

Index

- abortion
 - Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*, 141
 - morals regulations for, 141
 - Roe v. Wade*, 145–46
- Adams, John, 38
- Adams, Willi Paul, 93–94
- administrative bureaucracy and power,
 - delegation of
 - anti-administrativist movement, 135, 192, 266
 - expertise in, 188–93
 - Major Questions Doctrine, 191–92
 - New Deal policies and, 189, 190
 - under nondelegation doctrine, 188
 - skepticism of, 190–91
 - special purpose authorities, 189–90
- administrative law, 197–98
- police power and, 251–53
- Administrative Procedure Act (1946), US, 116, 262–63
- adult entertainment, moral regulation of, 143
 - judicial evaluation of, 144
- Affordable Care Act, US, 268, 269–70
- Agin v. Tiburon*, 214, 215–16
- alcohol and drug consumption, moral regulation of, 140, 144, 148
- Ambler Realty Co. v. Village of Euclid*, 118–21
- amendments, to constitutions. *See also* Constitution, US
 - to state constitutions, 74, 125
- animal welfare laws, 150
- animus, legal, 244–48
 - equal protection doctrine, 245
 - against LGBTQ+ populations, 247–48
- anti-administrativist movement, 135, 192, 266
- anti-commandeering doctrine, 265
- arbitrariness, 242–44
 - inclusiveness and, 244
 - proceduralist review of, 243
 - salus populi* principle, 244
 - sic utere* principle, 244
 - synoptic review, 243
- Articles of Confederation, in US Constitution,
 - 21, 22, 47
 - federalism under, 51–52
- assisted suicide, 241–42
- Austin, Benjamin, 76
- authoritarianism, concerns about, 310–13
- Baker v. Carr*, 249
- Banner, Stuart, 67
 - on natural law, 81, 82–83, 73
- Barbier v. Connolly*, 90–91
- Barnett, Randy, 96, 125
- Barron, David, 182–83
- Barron v. Baltimore*, 69, 222, 264
- Baumol, William, 321–22
- Bentham, Jeremy, 68
- Berman v. Parker*, 134, 152, 218, 325
- Bernick, Evan, 96, 125
- Bill of Rights, 69–70, 81–82, 201
 - in Delaware, 23
 - morals regulation and, 145–46
 - natural rights in, 223–24
- BiMetall v. State Board of Equalization*, 210–11
- Binford v. Sununu*, 159
- Blackstone, William, 76
 - British legal philosophy and, 68
 - on police power, 45–46, 60
 - “boundary picking,” 108–9, 201
- Bowers v. Hardwick*, 142, 146
- Brady, Maureen, 79
- Brandeis, Louis (Justice), 72, 111
- Brennan, William (Justice), 98–99
- Brick Presbyterian Church v. Mayor of New York*, 56–57
- Briffault, Richard, 180

- Brown, Adam, 32
Brown v. Maryland, 26, 53
Buchanan v. Warley, 114
Buck v. Bell, 114
 Bullman-Pozen, Jessica, 183, 275
 Burger, Warren (Chief Justice), 166
 Bush, George Herbert Walker, 135
 Bush, George Walker, 135
 Buttetieg, Pete, 304
- Calder v. Bull*, 69, 152
 judicial review and, 221
 Campbell, Jud, 203–4, 207, 234, 229, 230
 Cardozo, Benjamin (Justice), 201
 Carpenter, Daniel, 189
Cedar Point Nursery v. Haddid, 11, 216
Champion v. Ames, 140–41
Charles River Bridge v. Proprietors of Warren Bridge, 70
Chevron v. NRDC, 266
 citizen safety. *See* public safety policies
The City of Cleburne v. Cleburne Living Center, 202, 243
City of Erie v. Pap's A. M., 143
The Civil Rights Cases, 289
 Claey's, Eric, 120
 classical legal thought, 96
Cleveland Telephone Co. v. City of Cleveland, 99
 Clinton, Bill, 135
 command-and-control regulations, 322
Commentaries on the Laws of England (Blackstone), 45
 Commerce Clause, 140–41
 common good constitutionalism, 186–87
 common goods, zoning laws and, 120–21
 common law
 development as legal theory, 80
 judicial intervention and, 30, 31–32, 179
 judicial review and, 69
 state constitutions and, 30–32
 private property law and, 69–70
 sic utere principle in, 55
 state constitutions influenced by, 30–31, 55–64
 judicial intervention and, 30, 31–32
 judicial review and, 30–32
 zoning laws and, 122
Commonwealth v. Alger, 58–60, 79–80
Commonwealth v. Tewksbury, 250–51
Conchatta v. Miller, 144
 consent principles, in state constitutions, 22–24
 evolution of, 23
 good governance and, 23–24
- Constitution, US. *See also* Bill of Rights;
 Contract Clause, in US Constitution;
 rights, individual, in US Constitution
 Articles of Confederation, 21, 22, 47
 federalism under, 51–52
 Commerce Clause, 140–41
 Eminent Domain clause in, 65
 First Amendment
 during Covid-19 pandemic, 160
 free speech and, 203–5
 individual rights under, 202–5, 206–7
 morals regulations and, 143
 Fourteenth Amendment, 70–71, 109–10, 226–29
 Due Process Clause of, 146
 original meaning of, 96
 interpretation of, 81
 judicial review in, 81–82
 Ninth Amendment, 226–29
 political strategy and, 48–51
 public meaning of, 48–51, 77
 purpose of, 48–51
 Reconstruction amendments, 264
 salus populi principle and, 289
 Second Amendment, 206–7, 298–300
 state constitutions influenced by, 2–3
 Supremacy Clause in, 53
 Tenth Amendment, 51–52, 54, 226–29
 constitutional avoidance canon, 250
 Constitutional Convention, 22, 26
 constitutionalism
 administered, 134–35
 British, 29
 common good, 186–87
 laissez faire, 84–87
 The Slaughterhouse Cases, 95
 libertarian, 86–87, 142
 republican tradition of, 47–48
 constitutionalism, American, 2–3
 classical liberal theory and, 28–29
 criticism of, 47–48
 federalism and, 276–78
 interpretive method for, 81
 public meaning of, 48–51
 purpose of, 48–51
 strategic approaches to, 48–51
 constitutions. *See* state constitutions, state
 constitutionalism and
 contestation of rights, 229–31
 Contract Clause, in US Constitution, 65, 82
 eminent domain under, 65–66
 liberty of contract, 103
 morals regulations and, 142
 restriction of state regulatory authority
 and, 68

- private property under, 65–66
- property rights under, 69–70
- state authority under, 65–66
- contract rights
 - during *Lochner* era Supreme Court, 88–95
 - police power and, 43
- Cooley, Thomas, 42, 95, 126, 180–81
- Cornell, Saul, 205–6
- countermajoritarian mechanisms
 - during *Lochner* era Supreme Court, 86–87
 - during Progressive era, 100
 - state constitutions as, 32–33, 101
- Covid-19 pandemic
 - due process during, 210
 - First Amendment and, 160
 - Jacobson v. Massachusetts*, 159
 - police power and, 158–62
 - public health regulation during, 158–62, 169–70, 308–10
 - First Amendment protections, 160
 - legal reasoning for, 160–61
 - sic utere* principle and, 286–87
 - state constitutional power during, 5
 - scope of, 160
 - separation of powers, 175–76
- culture wars, 149–50
- Cushman, Barry, 108–9

- Dartmouth College* cases, 63–64
- De Mortibus Maris* (Lord Hale), 71–72
- Declaration of Independence, 18
- Declaration of Rights, in Pennsylvania state constitution, 20
- Delaware
 - Bill of Rights, 23
 - state constitution in, 29
- delegation. *See* administrative bureaucracy and
 - power, delegation of; nondelegation doctrine
- democracy, 327–29
 - state constitutions and
 - legislative supremacy in, 25
 - representative democracy and, 24–25, 93–94
- DeShaney v. Winnebago County*, 305–6
- Devlin, John, 175
- Devlin, Lord, 142
- Dillon, John, 181, 196
- disclosure regulations, 320
- discrimination cases
 - Plessy v. Ferguson*, 7, 71, 74, 91–94, 289
 - Harlan dissent in, 92–94, 244–45
 - Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 92
- District of Columbia v. Heller*, 205, 299–300
- Diver, Colin, 243

- Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization*, 141, 224
- Dubber, Markus, 7, 60, 310
- due process, 208–11
 - during Covid-19 pandemic, 210
 - restriction of state regulatory authority and, 68
- Due Process Clause, of Fourteenth Amendment, 146
- Dunning–Kruger effect, 328
- duty of public care, 186
- Dworkin, Ronald, 142
- dynamic federalism, 270–76
 - education policies and, 272
 - health policies and, 272
- dynamic police power, 270–76

- early legislative policies, in US, 67–68
 - common law traditions and, 68
 - natural law principles and, 67–68
 - positive law and, 68
 - purpose of, 68
 - sic utere* principle in, 68
 - statutory lawmaking, 67
- education, right to, 228
- education policy, 272
- Eisenstadt v. Baird*, 145–46
- Ellickson, Robert, 153–54
- Ely, John Hart, 249
- Emergency Powers of the Governor Act of 1945 (Michigan), US, 176
- Emerson, Blake, 186
- eminent domain
 - under Contract Clause, 65–66
 - Holmes on, 102
 - Horwitz on, 128
 - jus publicum* principle and, 101–5
 - Pennsylvania Coal v. Mahon*, 86, 101, 102–4, 128
 - Kohler Act and, 103
 - takings law and, 103–4
 - police power and, 101–5
 - during Progressive era, 101–5
 - property rights and, 214–15
 - salus populi* principle and, 152
 - in urban settings, 152
- Eminent Domain clause, in US Constitution, 65
- The End of Liberalism* (Lowi), 190
- environmental protection policies, 300–2
 - Flint water crisis and, 301
 - new governance traditions, 300–1
- environmental racism, 300
- equal protection, right to, 208–11
 - animus and, 245
- Erie Canal, construction of, 65
- Ernst, Daniel, 188, 197–98

- Euclidean zoning, 118–21
- executive powers, in state constitutions, 19, 201
- unbundled executive power, 174
- expertise, 327–29
- in administrative bureaucracy and power, 188–93
- skepticism of, 190–91
- Federal Communications Act, US (1934), 262
- Federal Communications Commission, 88
- Federal Trade Commission Act, US, 262
- federalism, federal power and
- American constitutionalism and, 276–78
- Articles of Federation, 51–52
- Brown v. Maryland*, 53
- dynamic, 270–76
- education policies and, 272
- health policies and, 272
- expansion of, 270
- Gibbons v. Ogden*, 52
- McCulloch v. Maryland*, 53
- during New Deal era, 263
- New York v. Miln*, 53–54
- opportunistic, 272–73
- over commerce issues, 54–55
- police power and, 51–55
- conceptual approach to, 261–62
- dynamic, 270–76
- expansion of, 262–66
- Major Questions Doctrine, 266
- national, 266–70
- salus populi* principle and, 265–66
- principal-agent formulation, 273–74
- “separate spheres” analysis of, 270–71
- Federalist Papers* (Hamilton and Madison), 105
- infrastructure in, 64–65
- state constitutionalism in, 18, 22, 36, 230
- Feinberg, Joel, 142
- Field, Stephen (Justice), 211
- Finnis, John, 142
- First Amendment
- during Covid-19 pandemic, 160
- free speech and, 203–5
- individual rights under, 202–5, 206–7
- Lochnerism and, 11
- morals regulations and, 143
- Fishkin, Joey, 109–10
- Fiss, Owen, 124
- Fleming, James, 167
- Fletcher, George, 142
- Fletcher v. Peck*, 69–70
- Flint water crisis, 301
- Food & Drug Safety Act, US, 262
- Forbath, William, 109–10
- Forbes’ Case*, 80–81, 250–51
- formalism, 96
- Foucault, Michel, 7, 310
- Fourteenth Amendment, 70–71, 109–10, 226–29
- Due Process Clause of, 146
- original meaning of, 96
- Frankfurter, Felix (Justice), 72, 204
- Franklin, Ben, 26
- Freund, Ernst, 42, 60, 87, 114, 188, 197–98
- on localism of police power, 181–82
- on police power, 138
- Friedman, Barry, 305, 306–7
- Friends of Danny Devito v. Wolf*, 159
- Frug, Gerald, 182–83
- gambling, morals regulation of, 140–41
- Gardner, James, 2–3
- George, Robert, 142
- Georgia Lactation Consultant Practice Act, US, 237
- Gerken, Heather, 183, 271, 275
- Gestle, Gary, 20, 220
- Gibbons v. Ogden*, 52, 264–65, 308
- Gillman, Howard, 90, 109–10, 125
- Gluck, Abbe, 271
- Godkin, Edwin, 106
- Goldberg, Suzanne, 139
- Goldberg v. Kelly*, 212
- Gomillion v. Lightfoot*, 249
- Gonzales v. Raich*, 267
- Gorsuch, Neil (Justice), 178–79, 308–9
- governance structures. *See also* regulatory governance; *specific topics*
- analysis of, 331–32
- authoritarianism concerns and, 310–13
- as control mechanism, 310–13
- Grad, Frank, 137
- Granger laws, 71
- Great Britain
- constitutionalism in, 29
- legal philosophy and thought in, 68
- US colonies’ relationship with, 18
- Great Society, 11
- Gregory v. Ashcroft*, 265
- Griswold v. Connecticut*, 145–46
- guns and firearms, regulation of, 297–300
- District of Columbia v. Heller*, 205, 299–300
- New York State Rifle & Pistol Ass’n v. Bruen*, 205, 298–300
- public opinion on, 298
- Supreme Court and, 298–300
- Gunther, Gerald, 241

- Hale, Lord, 71–72
- Hamilton, Alexander, 22, 201, 272–73. *See also* Bill of Rights; *Federalist Papers* (Hamilton and Madison); rights, individual, in US Constitution
- Hand, Learned, 201
- Harlan, John (Justice), 90–91, 241, 242
Plessy v. Ferguson dissent, 92–94, 244–45
- harm principle, 139–40
- Hart, H. L. A., 142
- Hart, Henry, 251
- Hartog, Dirk, 196
- Hawaii Housing Authority v. Midkiff*, 152
- health care, right to, 228
- health policies, 272
- heuristics, 326
- Hohfeld, John Wesley, 197–98
- Holmes, Oliver Wendell (Justice), 72, 97–98, 201
 on eminent domain, 102
- home rule mechanisms, for police power, 181–82
- Honore, Tony, 142
- Horwitz, Morton, 81, 103, 122, 128
 on eminent domain, 128
- housing policies
 access and affordability mechanisms, 291–96
 zoning laws and, 291–93
 construction prohibitions under, 292
 criticism of, 294
 NIMBY movement, 293
 YIMBY movement, 293, 294
- Hulseboch, Daniel, 36
- Hunter* decision, 180–81
- Hurst, J. Willard, 8, 61–62
- hyper-localism, police power and, 183–84
- Illinois Central Railroad v. Illinois*, 100
- imperium in imperio* concept, 181, 182
- In re Abbott*, 159–60
- In re Tahiti Bar*, 144
- incentive-based regulations, 320–21
- individual rights. *See* rights, individual, in US Constitution
- infrastructure
 in *Federalist Papers*, 64–65
 modern examples of, 163
 Novak on, 64
 police power and, 64–67
 during Progressive era through massive public investment, 87–88
 as public policy, 64–67
 public rights to, 64
 Scheiber on, 65
 wealth inequality and, 302–5
- initiative lawmaking, 106
- International News Service v. Associated Press*, 97–98
- interpretation, judicial
 legal canon for, 250–51
 of constitutional avoidance, 250
 during Legal Process era, 251
 for police power, 250–51
 presumptions in, 250–51
- Interstate Commerce Act, US, 262–63
- Issacharoff, Sam, 249
- Jacobson v. Massachusetts*, 94–95, 114, 159, 308
- Jefferson, Thomas, 28, 38
- Jew Ho v. Williamson*, 113
- judicial intervention
 in common law traditions, 30, 31–32
 individual rights and, 203
 during Lochner era Supreme Court, 86–87
 state constitutions and, 31–32
- judicial review
Calder v. Bull and, 221
 in common law traditions, 30–32, 69
 establishment of, 68–72
 individual rights and, 221–23
Marbury v. Madison, 30–31, 221
 self-dealing and, 249
 state constitutions and, 30–32
 in US Constitution, 81–82
- jus publicum* principle, 69–70
 eminent domain and, 101–5
 during Lochner era Supreme Court, 106–7
 nuisance laws and, 61
 during Progressive era, 100
 public rights and, 63
- Kahn, Alfred, 319
- Kahneman, Daniel, 326
- Kelo v. City of New London*, 71, 152, 218
- Kendrick, Leslie, 246
- Kennedy, Anthony (Justice), 146, 147, 245
- Kennedy, Duncan, 96
- Kohler Act, US, 103
- Kovacs v. Cooper*, 134
- labor laws
 National Labor Relations Act, 88, 262
 under National Labor Relations Act, 88
 during Progressive era, 88
- laissez faire constitutionalism, 84–87
 Lochner era Supreme Court and, 84–87, 107–11
 police power and, 107–11
The Slaughterhouse Cases, 95
- land use regulations, police power and, 153
- lawmaking. *See* early legislative policies, in US

- Lawrence v. Texas*, 146, 245–46, 247–48
- Lawton v. Steele*, 113
- Lee, Sophia, 134–35
- Legal Process era, 251
- Legal Realism movement, 108
- legislative powers, of states, under state constitutions, 19
- legislative skepticism, 73
 - initiative lawmaking and, 106–7
 - jus publicum* principle and, 106–7
 - during *Lochner* era Supreme Court, 105–7
 - during post-Reconstruction era, 93
 - during Reconstruction era, 86
- LGBTQ+ populations
 - animus against, 247–48
 - Bostock v. Clayton County*, 247–48
 - Lawrence v. Texas*, 146, 245–46, 247–48
 - moral regulations and, 149–50
 - Obergefell v. Hodges*, 147–48, 247–48
 - Romer v. Evans*, 147, 245–46, 247–48
 - United States v. Windsor*, 247–48
- liability rule, in takings law, 324
- liberal theory, American constitutionalism and, 28–29
- libertarian constitutionalism, 86–87, 142
- liberty of contract, 103
 - restriction of state regulatory authority and, 68
- liberty rights, 28–32
 - presumption of liberty, 193–94
- The License Cases*, 60, 70, 89
- Lincoln, Abraham, 329
- Linde, Hans, 98–99
- Lindsley v. Natural Carbonic Gas Co.*, 115
- Lingle v. Chevron*, 217
- Liquormart v. Rhode Island*, 144
- Little Rock v. Arkansas*, 169
- localism, of police power, 180–84
 - arguments for, 183
 - disadvantages in, 183–84
 - home rule mechanisms, 181–82
 - hyper-localism, 183–84
 - imperium in imperio* concept, 181, 182
 - in nineteenth century, 181–82
 - origins of, 180
 - skepticism of, 184
- Lochner* era, for US Supreme Court, 255–56
 - conceptual approach to, 84–87
 - contract rights during, 88–95
 - countermajoritarian elements during, 86–87
 - individual rights during, 201, 204–5
 - Jacobson v. Massachusetts*, 94–95, 114
 - judicial intervention during, 86–87
 - jus publicum* principle during, 106–7
 - laissez faire* constitutionalism and, 84–87, 107–11
 - legislative skepticism during, 105–7
 - Mugler v. Kansas*, 89–91, 93–94, 125, 131–32
 - Munn v. Illinois*, 8, 71, 72, 74, 89, 131–32
 - Plessy v. Ferguson*, 7, 71, 74, 91–94, 289
 - Harlan dissent in, 92–94, 244–45
 - property rights during, 88–95
 - regulatory takings law, 86
 - state-building during, 84
 - zoning laws and, 118–21
- Lochner v. New York*, 84, 107–8
- Locke, John, 224–26, 235
- Londoner v. Denver*, 210
- Lowi, Theodore, 190
- Lucas v. South Carolina Coastal Council*, 214–15
- Lutz, Donald, 3, 18
 - on consent theory, 23
- Madison, James, 18, 28, 38, 272–73. *See also* Bill of Rights; *Federalist Papers* (Hamilton and Madison); rights, individual, in US Constitution
 - on tyranny, 203
- Major Questions Doctrine, 191–92
 - federalism and, 266
 - police power and, 266
- majoritarianism. *See* countermajoritarian mechanisms
- Mansfield & Swett v. Town of W. Orange*, 119, 121
- Marbury v. Madison*, 30–31, 69
 - judicial review and, 221
- Marshall, John (Chief Justice), 52, 267, 297
- Marshfield, Jonathan, 164, 177–78
 - on nondelegation doctrine, 178–79
- Marvin v. Trout*, 140–41
- Massachusetts, Contract Clause in, 65–66
- Masterpiece Cakeshop v. Colorado*, 245–46
- Matthews v. Eldridge*, 212
- McCormack, Bridget, 178–79
- McCulloch v. Maryland*, 53, 269
- McQuillin, Eugene, 180
- Members of the Medical Licensing Board of Indiana, et al. v. Planned Parenthood Great Northwest*, 224
- Merrill, Thomas, 213
- Michelman, Frank, 213
- Michigan
 - Emergency Powers of the Governor Act of 1945, 176
 - Flint water crisis, 301
 - nondelegation doctrine in, 176–77
- Mill, John Stuart, 139–40
- Minnesota Rate Case*, 131–32
- Mississippi, zoning laws in, 130
- morals regulations

- for abortion, 141
- for adult entertainment, 143
 - judicial evaluation of, 144
- for alcohol and drug consumption, 140, 144, 148
- through animal welfare laws, 150
- under Commerce Clause, 140–41
- criminalization of sex work, 148–49
- culture wars and, 149–50
- First Amendment and, 143
- for gambling, 140–41
- harm principle and, 139–40
- individual liberty and, 141–42
 - Bill of Rights and, 145–46
 - libertarian constitutionalism and, 142
 - liberty of contract and, 142
- legitimacy of, 142–43
- against LGBTQ+ populations, 149–50
- Mill on, 139–40
- Novak on, 138–39
- police power and, 138, 150–51
- public indecency statutes, 166
- for public safety, 145
- under Restatement (Second) of Torts, 145
- scope of, 139–40
- sic utere* principle and, 139–40, 142–43, 144–45
- in state constitutions, 137
 - origins of, 137–38
- Mugler v. Kansas*, 89–91, 93–94, 125, 131–32
- Muller v. Oregon*, 108–9
- Munn v. Illinois*, 8, 71, 72, 74, 89, 131–32

- Nachbar, Thomas, 258
- National Complete Streets Coalition, 297
- National Labor Relations Act, US (1935), 88, 262
- national police power, 266–70
- National Pork Producers Council v. Ross*, 265
- natural law
 - Banner on, 81, 82–83, 73
 - police power and, 73
- natural rights, 58, 78, 81, 223–26
 - in Bill of Rights, 223–24
 - Locke on, 224–26, 235
 - police power compared to, 227–28
 - property and, 73
- Nebbia v. New York*, 84–85, 108–9, 237
- Nedelsky, Jennifer, 24, 126
- negative rights, 220
- New Deal, 11, 134–35, 262–63
 - administrative bureaucracy under, 189, 190
 - federalist expansion during, 263
 - Second New Deal, 262
- New Hampshire
 - lack of chief executive in, 20
 - state constitution for, 82–83
- New Jersey
 - state constitution of, 136
 - zoning laws in, 119–20
- New York
 - Forbes' Case*, 80–81
 - state constitution for, 201
- New York State Rifle & Pistol Ass'n v. Bruen*, 205, 298–300
- New York v. United States*, 261
- Newsom, Gavin, 271
- NFIB v. Sebelius*, 269–70
- NIMBY movement, 293
- Ninth Amendment, 226–29
- nondelegation doctrine, 176–79
 - administrative power limits under, 188
 - Major Questions Doctrine and, 191–92
 - Supreme Court support for, 191
- Novak, William J., 42
 - on morals regulations, 138–39
 - on police power, 7–8, 76, 122
 - on positive rights, 236
 - on rights to public infrastructure, 64
 - on *salus populi* principle, 58, 125–26
 - on state constitutional rights, 220
- nudges, 326–27
- nuisance laws
 - jus publicum* principle and, 61
 - moral nuisance, 145
 - police power and, 79
 - public infrastructure and, 79
 - Restatement (Second) of Torts, 145
 - sic utere* principle and, 56, 57
- Nussim, Jacob, 322

- Obergefell v. Hodges*, 147–48, 247–48
- occupational licensing
 - police power and, 157–58
 - Uniform Bar Exam and, 158
- O'Connor, Sandra Day (Justice), 146–47, 217–18
- Oklahoma, state constitution of, 136
- “On Participation” (Pitkin and Shumer), 184
- O'Neal, Emmett, 105
- opportunistic federalism, 272–73
- originalist interpretations, of state
 - constitutions, 164

- Paine, Thomas, 203, 223
- Parment, Wendy, 169–70
- patria potestas*, 45
- Pearson, Susan, 84
- Penn Central* case, 214, 215–16, 233
- Pennsylvania
 - Declaration of Rights, 20
 - state constitution in, 29

- Pennsylvania Coal v. Mahon*
 eminent domain and, 86, 101, 102–4, 128
 Kohler Act and, 103
 takings law and, 103–4, 128
- People ex rel LeRoy v. Hurlbut*, 180–81
- People v. Adams*, 159
- The People's Welfare* (Novak), 7–8, 76
 public morality in, 138–39
- performance-based regulations, 321
- Pigovian taxes, 321–22
- Pildes, Richard, 249
- Pitkin, Hannah Fenichel, 184
- Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, 146–47
- Plessy v. Ferguson*, 7, 71, 74, 91–94, 289
 Harlan dissent in, 92–94, 244–45
- Poe v. Ullman*, 241
- police power. *See also* federalism, federal power and; localism, of police power; *salus populi* principle; *sic utere* principle; *specific cases*; *specific topics*
 Blackstone on, 45–46, 60
Brick Presbyterian Church v. Mayor of New York, 56–57
Brown v. Maryland, 26
 in *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 45
Commonwealth v. Alger, 58–60, 79–80
 conceptual approach to, 1–11, 158–62
 analysis of, 331–32
 contract rights and, 43
 as control mechanism, 45–46
 Covid-19 pandemic and, 158–62
 early legislative lawmaking as influence on, 67–68
 eminent domain and, 101–5
 expansion of, 10
 federalism and, 51–55
 Fourteenth Amendment and, 70–71
 Freund on, 138
 general welfare protections and, 55–64
Gibbons v. Ogden, 52
 historical development of, 45
 history of, 3–5
 role of Supreme Court in, 3–4
 as household management, 46
 infrastructure and, 64–67
 judicial interpretation of, 250–51
laissez faire constitutionalism and, 107–11
The License Cases, 60, 89
 litigation over, 4
 morals regulations and, 138, 150–51
 national, 266–70
 natural law and, 73
 natural rights compared to, 227–28
 Novak on, 7–8, 76, 122
 nuisance laws and, 79
 obscurity of, 178–79
 occupational licensing and, 157–58
 during post-Reconstruction era, 88–95, 124
 practical purpose of, 6–7
 private property and, 101
 property rights and, 43
 public health regulation and, 158–62, 169–70
 public works and, 64–67
 during Reconstruction era, 72–75
 regulatory takings doctrine, 104–5
salus populi principle and, 62, 63, 152
 federalism and, 265–66
The Slaughterhouse Cases, 70–71, 90, 125
 as social control mechanism, 46
 state constitutions and, 72, 228
 as core component of, 2
 structural approaches to, 5
 in urban settings, 151–57
 eminent domain issues, 152
 for land use regulations, 153
 for tenant protection, 155
 zoning laws, 153–56
- Vanderbilt v. Ames*, 63
 “wicked problems” and, 193
 zoning laws and, 121–22
- police power national, 266–70
- political rights, 213
- political skepticism
 state constitutions and, 18, 25–28, 36–37
 Wood on, 26, 86
- popular sovereignty, through state constitutions, 22–24
 constitutional structure, 125
 good governance and, 23–24
 in post-revolutionary era, 23
- positive rights, 226–29
 Novak on, 236
 public safety policies and, 306
 right to education, 228
 right to health care, 228
sic utere principle and, 228–29
- Post, Robert, 3
- post-Reconstruction era. *See also* Lochner era, for US Supreme Court; Progressive era
 administrative policy during, 87–95
 collective welfare policy, 93
 legislative skepticism during, 93
 national legislation policy during, 87–95
 expansion of, 88
 for police power, 88–95, 124
 in Supreme Court cases, 88–95
 property rights during, 93, 211

- reasonableness standards during, 111–16
- unreasonable statutes during, 93
- Pound, Dean Roscoe, 197–98
- power, structuring of, 193–94
- Precautionary Principle, 288
- preemption, 269–70
- presumption of liberty, 193–94
- Primus, Richard, 279–80
- private law
 - public law compared to, 9
 - sic utere* principle in, 55
- private property law
 - in classic common law traditions, 69–70
 - under Contract Clause, 65–66
 - police power and, 101–5
 - during Progressive era, 98–99, 127
 - under state constitutions, 37, 38
- privilege-no right, 197–98
- proceduralist review, of arbitrariness, 243
- Progressive era. *See also* Lochner era, for US Supreme Court
 - administrative policy during, 87–95
 - Bureau of Animal Industry, 88
 - countermajoritarian instruments during, 100
 - eminent domain during, 101–5
 - Federal Communications Commission, 88
 - jus publicum* principle during, 100
 - labor laws during, 88
 - massive public investment during, 87–88
 - national legislation policy during, 87–95
 - expansion of, 88
 - for police power, 88–95, 124
 - in Supreme Court cases, 88–95
 - private property rights during, 98–99, 127
 - property rights during, 211
 - public trust doctrine, 100
 - public welfare policy during, 185, 186–87
 - reasonableness standards during, 111–16
 - salus populi* principle during, 63
 - sic utere* principle during, 63
 - takings law during, 101
- Progressivism, 47–48
- property, definition of, 103
- property rights, 211–18. *See also* private property law; zoning laws
 - Agins v. Tiburon*, 214, 215–16
 - under Contracts Clause, 69–70
 - eminent domain and, 214–15
 - freedom to use, 56
 - International News Service v. Associated Press*, 97–98
 - The License Cases*, 60, 70
 - during Lochner era Supreme Court, 88–95
 - during modern era, 212–13
 - natural rights and, 73
 - Penn Central* case, 214, 215–16, 233
 - police power and, 43
 - political rights and, 213
 - during post-Reconstruction era, 93, 211
 - during Progressive era, 211
 - reconfiguration of, 211–12
 - salus populi* principle and, 215
 - under state constitutions, 28–32
 - private property protections, 37, 38
 - takings cases, 214–15, 216–18
 - Pruneyard Shopping Center v. Robins*, 216–17
 - public choice theory, 318–19
 - public health regulation
 - during Covid-19 pandemic, 158–62, 169–70, 308–10
 - First Amendment protections, 160
 - legal reasoning for, 160–61
 - Little Rock v. Arkansas*, 169
 - police power and, 158–62
 - public indecency statutes, 166
 - public interest, 72
 - public law, private law compared to, 9
 - public meaning, of constitutions, 48–51, 77
 - public purpose requirement, 106
 - public rights, 28
 - jus publicum* principle and, 63
 - public safety policies
 - citizen safety and, 145, 296–97
 - as positive right, 306
 - reimagination of, 305–8
 - public trust doctrine
 - during Progressive era, 100
 - public welfare policy and, 185
 - state constitutions and, 28
 - “public use”
 - eminent domain and, 13
 - in takings cases, 11
 - public welfare policy, requirements of, 185–88
 - common good constitutionalism, 186–87
 - cost-benefit analysis of, 186
 - development of, 185
 - as duty of public care, 186
 - during Progressive era, 185, 186–87
 - public trust doctrine and, 185
 - salus populi* principle and, 288–91
 - Vermeule on, 186–87
 - public works, police power and, 64–67
 - Raffensberger v. Jackson*, 237–39, 257
 - Rakove, Jack, 36–37, 201
 - Randolph, Edmund, 26
 - ratemaking authorities, 131–32
 - rational choice theory, 32

- Rawls, John, 167–68
- Reaching our Sisters Everywhere (ROSE), 237
- Reagan, Ronald, 135
- reasonableness standards, 240–42, 260
- judicial review and, 240–41
 - during post-Reconstruction era, 111–16
 - during Progressive era, 111–16
- Reconstruction amendments, 264
- salus populi* principle and, 289
- Reconstruction era. *See also*
- post-Reconstruction era
 - legislative skepticism during, 86
 - police power at end of, 72–75
- Redish, Martin, 204
- regulatory governance. *See also* takings law
- administered constitutionalism and, 134–35
 - anti-administrativism and, 135
 - conceptual approach to, 283–85
 - intervention techniques
 - classic models, 318–21
 - command-and-control regulations, 322
 - disclosure regulations, 320
 - incentive-based regulations, 320–21
 - performance-based regulations, 321
 - taxation, 321–23
 - modern approaches to, 133–36, 162–63
 - New Deal policies, 134–35
 - nudges in, 326–27
 - heuristics and, 326
 - public choice theory, 318–19
 - public faith in, 135
 - rights revolution and, 136
 - at state level, 134–35
 - growth of, 134–35
 - regulatory takings doctrine, 104–5
 - Lochner era Supreme Court, 86
- Rehnquist, William (Chief Justice), 267
- Reich, Charles, 212
- Renton v. Playtime Theatres*, 143
- representative democracy, 24–25, 93–94
- Restatement (Second) of Torts, 145
- right to education. *See* education, right to
- right to health care. *See* health care, right to
- rights, individual, in US Constitution, 68–72. *See also* property rights; *specific rights*
- in Bill of Rights, 69–70, 81–82, 201
 - in Delaware, 23
 - morals regulation and, 145–46
 - natural rights, 223–24
 - “boundary picking” and, 108–9, 201
 - Campbell on, 203–4, 207
 - conceptual approach to, 200–8
 - contestation of, 229–31
 - definition of, 229–31
- due process, 208–11
 - during Covid-19 pandemic, 210
 - restriction of state regulatory authority and, 68
 - to equal protection, 208–11
 - expansion of, 202
 - federal power and, 201
 - under First Amendment, 202–3, 206–7
 - during Covid-19 pandemic, 160
 - free speech, 203–5
 - Lochnerism and, 11
 - morals regulations and, 143
 - judicial intervention and, 203
 - judicial review and, 221–23
 - during Lochner era of Supreme Court, 201, 204–5
 - during modern era, 230–31
 - natural, 58, 78, 81, 223–26
 - in Bill of Rights, 223–24
 - Locke on, 224–26, 235
 - police power compared to, 227–28
 - property and, 73
 - negative rights, 220
 - original forms of, 201
 - political, 213
 - positive, 226–29
 - Novak on, 236
 - public safety policies and, 306
 - right to education, 228
 - right to health care, 228
 - sic utere* principle and, 228–29
 - salus populi* principle and, 204, 207
 - under Second Amendment, 206–7
 - under state constitutions
 - form of, 219–21
 - function of, 219–21
 - individual rights in, 219
 - as trump of federal power, 207–8
- rights revolution, 136
- Roberts, John (Chief Justice), 233, 247, 269–70
- Rodriguez, Cristina, 183
- Roe v. Wade*, 141, 145–46
- Romer v. Evans*, 147, 245–46, 247–48
- ROSE. *See* Reaching our Sisters Everywhere (ROSE)
- Rossi, James, 63–64
- rule of law, 188–93
- Sacks, Albert, 251
- safety policies. *See* public safety policies
- salus populi* principle, 9, 10
- arbitrariness and, 244
 - eminent domain and, 152
 - individual rights and, 204, 207

- Novak on, 58, 125–26
 police power and, 62, 63, 152, 288–91
 federalism and, 265–66
 during Progressive era, 63
 property rights and, 215
 public welfare and, 288–91
 Reconstruction amendments and, 289
 zoning laws and, 117–18, 119
- Sanders, Anthony, 223
- Sassen, Saskia, 182–83
- Sato, Sho, 182
- Sax, Joseph, 216–17
- Scalia, Antonin (Justice), 174–75, 205
- Schad v. Mount Ephraim*, 143
- Scheiber, Harry, 8, 42, 72, 238, 324–25
 on infrastructure construction, 65
- Schleicher, David, 292
- Schmitt, Carl, 51
- Schragger, Richard, 182–83
- Schwartzman, Micah, 246
- Second Amendment, 206–7, 298–300. *See also*
 guns and firearms, regulation of
- Second New Deal, 262
- Securities & Exchange Acts, US, 262
- Seifter, Miriam, 175, 198
- self-dealing, 248–50
 judicial review and, 249
 skepticism of, 249–50
- self-enforcing equilibrium, 32–33
- “separate spheres” analysis, of
 federalism, 270–71
- separation of powers, in state constitutions, 88,
 166, 173–79
 during Covid-19 pandemic, 175–76
 nondelegation doctrine, 176–77, 178–79
 of plenary power, 174
 statutory interpretation of, 176
 unbundled executive power, 174
- sex work, criminalization of, 148–49
- SFAA v. Harvard*, 209
- SFAA v. U. North Carolina*, 209
- Shapiro, Martin, 165
- Shaw, Lemuel (Justice), 106–7
- Sherman Antitrust Act, US, 262
- Shill, Gregory, 296–97
- Shoked, Nadav, 184
- Shumer, Sara, 184
- sic utere* principle, 69–70, 285–88
 arbitrariness and, 244
 Brick Presbyterian Church v. Mayor of New
 York, 56–57
 in common law, 55
 during Covid-19 pandemic, 286–87
 damage and, 286
 in early lawmaking, 68
 morals regulations and, 139–40, 142–43,
 144–45
 nuisance laws and, 56, 57
 positive rights and, 228–29
 Precautionary Principle, 288
 in private law, 55
 during Progressive era, 63
 tort law and, 91, 286–87
 Vanderbilt v. Adams, 57
- skepticism
 of administrative bureaucracy, 190–91
 of expertise, 190–91
 legislative, 73
 during Reconstruction era, 86
 of localism of police power, 184
 political
 of state constitutions, 18, 25–28, 36–37, 86
 Wood on, 26, 86
 of self-dealing, 249–50
 of zoning laws, 156
- Skowronek, Stephen, 262
- The Slaughterhouse Cases*
 laissez faire constitutionalism and, 95
 police power in, 70–71, 90, 125
- Smart America, 297
- Smith, Adam, 45
- Smith, Henry, 213
- social control, through police power, 46
- Sotomayor, Sonia (Justice), 247
- Souter, David (Justice), 242, 266–67
- special purpose authorities, 189–90
- Spencer, Herbert, 204
- state constitutions, state constitutionalism and.
 See also specific states
 amendments to, 74, 125
 British constitutionalism and, 29
 common law traditions and, 30–31, 55–64
 judicial intervention, 30, 31–32, 179
 judicial review, 30–32
 conceptual approach to, 137
 consent principles in, 22–24
 evolution of, 23
 good governance in, 23–24
 Constitutional Convention, 22, 26
 as countermajoritarian mechanism, 32–33, 101
 during Covid-19 pandemic, 5
 scope of constitutional powers, 160
 democracy and
 legislative supremacy, 25
 representative, 24–25, 93–94
 executive powers under, 19, 201
 failure of, 2–3
 Federalist Papers and, 18, 22, 36, 230

- state constitutions, state constitutionalism (cont.)
 good governance through, 3, 32–35
 consent principles and, 23–24
 as project, 34–35
 individual rights in, 219
 legislative powers under, 19
 limits on, 26–27
 separation of, 88, 166
 length and stability of, 32
 Major Questions Doctrine and, 191–92
 modern developments in, 136–51, 162–63
 governance strategies, 137
 morals regulation, 137–38
 positive rights, 136–37
 morals regulations in, 137
 origins of, 137–38
 Novak on, 220
 objectives of, 2, 3
 originalist approach to, 164
 police power and, 72, 228
 as core component of constitutions, 2
 political strategy and, 48–51
 popular sovereignty through, 22–24
 through constitutional structure, 125
 good governance and, 23–24
 in post-revolutionary era, 23
 property rights and, 28–32
 private property protections, 37, 38
 public meaning of, 48–51, 77
 public rights and, 28
 public trust doctrine and, 28
 purpose of, 17–18, 48–51
 reform as constitutional reset, 25–28
 through skepticism, 86
 renaissance for, 98–99
 representation and, 24–25
 democracy and, 93–94
 during revolutionary era, 18–22
 active governance as goal of, 20, 201
 colonials' connection to Great Britain, 18, 29
 constitutions as instruments of governance, 21
 early framers of state constitutions, 18–20, 21
 political legacy of, 21–22
 right to liberty, 28–32
 separation of powers in, 88, 166, 173–79
 during Covid-19 pandemic, 175–76
 nondelegation doctrine, 176–77, 178–79
 plenary power, 174
 statutory interpretation of, 176
 unbundled executive power, 174
 skepticism of, 18, 25–28, 36–37
 Wood on, 26, 86
 structure of, 25–28
 popular sovereignty through, 125
 subordination in, 22–24
 Tarr on, 18, 29, 36, 41, 266
 on changes in state constitutions, 136, 220
 theories for, 2–3
 political, 63–64
 rational choice theory, 32
 US Constitution as foundational influence
 on, 2–3
 state regulatory authority, restriction of
 through due process, 68
 through liberty of contact, 68
State v. Reid, 206
 state-building, during *Lochner* era Supreme
 Court, 84
 Stevens, John Paul, 146
 subordination, in state
 constitutions, 22–24
 Sunstein, Cass, 248, 288, 326
 Supremacy Clause, 53
 Supreme Court, US. *See also* *Lochner* era, for
 US Supreme Court; *specific cases*
 gun regulation and, 298–300
 history of police power and, 3–4
 Major Questions Doctrine and, 191
 nondelegation doctrine and, 191
 during post-Reconstruction era, 88–95
 Sutton, Jeff, 31, 137, 181–82, 219
 synoptic review, of arbitrariness, 243
 takings law, 230, 323–26. *See also specific cases*
 liability rule, 324
 during Progressive era, 101
 property rights and, 214–15, 216–18
 “public use” in, 11, 71
 Taney, Roger B. (Chief Justice), 60, 70
 Tarr, Alan, 18, 29, 36, 41, 266
 on state constitutional changes, 136, 220
 taxation, 321–23
 Pigovian taxes, 321–22
 Taylor, Frederick Winslow, 189
 tenant protections, police power and, 155
 Tenth Amendment, 51–52, 54, 226–29
Terminiello v. Chicago, 202–3
Texas v. Johnson, 202–3
 Thaler, Richard, 326
 Thayer, James Bradley (Justice), 201
A Theory of Justice (Rawls), 167–68
Thomas v. Smith, 121
Thorpe v. Rutland & Burlington Railroad Co.,
 63–64
Thurlow v. Massachusetts, 140
 Tiebout, Charles, 274
 Tiedeman, Christopher, 42, 100, 125–26
 Tomlins, Christopher, 7, 80, 310

- tort law
 general welfare protections under, 55–64
 Restatement (Second) of Torts, 145
sic utere principle and, 91, 286–87
- transportation policies, 296–97
 National Complete Streets Coalition, 297
 Smart America, 297
- Tribe, Laurence, 108
- Trump v. Hawaii*, 247
- Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 82
- Tversky, Amos, 326
- tyranny, Madison on, 203
- Uniform Bar Exam, 158
- United States (US). *See also* Constitution, US; constitutionalism; New Deal; state constitutions, state constitutionalism and; Supreme Court, US; *specific states; specific topics*
- Administrative Procedure Act, 116, 262–63
- Affordable Care Act, 268, 269–70
- Bureau of Animal Industry, 88
- culture wars in, 149–50
- Declaration of Independence, 18
- Federal Communications Act, 262
- Federal Communications Commission, 88
- Federal Trade Commission Act, 262
- Food & Drug Safety Act, 262
- Interstate Commerce Act, 262–63
- Kohler Act, 103
- National Labor Relations Act, 88, 262
- Securities & Exchange Acts, 262
- Sherman Antitrust Act, 262
- Voting Rights Act of 1965, 290
- United States Dep't of Agriculture v. Moreno*, 244–45
- United States v. Lopez*, 261, 265
- United States v. Morrison*, 261, 266–67
- United States v. Windsor*, 247–48, 265
- urban blight, 153
- Urofsky, Melvin, 127
- US. *See* United States (US)
- Vanderbilt v. Adams*, 57
- Vanderbilt v. Ames*, 63
- Vattel, Emer de, 45, 310
- Vermeule, Adrian, 63–64, 186–87
- vested rights, 65, 96
- Village of Belle Terre v. Boraas*, 153
- Virginia
 state constitution in, 23
 zoning laws in, 121
- Virginia v. Black*, 203
- Voting Rights Act of 1965, US, 290
- Waldron, Jeremy, 207–8
- Washington v. Davis*, 290
- Washington v. Glucksburg*, 241–42
- water law doctrines, 100
- wealth inequality, infrastructure and, 302–5
- Weber, Max, 189
- Weingast, Barry, 59
- Weisbach, David, 322
- West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*, 84–85
- Whiggish political theory, 139–40
- White, G. Edward, 44
- White, Ted, 77, 108–9, 201, 238
- Whitmer, Gretchen, 176
- Wickard v. Filburn*, 267
- “wicked problems,” police power and, 193
- Williams, Robert, 26, 137
- Williamson v. Lee Optical*, 237–38, 255–56
- Wilson, James, 38
- Wisconsin Legislature v. Evers*, 176
- Wood, Gordon, 18, 20, 24–25, 26, 86
- Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 92, 202, 244–45
- YIMBY movement, 293, 294
- Young, Ernie, 272–73, 274
- Zackin, Emily, 227, 229
- zoning laws, 117–22
- Ambler Realty Co. v. Village of Euclid*, 118–21
- Claeys on, 120
- as common good, 120–21
- in common law tradition, 122
- early establishment and regulation of, 117–18
- Euclidean, 118–21
- housing policies and, 291–93
- construction prohibitions and, 292
- criticism of, 294
- NIMBY movement, 293
- YIMBY movement, 293, 294
- during Lochner era Supreme Court, 118–21
- Mansfield & Swett v. Town of W. Orange*, 119, 121
- in Mississippi, 130
- in New Jersey, 119–20
- police power and, 121–22
- salus populi* principle and, 117–18, 119
- skepticism of, 156
- Thomas v. Smith*, 121
- in urban settings, 153–56
- in Virginia, 121