Constitutional History I: From the Articles of Confederation to the Civil War Spring 2015 Professor Michael Klarman

Our primary course materials will consist of photocopied materials available to you from the law school copy center. Those materials will be supplemented with readings from Kelly, Harbison & Belz, **The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development** (7th ed., vol. I) (**referred to below as Kelly**), which should be available for purchase at the bookstore.

My office is Areeda 332. My office hours this semester will be Wednesdays, 3:30 to 5:30. There is a good chance that I will also be available many Friday afternoons at roughly the same time, for those for whom Wednesday appointments are inconvenient. It would be a good idea to make an appointment even if you are coming during those hours; this enables me to better distribute the traffic. To set up an appointment, please email me—not my assistant—at mklarman@law.harvard.edu.

The exam for the class will be an open-book, any-day takehome. Sometime before the mid-point of the semester, I will ask my assistant to post on the course webpage an old exam or two, along with some model answers. These will give you some sense of what to expect on the final exam.

This is going to be a large class, and, as the course description stated, the format of the class is largely lecture, not Socratic or a seminar-like discussion. That said, it is important that people take the frequent opportunities I will offer to raise questions, make objections, and offer alternative perspectives. In addition, I encourage people to come up after class for discussion and to take advantage of my office hours. The burden is on you in a class this size if you want to get to know the professor, but I am eager to make that happen, if you are willing to seize the opportunities.

	PAGE
1. Flaws in the Articles of Confederation	
Kelly, pp.76–87	
Articles of Confederation	1
Rakove, The Road to Philadelphia, 1781–87	6
Federalist Paper #15	
Federalist Paper #22	
2. The Constitutional Convention and the Theory of the Constitution Kelly, pp. 87–102	1
Banning, The Constitutional Convention	28
Federalist Paper #10	

	" #45	42
	" #51	44
	Anti-Federalists and the Critique of the Constitution Kelly, pp. 103–16	
]	Kenyon, Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists on the Nature of	40
1	Representative Government Essays of Brutus	
1	Essays of Bruius	09
4. Ratif	ication and the Bill of Rights	
J	James W. Ely, Jr., "The Good Old Cause": The Ratification of the Constitution	
	and Bill of Rights in South Carolina	
]	Paul Finkelman, James Madison and the Bill of Rights: A Reluctant Paternity	89
5. Cons	titutionalism in the Early Republic: Constitutional Issues of the 1790s	
	Kelly, pp. 117–30	
<u>(</u>	Chisholm v. Georgia	
	Jefferson Powell, Languages of Power: A Sourcebook on	
	Early American Constitutional History	
	Charles Warren, The Supreme Court in US History	119
<u>r</u>	The Bank Controversy	
	Brest & Levinson, Processes of Const'l Decisionmaking	126
<u> </u>	Hayburn's Case	
	Warren, Supreme Court, supra	134
	Alien and Sedition Acts, and the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions Kelly, pp. 130–37	
1	Presser & Zainaldin, Law and American History	144
	Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798–99	
	John C. Miller, Crisis in Freedom: The Alien and Sedition Acts	
	Berns, Freedom of the Press and the Alien and Sedition Laws: A Reappraisal	
7 TUL-1	Inffancation Attack on the Federal Indicious and the Observation (
	Jeffersonian Attack on the Federal Judiciary and the Chase Impeachment Kelly, pp. 156–70	
]	Presser & Zainaldin, supra	184
	Richard Ellis, The Jeffersonian Crisis: Courts and Politics in the	
	Young Republic	189

Warren, Supreme Court, supra	201
8. Marbury v. Madison and the Origins of Judicial Review Kelly, pp. 170–77	
Charles Grove Haines, The American Doctrine of Judicial Supremacy	204
Rossum, The Courts and the Judicial Power	
Federalist Paper #78	
Sylvia Snowiss, Judicial Review and the Law of the Constitution	
Marbury v. Madison (S.Ct. 1803)	
Chronology of events (from Knight & Epstein)	
Kent Newmyer, The Supreme Court Under Marshall and Taney	
9. The Nationalism of the Marshall Court Kelly, pp. 178–86, 194–99	
M - C - H - (2 C - 1916)	250
Martin v. Hunter's Lessee (S.Ct. 1816)	
McCulloch v. Maryland (S.Ct. 1819)	
Gibbons v. Ogden (S.Ct. 1824)	
Newmyer, Supreme Court , supra	272
Amphictyon Essays, in Gerald Gunther, ed., John Marshall's Defense of	• • •
McCulloch v. Maryland	283
10. The Contracts Clause Decisions of the Marshall Court Kelly, pp. 186–93	
Fletcher v. Peck (S.Ct. 1810)	302
Notes on <i>Dartmouth College v. Woodward</i> (S.Ct. 1819) and	
Sturges v. Crowninshield (S.Ct. 1819)	306
Benjamin Wright, The Contract Clause of the Constitution	
Denjamin Wright, The Contract Clause of the Consuttation	
11. States Rights Constitutionalism and Jackson's Response Kelly, pp. 200–212	
South Carolina Protest Against the Tariff of 1828	319
South Carolina Ordinance of Nullification	
President Jackson's Proclamation to the People of South Carolina	
South Carolina's Reply	
John C. Calhoun, Fort Hill Address	
William Freehling, Prelude to Civil War	
Warren, Supreme Court, supra	

12. Slavery at the Constitutional ConventionConstitutional Provisions Regarding Slavery

Constitutional Provisions Regarding Slavery	
Paul Finkelman, Slavery and the Constitutional Convention	370
William Freehling, The Founding Fathers and Slavery	
13. The Fugitive Slave Issue	
Kelly, pp. 241–49	
1793 Fugitive Slave Act	396
Prigg v. Pennsylvania (S.Ct. 1842)	
1850 Fugitive Slave Act	406
Ableman v. Booth (S.Ct. 1859)	408
Finkelman, Prigg v. Pennsylvania and Northern Courts:	
Anti-Slavery Use of a Pro-Slavery Decision	419
14. Slavery and Various Comity Issues	
Elkison v. Deliesseline (D.S.C. 1823)	435
Commonwealth v. Aves (Massachusetts 1837)	
Lemmon v. People (New York 1850)	
Paul Finkelman, An Imperfect Union: Slavery, Federalism and Comity	
15. Slavery in the Territories and <i>Dred Scott</i> Kelly, pp. 249–79	
Dred Scott v. Sandford (S.Ct. 1857)	466
Russel, Constitutional Doctrines with Regard to Slavery in Territories	481
Mendelson, Dred Scott's Case — Reconsidered	486
Don Fehrenbacher, The Dred Scott Case: Its Significance in	
American Law and Politics	493
Abraham Lincoln's "House Divided" Speech	499
Excerpts from the Lincoln–Douglas Debates	504
16. Secession, the Nature of the Union, and Other Constitutional Issues Raised	
by the Civil War Kelly, pp. 280–301, 308–18	
Jesse T. Carpenter, The South as a Conscious Minority 1789–1861	
Lincoln's First Inaugural Address	
Prize cases (S.Ct. 1863)	
Roger B. Taney, "Thoughts on the Conscription Law of the United States"	536

Benjamin Curtis on the Emancipation Proclamation	543
Time Permitting	
17. The Civil War and Civil Liberties Kelly, pp. 301–307	
Ex parte Merryman (D. Md. 1861)	546
Ex parte Milligan (S.Ct. 1866)	
Sherrill Halbert, <i>The Suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus by President Lincoln</i> J.G. Randall, Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln	
Mark Neely, The Fate of Liberty	578