conflict?	1509
	Discussion	1512
	B. Abortion and the Equal Protection Clause	1513
	Reva Siegel, Reasoning from the Body: A Historical Perspective on Abortion Regulation and Questions of	1 1 1 1
	Equal Protection	1515
	Discussion	1517
	C. Decisions After <i>Roe</i>	1520
	Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey	1528
	Discussion D. Aboution Production of AGon Court	1555
	D. Abortion Restrictions After Casey	1559
	Gonzales v. Carhart [Carhart II]	1559
	Discussion	1564

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 28 17-12-2021 14:18:48

Contents	XXIX
Note: Absolute and Incremental Restrictions on Abortion	1567
1. Absolute Restrictions	1568
2. The Incremental Approach	1568
Note: Health Regulations after Casey	1573
Whole Woman's Health v. Hellerstedt	1574
Discussion	1577
June Medical Services L.L.C. v. Russo	1579
Discussion	1580
IV. Sexuality and Sexual Orientation	1582
A. Sexual Orientation: Liberty and Equality	1583
1. The Court's First Ruling on Laws Criminalizing Sodomy	1585
Bowers v. Hardwick	1586
Discussion	1592
2. Bowers Blunted, But Not Reversed	1595
Romer v. Evans	1596
Discussion	1602
3. Bowers Reversed	1605
Lawrence v. Texas	1606
Discussion	1623
Note: Liberty, Equality, and Lawrence	1627
1. Liberty and/or Equality?	1627
2. Liberty versus Equality: A Queer Perspective	1629
3. Dignity in Lawrence	1629
B. Sexual Orientation: Equal Protection and Heightened Scrutiny	1630
Letter from the Attorney General to Congress on Litigation Involving the Defense of Marriage Act (February 23, 2011)	1631
Discussion	1634
C. Same-Sex Marriage	1636
United States v. Windsor	1640
Discussion	1643
Obergefell v. Hodges	1645
Discussion	1666
Bostock v. Clayton County, Georgia	1676
Discussion	1686
Masterpiece Cakeshop v. Colorado Civil Rights Commission	1688
Fulton v. City of Philadelphia	1689
Discussion	1694
D. Backlash and Social Movements	1696
1. The Judicial Backlash Thesis	1697

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 29 17-12-2021 14:18:48

XX	x .	Contents
	2. Skeptics of the Judicial Backlash Thesis	1697
	Note: The Right to Die and Other Implied Fundamental Rights	1699
V.	The Constitutional Right of Self-Defense	1703
	District of Columbia v. Heller	1703
	McDonald v. City of Chicago	1727
	Discussion	1729
Ch	apter 10 The Constitution in the Modern Welfare State	1741
I.	Does the Constitution Affirmatively Guarantee Any Welfare Rights?	1742
	A. The Rights of Indigents in the Criminal Justice System	1742
	B. The Creation of Fundamental Interests Under the Equal	
	Protection Clause	1745
	Harper v. Virginia Bd. of Elections	1745
	Discussion	1749
	Note: Protecting the Poor Through the Fourteenth Amendment	1749
	C. Minimum Needs Rejected	1753
	Dandridge v. Williams	1753
	Discussion	1760
	D. The Right to Education	1761
	1. "Equal Provision" of Public Education	1761
	San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez	1761
	Discussion	1775
	2. Is There a Right to Some Minimal Provision of	
	Educational Resources?	1776
	Plyler v. Doe	1776
	Discussion	1782
	Note: On the Enforceability of "Positive Rights"	1782
	Discussion	1784
	E. Does the State Have a "Duty to Rescue"?	1789
	DeShaney v. Winnebago County Department of Social Services	1789
	Discussion	1793
	Note: State Action in the Age of the Welfare State	1796
Ар	pendix to Chapter 10 (online)	10-1
II.	The Procedural Due Process Protection of Entitlements and Other	10.1

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 30 17-12-2021 14:18:48

Contents	xxxi
A. What Procedural Safeguards Are Due?	10-1
Goldberg v. Kelly	10-1
Discussion	10-4
Note: To What Extent Does Goldberg Rest on Legal Formality?	10-6
III. The Welfare State and Burdens on Interstate Mobility	10-7
A. The Right to Travel as a Fundamental Right	10-8
Shapiro v. Thompson	10-8
B. The Right to Relocate	10-15
C. Can the State Give More Welfare to Long-Time Residents	
Than to Newcomers?	10-17
Discussion	10-18
D. Congressional Consent	10-18
E. The Court Reconsiders (and Reconceptualizes) Shapiro	10-19
Saenz v. Roe	10-19
Discussion	10-22
IV. Conditioning Spending in the Welfare State — The Problem of	
Unconstitutional Conditions	10-23
A. Introduction: Rights, Waivers, and Inducements to Change Behavior	10-23
Table of Justices	1801
Table of Cases	1819
Index	1835

PCDCM_FM_PP5.indd 31 17-12-2021 14:18:48