Index

Acquiescence
Civil War Amendments, 78–79.
political question, 8–11.
state constitutional amendments, 80–81.
validity of Constitution, 8–11, 78.

Articles of Confederation
amending clause, 1.

Child Labor Amendment Cases
effect of prior rejection, 18–20.
justiciability, 18–22.
proper party plaintiff, 32–36.
right of lieutenant governor to break tie vote in state senate, 19.
sovereignty, 128.
time for ratification, 18–20.

Civil War Amendments
coercion by Congress on states, 73–74.
effect of ratification after rejection, 71.
meaning of “three-fourths” of states, 74.
ratification by state conventions sought, 53–54.
withdrawal of ratification, 20.

Congress
coercion by Congress as to Civil War Amendments, 73–74.
discussion at Constitutional Convention of power of Congress to propose amendments, 2–6.
equal suffrage in Senate provision, 84–87, 96–99.
fixing of time limit for ratification, 19–20, 74–76.
meaning of “two-thirds” of Congress, 26, 49–50.
nonlegislative character of amending process, 48, 50.
political question, 16–22.
power to propose new constitution, 51.
powers of Congress over state conventions, 56–59.
powers of Congress over state legislatures, 63–66.
reform of proposal by Congress, 172–177.
relation to national convention, 40–48.
veto by President of proposal to amend, 50.
withdrawal of proposed amendment by Congress, 51–52.

Constitutional Convention of 1787 Articles of Confederation, 1.
discussion of amending clause, 1–6.

Deliberation in Amending Process
difficulty of amending the Constitution, 210–215.
initiative, 179.
lack of deliberation in adoption of Twenty-First Amendment, 60, 181.
subsequently elected legislature, 190.

Desuetude of Amendments
no doctrine of desuetude, 81–82.

Difficulty of Amendment
as offset to need for better enforcement, 220–221.
as offset to need for more deliberation, 190, 210–215.
INDEX

Difficulty of Amendment (continued)
national convention, 170.
ratification by state legislatures, 183-192.

Enforceability
policy factor in reform of amending clause, 217, 219-221.

Equal Suffrage Provision
judicial review of substance of amendment, 25.
scope of amending power, 83-87, 96-99.

Federal Principle
policy factor in reform of amending clause, 175, 178, 187, 201, 206-208, 217.

Genesis of Article Five
absence of European experience, 1.
amending process in the states before 1787, 1.
application by states for national convention, 2-6.
Articles of Confederation, 1.
discussion at the Constitutional Convention, 1-6.
equal suffrage in Senate provision, 5-6, 86-87, 97-99.
Gerry's view, 2-3, 86-87.
Hamilton's view, 3-4, 86.
Madison's view, 4-5, 87.
majority of states required for ratification, 2-6.
Mason's view, 2, 5.
Morris's view, 3-6, 97, 170.
national convention to propose amendments, 2-6.
Pinckney's view against need of amending power, 2.
power of Congress to propose, 2-6.
propriety of amending power, 2-5.

Randolph's resolution, 2-3.
ratification of amendments, 2-6.
Rutledge's view, 3-5.
scope of amending power, 3-6.
Sherman's view, 4-6, 86-87, 90, 97, 185.
view that Constitution not perfect, 107, 116-118, 211.
Wilson's view, 4, 86, 185.

Judicial Review of Validity of Amendments
justiciability, 7-27.
political questions, 7-27.
procedural questions, 27-36.
proper forum, 28.
proper party plaintiff, 32-36.
time of attack, 28-32.
validity of procedure of adoption, 12-22.

Justiciability of Amending Process
acquiescence, 78-81.
amending state constitution as justiciable question, 14-15.
Child Labor Amendment cases, 18-22.
comparison of validity of amendment to that of Constitution, 7-12.
Continental approach, 7.
effect of silence of Constitution as to tribunal to pass on validity of amendments, 13.
history of views in federal courts as to justiciability, 15-22.
illegal adoption of Federal Constitution, 10-11, 146-147, 184-185.
inclusion of lieutenant governor in state senate, 19.
meaning of term "state legislature," 17.
nineteenth century views of courts, 14-16.
political question doctrine, 16-22.
prior rejection by state, 18-20.
INDEX

Justiciability of Amending Process
(continued)
selection by Congress of mode of
ratification, 18.
time for ratification, 19-20.
twentieth century view of courts, 
16-22.
validity of Constitution, 8-11.
validity of procedure of adoption,
12-22.
validity of substance of amend-
ment, 22-26.
view that all questions of validity
involve political questions, 21-
22.
views of writers, 22.

Limitations on Amending Power
scope, 83-126.

National Convention
difficulty in operation, 170-172.
meaning of application by two-
thirds of states, 41-43.
powers, 44-48.
procedure, 40-48.
proposal of new constitution, 44-
45, 169.
reform, 168-172.

Political Question Doctrine
acquiescence doctrine in relation
to political question doctrine, 
78-81.
Child Labor Amendment cases, 
18-22.
Civil War Amendments, 16, 74.
effect of prior adoption by state, 
67.
effect of prior rejection by state, 
18-20, 67, 70-73.
effect of promulgation by Secre-
tary of State, 18, 76-78.
equal suffrage in Senate provision, 
86.
history of doctrine, 14-22.
 inclusion of lieutenant governor
 as part of state senate, 19, 66.
 procedural questions, 12-22.

substance of amendments, 22-27.
time for ratification, 19-20.
withdrawal of proposal by Con-
gress, 51-52.

Popular Democracy
policy factor in reform of amend-
ing clause, 179, 181-182, 184, 
190, 192, 215-218.
relation to concept of sovereignty,

Popular Initiative
reform in proposal of amendments,
177-180, 192.

Popular Referendum
reform in ratification of amend-
ments, 184, 192-203, 211, 
217.
validity of state referendum in
addition to state legislative ac-
tion, 68-70.
validity of state referendum in
relation to state convention, 
60-61.

Procedure
acquiescence as a mode of adop-
tion, 78-81.
application by states for national
convention, 40-44.
Civil War Amendments, 20, 53-
54, 71, 73-74.
desuetude of amendments, 81-82.
effect of prior adoption by state, 
67.
effect of prior rejection by state, 
70-73.
exclusiveness of constitutional
modes, 37-39.
judicial review of validity of pro-
cedure of adoption, 12-22.
meaning of “three-fourths” of
states, 74.
meaning of “two-thirds” of Cong-
gress, 26, 49-50.
nonlegislative character of amend-
ing process, 48, 62-63.
powers of Congress over state con-
ventions, 56-59.
INDEX

Procedure (continued)
powers of Congress over state legislatures, 63–66, 68, 73–77.
powers of national convention, 44–48.
proclamation by Secretary of State, 18, 76–77.
proposal of amendments, 40–53.
proposal of new constitution, 44–45, 51, 169.
proposal through Congress, 48–53.
proposal through national convention, 40–48.
ratification as cure to defect in proposal, 53.
ratification by legislatures existing at time of proposal, 63–64.
ratification by special session of legislature, 64.
ratification of amendments, 53–78.
ratification through state conventions, 53–61.
ratification through state legislatures, 61–78.
relation of Congress to national convention, 40–48.
right of governor to veto ratification, 66.
right of lieutenant governor to vote on ratification, 66.
time limit for application of states for convention, 41–42.
time limit for ratification, 19–20, 74–76.
validity of popular referendum, 68–70.
veto by President, 50.
withdrawal of proposal by Congress, 51–52.

Proper Forum
federal courts, 28.
state courts, 28.

Proper Party Plaintiff
effect of doctrine of political question, 27, 36.
effect of sending state certificate to Secretary of State, 35.
mode of raising question in Child Labor Amendment cases, 32–36.
need of showing of immediate injury, 29, 32.
need of specific case, 35.
proceeding to sustain validity, 34–35.
right of members of state legislatures to attack, 33–36.
right of ordinary citizen to attack, 32.

Reform
abolition of proposal by national convention, 172, 200.
amendment by judicial interpretation, 213–215.
Australian amending procedure, 176, 186, 187, 201.
authorization to states of power to rescind prior action until three-fourths ratify, 191–192.
call of national convention by simple majority of states, 170.
Congress as proposing body, 172–177.
date for popular referendum, 196–198, 200–201.
defeat of amendment when more than one-fourth of states have rejected, 191–192.
difficulty of securing amendments, 170, 190, 202, 210–215, 220–221.
doctrine of political questions, 210, 218–219.
elasticity of Constitution as making amendment less necessary, 214–215.
enforceability as limitation on
Reform (continued)

amending process, 217, 219-221.
federal principle as limitation on reform, 175, 178, 187, 201, 206-208, 217.
limitations on scope of amendment, 203-205.
national convention as method of proposal, 168-172.
need for deliberation as limitation on reform, 60, 179, 181, 190, 197-198, 202, 210-211.
Norris proposed amendment of 1937, 172, 173, 188, 200-203.
periodic national conventions, 171.
policy factors to be considered, 205-221.
popular democracy as factor in amending process, 179, 181-182, 184, 190, 192, 215-218.
popular initiative in proposal of amendments, 177-180, 192.
popular referendum on amendments, 184, 192-203, 211, 217.
proposal as crucial stage in amending process, 172, 183, 202.
proposal by joint session of Congress, 174-175.
proposal by one house of Congress, 175-176.
proposal of amendments by national convention only, 171, 176.
proposal procedure, 168-180.
ratification by legislatures elected after proposal, 189-191, 211.
ratification by less than three-fourths of states, 184-189, 200, 202.
ratification procedure, 180-203.

state conventions as exclusive method of ratification, 183.
state conventions as ratifying agencies, 180-183, 202.
state legislatures as ratifying agencies, 183-192.
Swiss amending procedure, 178, 186, 187, 192, 201, 218.
time limit for ratification, 176-177, 199-200.
wisdom of amendments as limitation on reform, 203, 208-210.

Scope of Amending Power
"abuse" of amending power an anomalous term, 122-125.
application of maxim expressio unius est exclusio alterius, 115-116.
Article Five as sui generis, 118-119.
Bill of Rights not a limitation, 99-100.
danger of limiting the scope, 119-121.
doctrine of political question as applicable to scope, 125-126.
equal suffrage in Senate provision, 25, 84-87, 96-99.
express limitations, 83-87.
Fourteenth Amendment not a limitation, 99-100.
germane character of amendment immaterial, 106-107.
justiciability, 22-26.
legislative character of amendment immaterial, 103-106.
limitation on scope of amendments ratifiable by legislature, 54-55, 113-114.
no guarantee of continued existence of states, 5, 88-93.
Scope of Amending Power (continued)
no guarantee of police power of states, 5–6, 86–87, 93–96.
no law above amending power, 109–113.
obsolete express limitations, 83–84, 162–163, 203–204.
pluralism and amending power, 110–113.
power to add as well as alter by amendment, 108–109.
proposal of new constitution, 44–45, 51.
proposed limitation at Constitutional Convention, 4–6.
reform, 203, 205.
rejection of implied limitations by the courts, 121–122.
sovereignty, 139–167.
Tenth Amendment not a limitation, 100–103.
view of framers of Constitution as to its imperfect nature, 107, 116–118, 211.

Sovereignty
absolute character, 133–134.
abstract "state" not sovereign, 151–153.
adoption of Constitution, 146–148.
Austin's theory, 134–135, 147, 151, 153, 157, 163.
Bentham's theory, 156.
Blackstone's theory, 129, 137.
Bliss's theory, 137, 158.
Bodin's theory, 127.
Brown's theory, 151, 163–164.
Bryce's theory, 128, 163.
Burgess's theory, 152.
Calhoun's theory, 140.
characteristics of legal sovereignty, 133–136, 161–162.
Congress not sovereign, 141.
Constitution not sovereign, 150–151.
definition, 127–139.
determinate character, 135–137.
Dewey's theory, 135, 137, 160.
Dickinson's theory, 135, 137, 149, 158.
distinction between legal and political sovereignty, 130–131.
effect of doctrine of political questions on sovereignty, 128, 141, 156, 163.
effect of inactivity by sovereign, 161–162.
electorate not sovereign, 144–146.
Emerson's theory, 140, 167.
equal suffrage in Senate provision as affecting sovereignty, 84–86, 157, 162–163.
external sovereignty, 131–132.
factual character, 133.
federal amending power as sovereign, 154–163.
futility of concept of sovereignty, 165–166.
Garner's theory, 132.
German view of sovereignty, 155.
Gray's theory, 137, 152, 159.
Harrison's theory, 135–136.
Hobbes's theory, 155.
Holdsworth's theory, 166–167.
Hurd's theory, 153.
importance, 127, 163–164, 166–167.
indivisible character, 134.
in international law, 132–133.
internal sovereignty, 110, 131–132.
Jameson's theory, 143, 159.
Jellinek's theory, 131–132.
Laski's theory, 136.
location of sovereignty in the United States, 139–167.
McGovney's theory, 145.
McIlwain's theory, 129, 135.
nation and states as sharing sovereignty, 139–140.
Sovereignty (continued)
ocasional violation of law not de­
structive of sovereignty, 134–
135, 158.
Oppenheim’s theory, 132.
people not sovereign, 37–39, 89,
141–148.
Radin’s theory, 146, 164.
revolution and sovereignty, 37–
39.
right to bind future generations,
157, 205.
Rottschaefer’s theory, 146, 157.
Salmond’s theory, 133.
sovereign not necessary, 137–139.
sovereignty in England, 131,
sovereignty not in federal govern­
ment, 141.
sovereignty not in states, 89, 140–
141.
states united not sovereign, 153–
154.
Stephen’s theory, 164.
Supreme Court not sovereign,
111–112, 148–150.
value of determinate legal sov­
ereign, 163–167.
Ward’s theory, 145.
Willoughby’s theory, 132, 134,
139, 152, 154–155, 163–164.
State Constitutional Amendments
acquiescence, 80–81.
amending process prior to 1787,
1, 39.
Bill of Rights as limitation on
scope, 100.
chief prerequisites in state amend­
ing process, 62.
exclusiveness of constitutional
modes, 37–39.
governor’s veto, 66.
justiciability of amendments, 14–
15.
legislative character, 106.
powers of state constitutional con­
vention, 45–47.
ratification as cure to defect in
proposal, 53.
scope of amending power, 23–25.
State Conventions
arguments for and against conven­
tion method, 181–182.
discussion at Constitutional Con­
vention, 4–6.
lack of deliberation, 60, 181.
popular democracy as a factor,
181–182.
powers of Congress over state con­
ventions, 56–59.
powers of state conventions, 54,
ratification of Civil War Amend­
ments by state conventions
sought, 53–54.
ratification of Twenty-First
Amendment, 60, 181.
ratification through state conven­
tions, 53–61.
reform of ratification by state con­
ventions, 180–183.
scope of ratifying power, 54–55,
113–114.
validity of state referendum in re­
lation to state convention, 60–
61.
State Legislatures
application for national conven­
tion, 40–44.
deliberation, 210–215.
discussion at Constitutional Con­
vention, 2–6.
effect of prior adoption, 67.
effect of prior rejection, 18–20,
67, 70–73.
federal principle, 206–208.
inclusion of lieutenant governor
in state senate, 19.
meaning of “state legislature,” 17.
meaning of “three-fourths” of
states, 74.
nonlegislative character of ratify­
ing process, 62–63.
political question, 16–22.
State Legislatures (continued)
powers of Congress over state legislatures, 63–66.
promulgation by Secretary of State, 18, 76–78.
ratification through state legislatures, 61–78.
reform of ratification by legislatures, 183–192.
subsequently elected legislature, 189–191.
time limit for ratification, 19–20, 74–76.
validity of state referendum in addition to legislative ratification, 68–70.
veto by governor, 66.
withdrawal of proposal by Congress, 51–52.

Time Limit for Ratification
political question, 19–20.
procedure, 74–76.

Time of Attack on Amendment
acquiescence, 78–81.
right to attack before ratification by three-fourths of states, 28–32.
right to attack subsequent to ratification by three-fourths of states, 28–31.
separation of powers theory, 29–30.
stages for attack, 30.

Wisdom of Amendments