

Index

- Ableman v. Booth*, 228, 248–51
 abolitionism, 234, 241–43, 254–55,
 266–67. *See also* slavery
 Adams, Abijah, 112–13
 Adams, John, 91, 94–95, 104, 132
 Adams, John Quincy, 189–90, 202, 225
 Adams, Samuel, 18, 79–80, 83, 88
 Adams, Thomas, 112–13
 Affordable Care Act, 302
 Alabama, 201, 222, 259, 284–86, 289,
 292, 295–96, 299
 Alien and Sedition Acts, 6, 90–106,
 111–14, 116, 118–31, 172, 175, 189,
 193, 197, 207, 212–13, 219, 231, 251,
 261, 278
 Amar, Akhil, 13
 amendments: as available remedy, 6, 52,
 67, 112, 123, 175–77, 192, 205; calls
 for, 70, 75–83, 86, 88, 143–44, 148–49,
 158–59, 259–60, 267, 281; in
 ratification debates, 30, 42–44. *See also*
 Constitution; *specific amendments*
American Mercury, 138
American Sovereigns (Fritz), 4–5
 Ames, Fisher, 61
Amphictyon, 173–74
 Anti-Federalists, 2, 16–18, 20–21, 26–27,
 30, 39–42, 45–46, 316n47, 319n11
 Article I, section 8, 26, 152, 155, 171, 176,
 181. *See also* Necessary and Proper
 Clause
 Article III, 67–77, 80, 183–85
 Articles of Confederation, 13, 15–16, 18,
 109, 163, 178, 217, 327n68
 assumption of debt, 40, 47, 51–59, 61,
 64–65, 145–46
Atlanta Journal, 294
 Baber, Llewellyn, 284
 Bailyn, Bernard, 17
 Baker, Robert, 236, 286
 Bank Bill, 63
 Bank of the United States, 145–47,
 168–70, 181
 Barbour, James, 109
 Bartley, Numan, 295
 Beer, Samuel, 17
 Bell, John, 253
 Benjamin, Judah P., 247
 Berrien, John M., 237
 Bestor, Arthur, 254
 Bill of Rights, 39, 41–45. *See also*
 Constitution
 Bingham, William, 60
 Black, Jeremiah S., 262–63
 Blackstone, William, 81, 213–14
 Blair, John, 73–74
 Blake, George, 113
 Bland, Theodorick, 149
Booth, In Re, 242–46, 250
 Booth, Sherman, 242–46, 250
Boston Daily Advertiser, 160
Boston Patriot, 137
 Breckinridge, John, 100–102, 117–18

- Breckinridge, John C., 252–53, 263–64
 Brent, Richard, 150
 Bright, Michael, 142–43, 145
 British government, 58, 85
 Broadwater, Jeff, 91
 Brockenbrough, William, 172–73
 Brooke, Edmund, 107
 Brooke, Francis, 165–66
 Brown, Joseph E., 276–78
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 292–300
 “Brutus,” 19–21, 24–26, 32, 70
 Buchanan, James, 239, 253, 261–63
 Buckmaster, Samuel, 270–71
 Buel, Richard, 126
 Bulman-Pozen, Jessica, 303
 Burns, Anthony, 241, 246
Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, 300
- Cabell, Joseph, 209–12
 Cabell, William, 165
 Calhoun, John C., 3, 93–94, 98, 196–213, 218, 223, 225–26, 238, 293, 301
 California, 238, 288
California v. Texas, 302
 “Camillus,” 86
 Chase, Salmon P., 251
 Childers, Christopher, 230
 Childs, William, 391
 Chisholm, Alexander, 72
Chisholm v. Georgia, 66–69, 72–84, 89–90, 122, 142, 174, 184, 211
 Chittenden, Martin, 154
 civil disobedience, 236
 Civil Rights Movement, 286, 292–93
 Civil War: and abolition, 266–67; calls for peace negotiations, 273–74; and compact theory, 256; and expansion of national government, 9, 259; interposition after, 261, 286; leadup to, 37, 228, 234–35, 251, 259; legacy of, 257, 292; sounding the alarm during, 263–80. *See also* Emancipation Proclamation; Reconstruction; slavery
- Civil War Amendments, 10
 Clark, William S., 281
 Clay, Henry, 189–90, 239
 Cohen, Mendes, 182
 Cohen, Philip, 182
Cohens v. Virginia, 181–89, 245
 Coleman, James, 295
- colonial charters, 69
Commentaries (Tucker), 81
 common law, 68–69
 compact theory, 94–96, 102–9, 147–48, 163–75, 192, 197–98, 208–18, 228–33, 250, 293, 301. *See also* Constitution; state sovereignty
 Compromise Tariff, 223
 confederalism, 13, 16, 19, 166, 230–31. *See also* federalism
 Confederate States of America:
 constitution of, 259–60; interposition in, 275–80; recognition of, 264
 Congress: accountability of, 184;
 authority of, 60, 86, 141, 146, 152, 169, 191, 199–201, 262–63; constraints on, 29, 102, 106, 300, 305; expansion of, 31; power over state legislature, 34, 45, 182, 292; proportional representation in, 34, 160; respect for, 62; secrecy of, 47–49, 84–85; and slavery, 240, 243–44; and taxation, 42. *See also* national government
 Connecticut, 51–52, 69, 76, 79–80, 83, 114, 138–39, 151–52, 154, 159, 161, 241
Connecticut Herald, 169
 Conscription Act of 1862, 276
 “Conservative Manifesto,” 290
 consolidation, 1, 9, 15–19, 24, 30, 40, 50, 63, 116, 163, 172, 178, 187, 233, 248, 256–58
 “Consolidation” (Madison), 63
 Constitution: ambiguities of, 19–20, 31, 38, 309n3; compared to the Confederate constitution, 275–76; crises of, 164–65; and division of power, 13–14, 16, 23–24, 30, 43–44, 69, 80, 185, 203; drafting in secrecy, 47–48; expressly granted powers of, 55, 57–58, 62, 86, 96, 98, 157, 180, 190; and implied powers, 171, 178, 190; interpretation of, 1–2, 7, 67–68, 75, 88–89, 93, 97, 106, 114, 168, 172, 192, 207–9, 217, 261, 288; lawyerization of, 8, 10, 130, 258, 262; and military force, 151–55; opponents of, 2, 11, 17–18, 20–22, 27–28, 53; parties to, 18, 73–74, 102–4, 106, 108–9, 121–22, 124, 148, 163, 175, 185, 199, 204, 211, 214–18, 224, 233, 293; and secession, 261;

Index

403

- slavery in, 234–38, 292; sources of sovereignty, 21–24; spirit of, 136, 148, 157, 199, 285, 350–60. *See also* amendments; Bill of Rights; compact theory
- constitutionality: assessment of, 4–5, 35–36, 66, 93, 107, 112, 122–23, 128, 130, 137, 141, 164, 244, 288; concerns over, 40–41; declarations of unconstitutionality, 26, 81, 133–35, 148, 156, 159, 207, 212–13, 270; limits of, 7–8, 146, 168–69; and non-expressly granted powers, 55, 57–58, 62; of secession, 259–63; and treaties, 86–90. *See also* interposition; judicial review
- Constitutional Union Party, 253
- Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States*, A (Stephens), 255–56
- Cooper v. Aaron*, 299–301
- Copperheads, 257, 268, 273
- Corbin, Francis, 58
- Cornell, Saul, 2, 131, 171
- Corwin, Edward, 289, 300
- Crawford, Samuel, 245, 249
- Crittenden, John J., 255, 260
- Curtin, Andrew Gregg, 272
- Cushing, William, 73–74
- Daily National Intelligencer*, 242, 251–52, 260–61
- Dana, Francis, 113
- Davis, Jefferson, 260–61, 275–77, 279–80
- Davis, John, 133
- Day, John, 298–99
- Dearborn, Henry, 151–53
- debt: assumption of, 40, 47, 50–59, 61, 145–46; and national unity, 51–52; resulting in lawsuits, 69–70
- Declaration of Independence, 69
- Delaware, 69, 112, 138, 263, 271
- Delbanco, Andrew, 238
- Delta Democrat-Times*, 295
- Democratic Party, 252, 259, 281, 286, 291–92, 298–99
- Dennis, James U., 265
- Diamond, Martin, 13–14
- Dinan, John, 301, 303
- Dixiecrats, 292
- Douglas, Stephen A., 247, 252
- Dred Scott*, 252
- Drumgoole, George, 193
- Edwards, Laura, 280
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 299
- elections, 6, 36, 43, 98, 157, 200, 215, 250, 252, 281–83
- Eleventh Amendment, 66–67, 76, 79, 81, 84, 89, 122, 141, 179, 181, 184, 285
- Ellis, Richard, 225
- Emancipation Proclamation, 266–67, 269–75. *See also* Civil War
- Embargo Acts, 129, 131–39, 155–57
- Ericson, David, 226
- Estes, Todd, 84
- Eustis, William, 153
- Everett, Edward, 217, 219, 262
- Fairfax, Thomas, 164–67
- Fairfax's Devisee v. Hunter's Lessee*, 164, 167
- Farnham, Robert, 89
- Faubus, Orval, 299
- “Federal Farmer,” 31–32, 70
- federal government. *See* national government
- federalism: and balance of power, 1–2, 7, 189, 192, 245, 247, 291; equilibrium of, 1–3, 7–10, 13, 16–18, 20, 22–26, 30, 35, 38–41, 52, 54, 62–66, 84, 88, 92, 116, 126, 154, 158, 175, 180, 183–88, 201, 203–4, 215, 228, 244–45, 249, 262, 276, 284, 286; fluidity of, 3–4, 129; and hierarchy of government, 6, 8, 171, 178–79; inherent tensions of, 182, 203, 287–88; limits of, 33, 81; monitors of, 8, 11–12, 21, 23, 25–27, 29–30, 32, 35–37, 40, 44, 88, 96, 103–4, 109–11, 113, 122–23, 126–27, 130, 140, 145, 163, 168, 171–72, 174, 176, 180–81, 183, 203, 228, 245, 249, 256, 258, 262, 273, 275, 277, 279, 286; perceptions of, 11–15, 41, 64, 71, 84, 163, 165, 215, 247–48, 300. *See also* confederalism; national government; sovereignty
- Federalist, The*: drafting of, 18; goals of, 17–20, 29, 33; imagined purposes of interposition, 40, 63; and implied powers, 52; influence of, 24–25, 59, 64, 93, 106, 123, 136, 166, 174, 203; initial descriptions of interposition in, 6, 11;

- legacy of, 171, 183, 188, 195, 310n8;
 and monitoring federalism, 17; and
 state legislatures, 29–30. *See also*
specific papers
Federalist, 9, 24
Federalist, 16, 23
Federalist, 26, 25–26, 29–31, 110, 151
Federalist, 28, 25, 27, 110, 150
Federalist, 31, 23
Federalist, 32, 24
Federalist, 37, 15, 186
Federalist, 39, 15, 24, 165, 167, 182, 189,
 210, 218
Federalist, 40, 24
Federalist, 44, 25, 27, 31, 82, 174
Federalist, 45, 22
Federalist, 46, 22, 24–25, 27–30, 160
Federalist, 51, 203
Federalist, 52, 25, 29, 31
Federalist, 55, 25, 29
Federalist, 80, 21, 176
Federalist, 81, 70
Federalist, 84, 25, 29
Federalist, 85, 25, 30
Federalists, 16, 18, 21, 23–24, 31–32, 35,
 37–38, 42, 44, 55–61, 64, 66–67, 71,
 84–93, 103, 107, 111, 113–16, 124,
 129–33, 136–42, 151, 160–61, 182
 Fifteenth Amendment, 10, 258, 280, 282,
 286, 292
 Fillmore, Millard, 240
 Findley, William, 60, 62
 First Amendment, 92, 97
 Fitzhugh, William Henry, 209
 Fleming, William, 165, 167
 Folsom, James, 295
 Foner, Eric, 282–83
 Foote, Henry S., 280
 Force Act, 134–39
 Force Bill, 223
 Forsyth, John, 202
 Fourteenth Amendment, 258, 281–82,
 292, 299–300
 freedom of the press, 91–92, 97
 Free-Soil Party, 241
 free speech, 91, 97, 155, 268, 271, 273
 Freneau, Philip, 50
Friend of the Constitution, A, 172, 175
Friend to the Union, A, 172–73
 Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, 10,
 235–36, 238
 Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, 10, 236–44,
 246, 248–51, 303
 Fugitive Slave Clause, 227–28, 234–38,
 254–55. *See also* personal liberty laws
 Funding Acts, 50–51, 53–55, 58–59, 62
 Gallatin, Albert, 60, 62, 116, 146, 151
 Garrard, James, 100
 Garrison, William Lloyd, 234, 237
 general government. *See* national
 government
 Georgia: and habeas corpus, 277; and
 nullification, 222; and Reconstruction,
 283; and state debt, 51; and suability of
 states, 73–74, 80; and tariffs, 200–201,
 207–8, 212–13; and the Virginia
 Resolutions, 111–12
 Gerken, Heather, 300, 303
 Gerry, Eldbridge, 41
 Gienapp, Jonathan, 42, 68, 90
 Giles, William Branch, 107, 119, 150,
 194, 208
 Glover, Joshua, 243
 Goebel, Julius, 81
 Gore, Christopher, 134
 Graber, Mark, 301, 305–6
 Graham, George, 289–90
 Grant, Ulysses S., 281–84
 Grayson, William, 45–46
 Grier, Robert C., 239
 Griswold, Roger, 152
 Gunther, Gerald, 12
 habeas corpus, 240, 243–46, 248, 250,
 264–65, 268, 271–72, 274, 276–77
 Hamilton, Alexander: and consolidation,
 9, 18–19, 34; and equilibrium of
 federalism, 21–23; fiscal policy, 47,
 50–51, 53–54, 56, 58, 61, 63, 65, 116,
 145–46; influence of, 17–18, 59, 68, 85,
 136, 316n47; and the Jay Treaty, 86; as
 a nationalist, 65; perceptions of, 31–32,
 40, 166; and role of the judiciary,
 20–21; and the Sedition Act, 92; and
 state legislatures, 11, 33, 70; and threats
 to the Constitution, 64
Hammer v. Dagenhart, 391n53
Hampden Essays, 172, 174–76
 Hancock, John, 77–80
 Harris, Roy, 298
 Hartford Convention, 158–62

- Hayes, Rutherford B., 281
 Hayne, Robert Y., 196–97, 213–17, 227, 230–31
 Hays, Bradley, 219, 222
 Hays, Brooks, 298
 Henry, Patrick, 42–43, 46–47, 53, 58, 70
 Hicks, Thomas, 263–64
 Holgate, Jacob, 147–48
 Holmes, Peter, 303
 Holsman, Daniel, 273–74
 Hughes, Charles Evans, 8
 Humphrey, Hubert, 298
Hunter v. Fairfax's Devisee, 164, 176
Hunter v. Martin, Devisee of Fairfax, 164–67, 243
 Hylton, J. Gordon, 42
- implied powers, 52, 55, 67, 72, 171, 178, 190
 impressment, 131, 139–40
 Indiana, 201, 269–70
 Ingersoll, Jared, 76
 instructions to congressional representatives, 5, 9, 29, 49, 54, 77–81, 119, 123, 149–51, 156, 177–78, 200, 284–85, 310n7
 internal improvements, 189–95, 284
 interposition: after World War II, 287–88, 291–300; appropriateness of, 6, 101–2; attempts of, 39–40, 57, 138; authors of, 17, 25, 32, 35, 40, 106; and compact theory, 147; in the Confederate States of America, 275–80; contemporary forms of, 305–6; critics of, 31, 37–38, 61–62, 93–94, 101, 111–15, 125, 175; decline of, 10, 257–58, 286, 299; defense of, 4, 29, 57, 65, 115–16, 123, 127–28, 136, 138, 174, 195, 335n7; as distinct from nullification, 196, 221, 223, 241, 294–97; influence of, 5, 30, 33, 35–36, 66, 79, 82–83, 105–6, 119, 143, 189, 204, 231, 306; initial descriptions of, 6, 11–12, 17–18, 25, 92–93, 311n1; and jurisdiction, 72–73; limits of, 30, 49; perceptions of, 37, 40, 66, 76, 97–98, 129–30, 182, 293–94; as political pressure, 3, 7, 27–28, 30, 35–36, 60, 145, 250–51; and presidential power, 151–55; during Reconstruction, 280–86; right of, 142, 150, 159–60, 162, 213, 233, 262, 284–85, 293; strategies of, 25–26, 92–93, 103, 162, 170, 192–93, 197, 200, 208–9, 235, 260–61, 285, 304; terminology for, 67–68, 94, 119–21, 155–56, 219, 232–33; three principle elements, 25–26. *See also* constitutionality; interstate communication; judicial review; nullification; Principles of '98; sounding the alarm; state resistance
 interstate communication, 25–29, 75–84, 95–103, 110–14, 156–59, 205–6, 219, 231, 261, 335n7. *See also* interposition; sounding the alarm
 Iowa, 282
 Iredell, James, 72–74
- Jackson, Andrew, 161, 169, 181, 202, 205, 223, 227, 229–33
 Jackson, James, 111–12
 Jacob, John, 283
 Jacobs, Clyde, 76
 Jay, John, 56, 73–75, 84
 Jay Treaty, 84–90
 Jefferson, Thomas: and the Alien and Sedition Acts, 91–92, 95–96, 115; and the Bill of Rights, 43; and debt assumption, 53; and the Hartford Convention, 161; influence of, 85, 92–93, 243; and the Jay Treaty, 85–86; legacy of, 1, 9, 126, 285, 293, 301; and nullification, 94, 96–100, 127, 197, 219–20; presidency of, 129–30, 134, 139; relationship with Madison, 94–96, 98, 102–4, 110, 115–18, 126–27, 191–93, 219–20, 225; state legislatures, 32–34; and the Supreme Court, 164, 177, 188
Jeffersonian, The, 289
 Jewett, Hugh J., 282
 Johnson, Andrew, 282
 Johnson, William, 188
 Johnston, Peter, 108–9
 Jones, Joseph, 87, 89
 Judicial Federalism, 287–88, 304–5
 judicial independence, 21, 188
 judicial review, 3, 8, 113–22, 177, 205. *See also* constitutionality; interposition; Supreme Court
 Judiciary Act of 1789, 71, 165, 167

- jurisdiction, 67, 69, 72–73, 78, 140, 143, 182–85, 208, 218, 236, 245, 247–51, 284–85. *See also* sovereignty
- Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, 241–51
- Kellogg, William J., 282
- Kentucky: and the Jay Treaty, 89; and the national bank, 148–49, 168–70; and nullification, 222; and tariffs, 212–13
- Kentucky Resolutions, 91–102, 110–18, 126–27, 129, 136–37, 147, 157, 162, 179, 184, 195–97, 202, 211, 220–21, 247. *See also* Virginia Resolutions
- Kilpatrick, James J., 293–94, 296
- Know-Nothing Party, 263
- Kyvig, David, 290
- LaCroix, Allison, 14–15, 17
- LaFollette, Robert M., 289
- Lansing, Jr., John, 18–19, 31–32
- Lee, Charles, 87
- Lee, Henry, 58, 80–81, 107–9
- Lee, Richard Henry, 45, 48, 53
- Leonard, Gerald, 131
- Letcher, John, 259, 276
- Levinson, Sanford, 304–6
- Liberty Party, 234
- Lincoln, Abraham: critics of, 266–75; election of, 252–54, 259–60, 263; war strategies of, 257–58, 263–64, 267–69, 378n27
- Lincoln, Benjamin, 56
- Lincoln, Levi, 135
- Little Rock Central High School, 299
- Livingston, Edward, 215–16
- “Lloyd’s Report,” 156–57
- localism, 64
- Lomazoff, Eric, 147, 181
- Louisiana, 282–84, 292, 296, 300
- Lyman, Samuel, 90
- Maclay, William, 48
- Madison, James: ambiguous language of, 6, 94, 103, 105, 127, 304; and the Bill of Rights, 42–44, 124–25; changing thought of, 35, 41, 52–53, 64–65; concept of compound republic, 1, 14–16; and consolidation, 19–20, 40–41, 51–52, 62–63, 176–77; and constitutional amendments, 42–46, 52; and constitutional compact, 104, 119–21, 197; and equilibrium of federalism, 2, 22–24, 39, 52, 62, 183–84, 187, 203–4, 215; influence of, 59, 68, 82, 136, 150–51, 166–67, 243, 245, 259, 261–62; and internal improvements, 190, 192, 194; and the Jay Treaty, 85–88; legacy of, 1–2, 6, 17–18, 82, 115, 225–26, 279, 285, 293, 304; as a nationalist, 65; nuanced thought of, 7, 14–15, 103–4, 121, 144, 196–99, 210; and nullification, 206–8, 210–12, 214, 216–21, 223–25, 227, 229; perceptions of, 31–32, 41, 63, 92–93, 119, 161, 165, 172–73, 194–96, 201–2, 206, 210, 214–15, 221–22; presidency of, 144, 151–55, 159–61, 168; and the ratification debate, 19, 40, 70, 317n47; relationship with Jefferson, 94–96, 98, 102–4, 110, 115–18, 126–27, 191–93, 219–20, 225; and the Supreme Court, 122, 167, 184–85, 187, 189, 211, 218
- Magoffin, Beriah, 266
- Main, Jackson Turner, 18
- Marbury v. Madison*, 99, 299
- Marshall, John, 8, 55, 70, 87, 99, 107, 130, 141–42, 163–88, 199, 243, 391n53
- martial law, 257, 268, 271–72, 276
- Martin, Alexander, 53–54
- Martin, Luther, 16
- Martin v. Hunter’s Lessee*, 164, 167–68, 183
- Martin v. Mott*, 151
- Maryland: and the Civil War, 263–66, 268, 271; and legislative secrecy, 49; and the national bank, 149, 169; and state debt, 51, 57; and suability of states, 71–72, 82–83
- Mason, George, 41, 43, 70
- Mason, Stevens T., 85
- Massachusetts: colonial charter of, 69; and the embargo, 131–35, 137–39; and the Hartford Convention, 161; and its militia, 152–54; and the Jay Treaty, 88–90; and Lloyd’s Report, 156; and the national bank, 148–49, 168; secrecy of, 47; and state debt, 51–52; and suability of states, 67, 76–77, 79, 83; and Virginia Resolutions, 112
- Mathisen, Erik, 283
- McCoy, Drew, 65, 211

Index

407

- McCulloch v. Maryland*, 146–47, 170–81, 183, 186–89, 199, 391n53
- McKean, Thomas, 140
- McPherson, James, 269
- Mercer, John, 109–10, 119
- Merryman, John, 265
- Metcalf, Thomas, 212
- Michigan, 241, 246
- military draft, 267–69, 276, 288–90
- Milkis, Sidney, 287
- Milnor, William, 145
- Mississippi, 279–80, 289, 292, 295–96
- Missouri, 241–43, 246, 252, 263, 271
- Missouri Compromise, 241, 246, 252
- Monroe, James, 17, 43, 118
- Morris, Gouverneur, 18
- Morris, Thomas, 246
- Morse, Wayne, 298
- Murray, William, 101–2
- national bank: constitutionality of, 62–64, 391n53; opponents of, 145–46, 148–49, 168–70, 177–81, 190; perceptions of, 41
- National Gazette*, 50, 63
- national government: balance within, 21–22, 27–28; consolidation of power in, 163; constitutional design, 1, 17; constraints on, 25–26, 42, 55, 60, 65, 104, 118, 131–32, 152, 203; expansion of, 2, 9–10, 39–40, 52, 64, 66–67, 92, 187, 192, 239, 248, 258, 290–91; fears of, 18, 40–41, 71–72, 172; influence of, 63–64, 143, 190; and internal improvements, 189–90; jurisdiction over states, 67; limited authority of, 133; monitoring, 4–6; terminology for, 14–15; weakness of, 13, 34, 38. *See also* Congress; federalism
- National League of Cities v. Usery*, 300
- Native peoples, 4, 85
- natural law, 24, 30–31, 93, 98–99, 101, 103, 197, 210–14, 216, 220, 232–34
- Necessary and Proper Clause, 171, 176, 181
- Neely, Mark, 94
- New Deal, 287–88, 290–91, 305
- New England Palladium*, 134
- New Hampshire, 76, 82–83, 114, 140, 159, 180, 251
- New Jersey: and the Civil War, 273–74; and the national bank, 149, 168; and tariffs, 201; and the Virginia Resolutions, 114–15
- New Mexico, 238–39
- New York: and legislative secrecy, 49; and nullification, 222, 251; and ratification debate, 17–19; during Reconstruction, 280–81; and suability of states, 70, 75–76, 83; and the Virginia Resolutions, 113–14
- New York Journal*, 19
- Nicholas, John, 116
- Nicholas, Wilson Cary, 105, 117
- Niles, Hezekiah, 172, 180
- Niles' Weekly Register*, 172, 193–94
- Ninth Amendment, 109
- Non-Intercourse Act of 1809, 139
- North American Review*, 217
- North Carolina: and Civil War, 263, 277, 279–80; failed interposition in, 57; and habeas corpus, 277, 279; and the Kentucky Resolutions, 95, 114; and legislative secrecy, 49; and nullification, 222; and opposition to taxation, 61; and Reconstruction, 280; state debts of, 54; and suability of states, 70, 76, 83; and tariffs, 199–201
- Notes on the State of Virginia* (Jefferson), 100
- Nugent, John, 303
- nullification: assertion of, 135, 196–97, 203–4, 209–10, 221, 238, 241–42, 245, 251; contemporary forms of, 301–4; critics of, 205, 216–20, 222, 231–33, 262, 298; effectiveness of, 223; hesitancy of, 156, 160, 162; justification of, 3–4, 7, 37, 93–94, 97–98, 101–2, 127, 162, 195, 231; legacy of, 295–97; perceptions of, 59, 100, 196, 229–30. *See also* interposition; veto power
- Nullification Crisis, 3, 198, 221–23, 293. *See also* Tariff of 1828
- oaths of office, 36, 64, 106–7, 111, 166, 239, 244, 249, 281–82
- Observations* (Sullivan), 71
- Ohio: and the Civil War, 268–69; and the national bank, 169, 178–81; and nullification, 251; and Reconstruction,

- 281; and slavery, 235, 241, 246; and tariffs, 201
- Olmstead, Gideon, 139–41, 143–45
- Olmstead v. The Active*, 140
- Osborn, Ralph, 179
- Osborn v. Bank of the United States*, 181
- Otis, Harrison Gray, 133, 155, 159, 161–62
- “Outline” (Madison), 211–12
- Paine, Byron, 243, 250
- Panic of 1819, 168–69
- Parker, Joel, 261, 274
- Parker, Theodore, 241–42
- partisanship, 49, 64, 92, 151, 189, 225, 271. *See also specific parties*
- Patriot Act, 302
- Peace Movement, 257, 271
- Penhallow v. Doane’s Administrators*, 140–41
- Pennsylvania: and the Civil War, 272–73; draft resistance in, 268; and legislative secrecy, 47–49; and the national bank, 168, 177–78; opposition to taxation, 61–62; and ratification, 23; resistance to federal judiciary, 140; and suability of states, 69, 82–83, 140–45; and the Virginia Resolutions, 114–15
- people: available remedies for, 6, 106–7, 157; civil liberties, 41–42; as party to the Constitution, 18, 93, 108–9; rights of, 30, 109, 135, 233; sovereignty of, 1, 5, 7, 21–22, 24, 48, 73–75, 93, 103, 125, 211, 216, 224, 275–76; theoretical roles of, 24–25, 101–2, 121–22, 150
- personal liberty laws, 228, 235–42, 246, 252–55. *See also* Fugitive Slave Clause; slavery
- Peters, Richard, 140–41, 143
- Petroleum Administration for War (PAW), 291
- Pettit, John, 247
- “Philo Camillus,” 86
- Pickering, Timothy, 100, 132, 134
- Pierpont, Francis, 268
- Pinckney, Charles, 23, 114–15
- Pleasants, James, 191–93
- Populists, 287
- Porter, John, 145
- Powell, Jefferson, 8, 75, 104
- presidency, powers of, 66, 91, 133, 151–55, 181, 223, 265–69, 272–74
- Prigg v. Pennsylvania*, 228, 236–38, 244–45
- Principles of ’98, 7, 93–94, 127, 162–63, 193, 196, 212, 216–17, 222, 225, 231, 257–58, 286. *See also* interposition; Virginia Resolutions
- Printz v. United States*, 305
- Progressive movement, 287–88
- prohibition, 288–90
- proportional representation, 34
- “Publius,” 12, 19, 23, 40, 110, 119, 150, 310n8
- Quincy, Josiah, 133
- Race Relations Law Reporter*, 294
- racism, 2, 258, 270, 287, 291–92. *See also* slavery; white supremacy
- Rakove, Jack, 18–19, 33, 124
- Randolph, Beverley, 55
- Randolph, Edmund, 73
- Randolph, Thomas Mann, 177
- Real ID Act, 302
- Reconstruction: and balance of federalism, 1; interposition in, 280–86; opposition to, 258, 281–83; perceptions of, 282; states’ rights after, 10. *See also* Civil War
- Report of 1800 (Madison), 94, 118–26, 144, 150, 156–57, 166, 173, 193–208, 213, 219, 259–60, 296
- Report Relative to a Provision for the Support of Public Credit* (Hamilton), 50–51, 61
- Republicans, 38, 66–67, 76, 84–86, 89–90, 92, 95, 106, 108, 111–14, 116, 119, 130–32, 134, 138, 172, 250–51, 254, 266, 269–73, 280–83
- revolution, right of, 30–31, 93, 99, 197–98, 210, 212–14, 216, 218, 220, 232
- Revolutionary War, 51, 54, 71–72, 84–85, 139–40, 211
- Revolution of 1800, 129
- Rhode Island: colonial charter of, 69; and the Force Act, 138–39; and the militia, 151–52, 154–55; and personal liberty laws, 241; and the Virginia Resolutions, 112

Index

409

- Richmond Enquirer*, 137, 172, 174, 183, 231, 242
Richmond News Leader, 293
 Ritchie, Thomas, 137, 172, 193–94, 231–33
 Rives, William C., 232–33
 Roane, Spencer, 163, 165–66, 172, 174, 176–77, 181, 184–85, 187, 189, 200, 210
 Robinson, James F., 266–67
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 290
 Rosenberg, Norman, 241
 Ross, William, 289
 Russell, Richard, 298
 Rutan, James S., 284–85
- Salem Gazette*, 142–43
 Sanborn, Alden S., 272
 Schapiro, Robert, 300
 Schley, William, 234
 Schurz, Carl, 242, 250–51
 Schuyler, Philip, 59
 Scott, Winfield, 264
 secession: as caused by slavery, 255–56;
 critics of, 260–62; and federal
 authority, 253; justification of, 7, 10,
 37, 94, 127, 257–61; perceptions of,
 229–30; potential for, 117, 161;
 presumed right to, 228
 Sedgwick, Theodore, 77, 115
 Seventeenth Amendment, 9
 Seward, William H., 222–23, 247–48,
 281–82
 Seymour, Horatio, 281
 Shaw, Lemuel, 241
 Shays' Rebellion, 56
 Shelby, Isaac, 89
 Simmons, T.J., 283
 Slaughter, Gabriel, 170
 slavery: apologists for, 256; compromises
 over, 34–35; in the Constitution, 227–
 28; defense of, 2–3, 9–10, 37, 41–42,
 240–41, 252–53, 266; economic
 influence of, 64; and morals, 234, 254;
 tolerance of, 239. *See also* abolitionism;
 Civil War; personal liberty laws; racism
 Smith, Abram, 243
 Smith, Meriwether, 55–57
 Snyder, Simon, 142, 144–45
 socialism, 290
 sounding the alarm: by Confederate
 states, 9–10, 275–80; decline of, 228–
 29, 257–58; on embargo acts, 132–33;
 frequency of, 93, 162, 257; goals of, 25–
 28, 36, 78, 82, 89, 119, 125, 211–12,
 219; and habeas corpus, 269–78; limits
 of, 155–56, 168; resistance to, 128, 130;
 as sharing state legislature's views, 5–6,
 60, 95, 99; support for, 173, 260–61,
 266. *See also* interposition; interstate
 communication
 South Carolina: and internal
 improvements, 191; and legislative
 secrecy, 49; and nullification, 196, 200,
 221–22, 227; ratifying convention, 23;
 secession of, 253, 259; state debt of, 51–
 52; and suability of states, 82–83; and
 tariffs, 198–99, 201, 207, 212–13; and
 the Virginia Resolutions, 114–15
 South Carolina Exposition, 196, 202–7,
 209, 213, 225
 Southern Manifesto, 297
Southern Patriot, 232
 sovereign immunity, 68–71, 84. *See also*
 suability of states
 sovereignty: division of, 1–2, 30, 37, 74,
 80, 103–4, 127, 185, 215–16, 227, 245,
 289; as indivisible, 12; and jurisdiction,
 17; limits of, 16, 198, 200, 247;
 relinquishing of, 73; sources of, 24, 103,
 165, 233, 259–60; threats to, 81. *See*
 also federalism; jurisdiction
 Stanton, Edwin M., 268, 282
 state legislatures: limited role of, 64, 141–
 42, 145; and national matters, 59–61,
 83, 132, 150, 208; perceptions of, 32–
 33, 41; as protectors, 5, 11, 29–31, 36–
 37, 60, 62, 88, 102–4, 109, 113, 118,
 190–91, 195, 286; in the ratification
 debate, 25; relation to the judiciary, 21;
 responsibilities of, 25–27, 35, 44, 61,
 78, 106, 130, 139, 147, 171, 197, 200,
 278, 297; secrecy of, 47–48; and
 senatorial recall, 32
 state resistance, 3–4, 9, 22, 40, 68, 139,
 160, 177, 214, 227, 235–47, 253, 280,
 301–4. *See also* interposition
 state sovereignty: balance of, 1–4, 24, 74–
 75, 144, 229–31; perceptions of, 37, 84,
 163, 197, 200, 224, 247, 259–60, 275–
 76, 309n4; threats to, 54, 65–66, 70–
 72, 77–78, 110, 169, 290. *See also*
 compact theory

- states' rights, 3–5, 9–10, 23, 25, 40–41, 59, 86, 96–97, 154, 163, 165, 197–200, 230–33, 240, 255–56, 275, 280–85, 288–90, 309n4
- Steele, Brian, 92, 100
- Stephens, Alexander H., 255, 276–77
- Stephens, Linton, 277–78
- Storing, Herbert, 16
- Story, Joseph, 164, 167–68, 183, 187, 236–38
- Stourzh, Gerald, 65
- Strong, Caleb, 77, 153–55, 157–58
- Stuart, David, 52
- suability of states, 66–74, 77–78, 80–81, 83, 89, 179. *See also* sovereign immunity
- Sullivan, James, 71, 77, 131–33, 135
- Supremacy Clause, 36, 143, 165, 248, 299–300
- Supreme Court: authority of, 7–8, 10, 35–36, 96, 128, 130, 151, 167–68, 171, 173, 176–77, 187, 203, 211, 218, 222, 244–45, 259, 288, 291, 299, 304–5; constraints on, 191; critics of, 3, 144–45, 178–79, 250, 298; and habeas corpus, 248–49; influence of, 66, 75, 140–42; jurisdiction of, 69–73, 75–76, 142–44, 163–65, 182–85, 188–89; roles of, 20–21, 68, 104, 122, 127, 181–82, 262; and slavery, 236–38. *See also* judicial review
- Suspension Acts, 275–80
- Sydney, Algernon*, 183–85, 187
- Syracuse Standard*, 240
- Taney, Roger B., 237, 248–49, 265
- Tariff of 1828, 196, 198–202, 205–7, 212–13, 221–22. *See also* Nullification Crisis
- taxation, 2, 42, 45, 51, 54, 60–61, 83, 169–70, 178–80, 201–2, 284
- Taylor, George Keith, 107–8, 110, 119, 125
- Taylor, John, 102, 105–6, 109–10, 116, 119, 199, 205–6
- Taylor, Robert B., 194–95
- Tazewell, Henry, 85
- telegraphs, 284–85
- Telfair, Edward, 72–73, 75, 80
- Tennessee, 111–12, 169, 178, 253, 263, 280, 289, 297, 299
- Tenth Amendment, 45, 109, 146, 167, 275, 286, 290, 301, 304–5, 391n53, 392n54
- Thirteenth Amendment, 10, 258, 280, 286, 292
- three-fifths clause, 34, 160
- Thurmond, Strom, 292, 297–98
- Tilden, Samuel J., 280–81
- Toombs, Robert, 255
- treason, 91, 142–44, 155, 161, 229, 240, 265
- Treaty of Paris, 85
- Troup, George M., 199
- Truman, Harry S., 291
- Trumbull, Jr., Jonathan, 138
- Trump, Donald, 302–3
- Tucker, St. George, 81–82
- Twenty-First Amendment, 290
- Tyler, John, 181, 194
- Uncooperative Federalism, 236, 301–4
- United States: capital of, 29, 40, 46, 53, 61; economic independence of, 85; foreign relations, 131–32; foundation of, 1, 163; loyalty to, 227, 230, 264, 266; North-South divisions in, 228, 238–39, 255, 257; regionalism in, 158–60, 198–202; utility of, 51, 56–57, 63, 74, 111, 144
- United States v. Peters*, 130, 139–43
- Utah, 238–39
- Vallandigham, Clement, 268–69
- Van Buren, Martin, 222
- Vance, Zebulon, 277, 279
- Van Staphorst v. Maryland*, 71–73, 77
- Vassal, William, 77
- Vassal v. Massachusetts*, 77–78
- Vermont: and the militia, 154–55; and slavery, 235, 238, 240–41; and the Virginia Resolutions, 114–15
- veto power, 34, 62–63, 93, 195–97, 204–5, 209–10, 212–13, 216, 221, 231, 299, 301. *See also* nullification
- Vices of the Political System of the United States* (Madison), 32
- Virginia: and internal improvements, 191–92; and the Jay Treaty, 86–88; and legislative secrecy, 47–50; and the national bank, 148–49, 168, 180–81; and nullification, 222–23, 295–96;

Index

411

- ratification debate in, 42, 46–47, 70;
and Reconstruction, 283; and slavery,
255; state constitution of, 100; state
debts of, 47, 54, 57, 59; and suability of
states, 67, 75–76, 79, 83; and tariffs,
207, 212, 222–23
- Virginia Resolutions: drafting of, 6–7, 59,
91, 94–97, 102–4, 108, 119–20;
influencing other states, 82–83, 88,
111–15, 335n7; legacy of, 63, 65, 136–
37, 142, 149–50, 155–56, 159–60, 195,
197, 208–11, 216–17, 247, 286;
responses to, 39–40, 56, 113–15, 125–
26, 193. *See also* Kentucky Resolutions;
Principles of '98
- Wade, Benjamin, 246–47
- Walker, John, 48
- War of 1812, 129–30, 147, 151–58, 161,
168, 213, 229
- Washington, Bushrod, 175
- Washington, George, 13, 18, 20, 33, 39–
40, 46–56, 63, 66, 84–86, 88, 111,
132, 146
- Washington Globe*, 233
- Watson, Tom, 289
- Webster, Daniel, 162, 196–98, 213–16,
239–40, 289
- Webster-Hayne Debate, 213–16,
220, 225
- West Virginia, 267–69, 273–74, 283
- Whiskey Excise Tax, 60–61, 83
- Whiskey Rebellion, 61
- White, G. Edward, 275–76
- white supremacy, 258, 270–71, 280–83,
292. *See also* racism
- Whitman, Benjamin, 113
- Whitton, Edward, 244–45, 249
- Willett, M.R., 284
- Wills, Garry, 19
- Wilson, James, 23, 43, 73–75
- Wilson, John, 190
- Wilson, Woodrow, 287
- Wisconsin, 242–46, 248–51, 268, 271–72
- Wood, Gordon, 14, 32, 65
- World War I, 288–89
- World War II, 287–88, 291
- Yates, Richard, 270–71
- Yates, Robert, 18–19