Exhibit 4

-\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 --000--2 ROUGH DRAFT TRANSCRIPT DISCLAIMER IN THE MATTER OF 3 DINNER TABLE ACTION 4 v. 5 WILLIAM J. SCHNEIDER 6 7 This rough draft text is unedited/uncertified 8 and may contain untranslated stenographic symbols, 9 occasional reporter(s) note(s), misspelled proper names, and/or nonsensical word combinations. All such entries 10 will be corrected on the official certified transcript. 11 12 This rough draft text is for the purpose of augmenting counsel(s) notes and shall not be recognized 13 14 as an official transcript, nor shall it be cited or used 15 in any way or at any time to rebut or contradict the official certified transcript of the proceedings, 16 17 pursuant to Government Code Section 273(b). 18 --000--19 20 21 22 23 24 25

# \*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 ALL PARTIES APPEARING REMOTELY VIA ZOOM 2 FRIDAY, APRIL 4, 2025 3 8:49 A.M. -- 000 --4 5 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Good morning we are on video 6 record on April 4, 2025, the time is 8:49 a.m. My name 7 is Cameron Tuttle I'm the legal videographer the court reporter today is Sarah Sage we are both here 8 9 representing Lexitas this is the beginning of the video deposition of Jack Rakove in the matter of Dinner Table 10 Action versus William J. Schneider the case number is 11 24-cv-00430-KFW. We are located today at 2100 Gang Road 12 suite 210 Palo Alto California. 13 Counsel would you please identify yourselves for 14 15 the record. MR. MILLER: Good morning this is Charles Miller 16 with the Institute for Free Speech. 17 18 MS. AUSTIN: Mackenzie Austin from Millbank on behalf of Interveners. 19 20 MR. LOUVIS: Ezra Louvis also on behalf of 21 Intervenors. 22 MS. HELLER: Nola Heller --23 MR. KNOWLTON: Good morning --24 MS. HELLER: -- also from Millbank on behalf of 25 Intervenors. -\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-

	** ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE **
1	MR. KNOWLTON: Are we all set?
2	I'm Thomas Knowlton from the attorney general's
3	office on behalf of the State defendants.
4	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Will the court reporter
5	please introduce herself and administer the oath to the
6	witness.
7	(Reporter stated name and CSR number for
8	the record.)
9	000
10	JACK RAKOVE,
11	having first been sworn by the Certified
12	Shorthand Reporter, was examined and
13	testified as follows:
14	000
15	EXAMINATION
16	BY MR. MILLER:
17	Q. All right. Good morning sir. Could you just
18	state your name for the record please?
19	A. I'm Jack N. Rakove.
20	Q. All right. And when you say you're
21	Jack N. Rakove that would make me want to call you
22	Mr. Rakove, but I think you might have another title.
23	So can you tell me what that is.
24	A. Well, my full title is Emeritus professor
25	of William Robertson Coe professor of American of
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history and American studies, professor of political science and by courtesy of law Emeritus at Stanford University.

Q. All right. All right thank you professor. Thank you for being here today.

Is this your first time being deposed?

- A. It's not the first time being deposed. It's not the first time I've testified.
- Q. Okay. So a deposition, you know, is slightly different than you know standard testimony. Largely, what we're trying to do is create a written record here for our stenographer. So it's particularly important that you and I try to speak with words and not speak over each other so that she can take everything down. So it's just sort of a rule of Coe courtesy that we try to follow here.

In addition to that, you know, if for some reason there are objections there's no court here to rule upon it. So typically, you're after the counsel enters her objection you know you would answer the question anyway absent certain limiting instructions that she might provide to the contrary.

It -- if at any time you need to take a break just let me know. I -- I do ask though that if there's a question pending we just finish the question before we

-\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 take a break. 2 And with that, are you ready to begin? 3 Α. Yes. Q. Okay. Great. 4 5 I'm just going to mark here as Exhibit 1 the Declaration of Jack Rakove entered in this matter I was 6 7 going to hand you a copy but I see that you maybe have 8 it in front of you already. 9 A. Yes I do. (Exhibit 1 was marked for identification.) 10 11 BY MR. MILLER: Q. And so if you want to use the one in your 12 13 binder that's fine. MR. MILLER: Did -- do you need copies? Or --14 15 MS. AUSTIN: No. 16 MR. MILLER: Okay. BY MR. MILLER: 17 Seeing the binder I guess that makes me ask 18 what other documents are in your binder there? 19 20 A. Well, I've only glanced at the other documents 21 it's various motions relating to the proceedings. 22 I -- I see so those are court documents those 23 are not necessarily your background? 24 A. No the only thing I've done is the statement itself the declaration itself. 25

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- Q. Okay. I'm going to remind you again we have to try not to speak over one another.
  - A. Sorry.

Q. It's okay. You know, it's you know in conversation we do it a lot but -- okay.

All right so that binder was not something you prepared. It was provided to you by Counsel with court filings; is that right?

- A. Yes.
- Q. All right. And you mentioned that you've testified before.

Can you tell me about the context of the past testimony.

- A. Well, years ago, I worked for the American Civil Liberties Union in Chicago. I had a research project relating to people arrested during the 1968 democratic convention I got involved in a trial that involved a group of delegates of the convention that were trying to make their way and others that were trying to make their way from downtown Chicago to the back of the yards area of Chicago. And my task was to find the -- they were stopped at 18th and Michigan.
  - Q. Okay.
- A. South side of Chicago but I had to find a way that they could get to the convention so.

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Second time I was involved in Oneida Indian
litigation the so called big -- big Oneida case which
from 1983, 1984 we had an evidentiary hearing on a
12(b)(6) motion to dismiss for failure to state a claim
in Syracuse, New York in October 1984.

- Q. And what was your role there?
- A. I there it was a complicated case that involved the so called second Treaty of Fort Stanwix whose -- actually whose bicentennial we celebrated of 1784 and a particular clause in the Articles of Confederation which were related to the authority of the Continental Congress over affairs related to Native American Peoples.
- Q. And how did you provide testimony in that matter? Was it live in court?
  - A. It was live in court, yes.
- Q. Okay. Any -- any time that you've provided testimony within the last decade?
- A. No.

- Q. All right. So looking at your declaration here, it appears that you're a historian and not a lawyer; is that accurate?
- A. Yes.
- Q. Okay. But you are on faculty at the law school here?

## \*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\* 1 Α. I was a courtesy professor --2 And what is that? Q. 3 -- of law. Α. It means you teach courses in the law school but 4 you're not an active member of the department -- or in 5 the -- in that case the school. 6 7 Q. And I take it you were teaching history courses there? 8 9 A. I'm sorry? You were teaching history courses at the law 10 Q. 11 school? A. Well, yeah. Most of my work is on -- much of 12 my work is on the origin of the Constitution so when I 13 taught at the law school it was -- and I've done a lot 14 of -- let me back up. 15 I've done a lot of work on originalism as a 16 historical project and how historians would think about 17 18 it. Q. Okay. How much were you paid for this 19 declaration? 20 21 In this case, \$2,500. Α. 22 Q. Okay. 23 But I see that more as opportunity cost. 24 Q. And are you being compensated for your 25 testimony here today? Or is that \$2,500 for all of it?

## \*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 Α. It's 2500 flat. 2 Have you used this declaration or declaration 3 like this in a previous case? Yes it was used in the Alaska case that -- you 4 5 know, part of Larry Lessig's project. 6 All right. Any other cases? Q. 7 This declaration no. Α. Anything similar to it in other cases? 8 Q. 9 No. Α. And how much were you paid for the original 10 Q. 11 declaration? 12 A. 12,500. Okay. All right is there any significant 13 change between the two documents? 14 Modest editing. But substantively, they're 15 virtually identical. 16 17 And were you called to testify in Alaska? Q. Yes. As best I can recall. 18 Α. Q. Okay. So you did testify in that case? 19 20 Α. You know, to be honest I don't remember -remember -- literally, I don't remember if I was on the 21 22 stand or if we just all went up there for one of my 23 colleagues Adam Bonica from political science also 24 drafted a declaration and we went up there together. MR. MILLER: Okay. I'm going to pause for just 25

## -\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 a second. I just want to check with the court reporter, 2 making sure that you're hearing us. 3 (Reporter clarification.) THE WITNESS: Okay. 4 (Reporter clarification.) 5 6 THE WITNESS: Okay. 7 MR. MILLER: All right. Thank you. BY MR. MILLER: 8 9 So did your colleague submit a declaration Q. that was different than yours in that matter? 10 Our work is very different. 11 Α. That would be "Yes"? 12 Q. 13 Α. Yes. Q. Okay. So you did travel to Alaska for the 14 case you just don't recall if you testified? 15 16 I feel embarrassed to say it but I don't recall. I'm fairly sure I did not because I would have 17 18 a more vivid recollection. Q. Sure. But I'm just trying to understand did 19 you travel to Alaska for the case? 20 21 Yeah. Yeah. Α. 22 Okay. All right and do you recall what the Q. 23 result of -- of that matter was? 24 A. The theory of the case was as here was to 25 weigh from my perspective was to lay a kind of -\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-

## \*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 conceptual background for how the founding generation 2 would have thought about issues of political corruption 3 and in the end, the court ruled -- you know, ruled on the case following a very different line of analysis 4 that had really nothing to do with anything I testified 5 6 to. 7 Okay. And then following that, as you said, Q. Larry Lessig -- and whoever the plaintiffs were in that 8 9 matter attempted to obtain U.S. supreme court review of 10 that case. 11 Are you aware of that? Off the top of my head I can't -- I don't 12 13 recall. 14 Q. Okay. I'm not surprised. 15 Α. Yeah. So -- and my question to you was going 16 Q. to be were you involved in any way in that --17 18 Α. No. 19 -- petition? Q. 20 Α. No. Okay. All right. Have you submitted 21 Q. 22 declarations elsewhere in other cases on matters of 23 interpretation of the First Amendment? 24 Α. No. 25 Amicus briefs? Q.

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- A. I've written a number of amicus briefs but not on the First Amendment.
- Q. Have you ever had to make any retractions of any declaration or anything you said in a declaration or amicus brief in any case?
  - A. No.

- Q. Okay. Has there ever been a time that, you know, after a case was finalized you thought, gee, if that case was still going on I would go back and modify the brief or declaration that I filed in that case?
  - A. No.
- Q. All right. All right. Can you explain to me how you were contacted by Mr. Less cigarette to provide testimony in this matter?
- A. They sent me an email some weeks ago asking me if I'd want to participate and said it's basically the same set of issues as roughly the same set of issues as was true in Alaska.
- Q. All right. And with -- how did you get involved in the Alaska case?
  - A. Pretty much the same way.
- Q. How did he know to reach out to you for this issue?
  - A. I've known Lessig for a long time I'm a leading expert I mean this is a little vain on my part

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perhaps but I'm a leading expert in the field I've written a lot about the political theory and political practices of the founding era. I've written a lot about the origins of the Constitution and I'm pretty well versed in the history of political ideas. At least as it relates to the founding period of American history.

Q. Okay. All right. So I'm looking at your declaration and you list a few different historians' briefs that you were involved in. So just kind of going through here -- it's paragraph 2 -- so top of the next page there.

And so, with the -- the first case there -- is that I think it's pronounced Vieth -- can you explain what your role was in preparing that brief?

A. Well I was the main author of a brief dealing with partisan gerrymandering of congressional districts so it comes under article one section four of the Constitution. And the question of representation as it was thought of in the founding era. Founding era is something I'd discussed at great length in my book original meanings in terms that I think thought then and continue to think today are directly relevant to issues of the powers of gerrymandering as it relates to the House of Representatives.

Q. All right. And was the -- was any aspect of

# \*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 the brief that you submitted in that case based upon 2 reconstruction amendments? 3 No. I'd have to go back to be honest I'd have Α. to go back and reread it I don't believe so. 4 5 Q. Okay. All right. That's fair. 6 All right. Second case is -- I never know how to pronounce this -- Hamdan? 7 8 Α. Hamdan. 9 Q. Hamdan. And what did you argue there? 10 It had to do with the question of whether or 11 not military commissions could be unilaterally 12 constituted by the president. 13 And so this would have been a brief on article 14 Ο. 15 two then? Well, I would say more complicated than that 16 it involved English history. It involves in a certain 17 curious sense it involves the Third Amendment. You 18 know, which relates to the quartering of the soldiers. 19 But the --20 21 Q. Not many cases involving that? 22 No it's a pretty well it's also true of my 23 Articles of Confederation case with big Oneida no 24 actually in that case you had to know something about 25 the history of the Mutiny Act in English law and its

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legacy for American thinking about you could say civil military relations.

Q. Yeah. I guess I've never really sort of thought about historians' briefs so, like, in a technical sense. I don't mean you know I don't mean that pejoratively obviously you know when they're filed I -- I think about them and read them but as far as like how they're written.

So is the document like a -- it's filed as a brief and the brief is written by historians and then a lawyer signs off on it or how does that technically work?

- You always need a lawyer to submit the brief.
- Sure? Q.

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- If I remember correctly I think in the Hamdan case I think Pam Karlan from Stanford Law school was my assistant in the brief I did in DC v. Heller named Carl Bogus who's a law professor at Roger Williams university currently stuff I'm working on recently the Brennan Center NYU Law School.
  - Q. Sure.
- I -- I could say much more about this but 23 maybe you want to, you know...
  - Q. Yeah. I mean, I guess specifically so you would you draft the brief and then the attorney is sort

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of like local counsel and they sign it is that sort of what happens?

A. They're the intermediaries occasionally they will make suggestions as to what you ought to do.

Curiously I discussed this I won't say at length but the other day I did a workshop at the -- a faculty workshop at Stanford Law School and I -- I do have certain norms for how historians should write briefs and it is mostly that we should write them ourselves and not among other things not sign on to what lawyers do.

Also it should be consistent with our scholarship we have a reputation to protect and our value as experts depends upon I think the correlation you know, the strict correlation between our scholarship and our testimony and if we're not confident about that we shouldn't sign on or we shouldn't -- and we certainly should not draft them.

Q. Yeah. Yeah. No that makes a lot of sense and so I'm just -- in -- in your view and I don't mean this is fine. I'm not critiquing this. But just like, you know, a his brief is essentially a pro se brief and you might need to be able to get a -- get an attorney to sign it just for the sake of having it done for whatever court purposes are necessary?

A. Yes.

\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\* 1 Q. Yeah. Okay. 2 All right. All right and what'd you say in 3 Heller? Heller I felt -- Heller of all the things I've 4 5 done in my careers one of the things I'm proudest of is 6 having written the brief in Heller for a whole variety 7 of reasons I had not given much thought to the Second Amendment until the Chicago-Kent Law School hosted a 8 9 symposium on the subject in December 20002001 push learned a long article in the Chicago-Kent Law Review 10 11 under the title the Second Amendment the highest stage of originalism which actually cribs from Lenin -- if you 12 know. I don't know how much Lenin you've read in your 13 14 career? Not much? 15 Q. But I'd -- I'd read certain that I was sort of 16 trapped by him as a college freshman and I, you know, 17 believed -- I'd -- I'd read things about the Second 18 Amendment I'd never thought about previously. 19 So when DC v. Heller came up, I started to 20 follow --21 22 Q. Can you slow down just a little bit. 23 (Reporter admonition.) 24 THE WITNESS: Just go --25 So when DC v. Heller, came up I felt it was -\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-

## -\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 important that historians should weigh in and having 2 picked up a little experience on you know going back to 3 the Vieth case and Hamdan, I felt I was the right guy to help organize, you know, a team of historians. 4 5 BY MR. MILLER: 6 All right. And just briefly, what did you --7 what position did you articulate in that case? 8 Position I still believe very much in that the Α. whole debate about the Second Amendment was about the 9 militia and it had nothing at all to do with a common 10 11 law right of self-defense or why you would Constitutionalize that. 12 Q. All right. The next case on your list there 13 let's say another redistricting case is that right? 14 15 Α. Right. Okay. And then -- I'm sorry. With each of 16 Q. these that we've talked about so far you were the 17 18 principal author of each of these; is that right? A. Yes I -- I -- I have contributed to others but 19 20 in these cases I was the main author. 21 Okay. Moore v. Harper that -- that's the Q. 22 independent state legislature? 23 Α. Very good. Okay. All right and what did you argue there? 24 Q. 25 It's really an extension of the same argument Α.

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but there's -- there's a particular set of issues coming out of how do you read the elections clause article one section four. Something that the supreme court in fact in more or less ignored in its decision. The basic argument if you want me to provide it in is that the real animus in terms of its legislative history the real animus in Moore v. Harper was not to endorse the independence of the state legislature it was really based on fears about what state legislatures might do and so the critical part of the provision is the part where it says Congress can override state legislation and you could do that for a variety of reasons.

- Q. All right. The side of the case on behalf of whom you submitted the brief won the case?
  - A. Yes.

- Q. But just under a different theory?
- A. No. There was actually there's a deeper conceptual issue about the nature of the legislative power do the people as the delegating sources of the --

I'm going as slow as I can.

-- do the people as the delegating sources of legal authority in American constitutional history.

They have a right to delegate particular legislative powers. To other bodies than the state legislature. So if they wish to set up an independent commission, to do

# -\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 reapportionment on the tenure cycle as necessary was 2 that a legitimate exercise of their sovereign power and 3 that argument you could actually run that argument back to John Locke in certain respects. There's -- so... 4 BY MR. MILLER: 5 6 Yeah. These are all fascinating issues. Q. 7 That's what I think. Α. Yeah. All right. So you delineate crew 8 Q. 9 versus trump separately so you participated in drafting that so what aspects of that Emoluments Clause brief did 10 11 you draft? Just -- just how the term and concept of 12 emoluments was debated you know primarily 1787, 88. 13 Q. Okay. And was that primary for emoluments or 14 what was the concept there? 15 I think in this case in this case it was both 16 I -- I -- you know, I think both emoluments clauses were 17 involved in one way or another. 18 Q. Okay. All right. All right so in paragraph 19 3 -- I'm sorry. Are you --20 No. No. Go ahead. 21 Α. Yeah. All right. So paragraph 3 you stated 22 Q. 23 for this litigation I have been asked to discuss how

for this litigation I have been asked to discuss how issues of governmental corruption were viewed during the founding era of the American republic.

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## \*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\* 1 Do you understand why you were asked to do that? 2 Yes. Α. 3 Okay. Why? Q. The assumption is that we live in an 4 Α. 5 originalist age of jurisprudence. And while that often 6 takes what's called a strict textualist perspective, 7 having relevant knowledge about how the authors or I --I suppose one could say the adopters of the Constitution 8 9 and its amendments thought about particular issues. Might well prove relevant to the jurisprudence. 10 11 All right. Are you an adherent to 12 originalism? The best answer is yes and no. In fact I -- I 13 14 discussed this at the Stanford Law School the other day. I should have been there. 15 Q. 16 It was fun. Α. 17 Q. Yeah. 18 We talked about Trump v. USA. Α. 19 I would say to this extent -- and, you know, 20 this has been my position -- well, let me back up. 21 I've thought about originalism before the word existed going back to the early 1970 and I've always 22 23 assumed if you want to ask the question what does a

clause of a Constitution what did it originally mean,

that that question was itself inherently historical in

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If that were the case, there should be some historical method or sometimes they use the term model to describe and analyze how you would try to recover what I call carefully the original meaning of the text the original intention of its authors meaning primarily the delegates of the -- to the Federal Convention also members of the first federal Congress if you talk about the first ten amendments and the original understandings of the ratifiers. So it's -- it's a question I've thought about for a long time and it does seem to me more or less as an normative position that any inquiry into the original meaning of the text should have a historical component meaning you would want to ask how and why did this clause make its way into the Constitution. What did the framers think they were doing and what did the ratifiers understand them to have done? But that doesn't make me a --

(Reporter clarification.)

THE WITNESS: It doesn't make me an originalist because ignore can think of other criteria by which you would want to resolve cases and the classic example of this for me would be the Second Amendment.

BY MR. MILLER:

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Q. I've got to ask explain why the Second Amendment is a classic example?

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A. Because the technology of firearms is so radically different today with so many more devastating consequences than could ever have been the case in the 17th century. It's -- A, it's nonsensical in a certain sense, but also antidemocratic.

In others to reason under let's say the -the -- you know, the standards laid down in -- in the
Bruen decision if you -- which is another by the way
another you know opinion in which I contributed but you
know, I was not the main author of it should be another
amicus brief to which I contributed but was not the main
author of.

- Q. Okay. So if I can summarize what you said just so that I can understand you think that there is a proper way to do originalism that I think you're implying the courts do not do but even if they did, if you were deciding certain constitutional questions or normatively deciding how they should be decided you wouldn't necessarily apply originalism even the correct way?
- A. That begs the question what is the correct way.
  - Q. What you would think the correct way is?
- A. Oh. Well, look I'm just a working historian.

  You know, I'm not a lawyer I'm not a judge I'm in no

# \*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 position to decide anything. So my feeling nonetheless 2 is that historians have both well an opportunity but 3 also really an obligation of a civic nature to contribute to the discussion of constitutional issues. 4 5 And the court often mangles -- or various courts, 6 including the Supreme Court often mangle the historical 7 record you know in various ways you'd have to sort the 8 that out case by case. 9 All right. So let me rephrase this and see if Q. 10 you agree with this. You're not telling courts they have to do 11 originalism but if they're going to do originalism you 12 think there's a proper way to do it? 13 I would restate that and say I -- I it seems 14 to me that any attempt to figure out the original 15 meaning of the Constitution or its dispute of clauses, 16 which does not make sense of why those clauses of were 17 18 inserted and how they are understood --Q. The how and why. 19 20 Α. -- will be -- I won't say it's falsifiable -will be deeply problematic. 21 22 All right. That's fair. Q. 23 (Reporter requested recess.) 24 MR. MILLER: Yes. Sure. We'll go ahead and 25 take couple minutes longer than that.

\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We're going off the record 2 the time is 9:18 a.m. 3 (Recess taken.) THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We're back on the record the 4 time is 9:22 a.m. 5 6 BY MR. MILLER: 7 All right I guess before I sort of get into Q. the substantive portions of this declaration, let me 8 9 just ask you just to summarize what you did here? 10 Α. I'm sorry. Summarize what you did here just kind of give 11 0. me the overview of what's in here? 12 What I did in the declaration. 13 Α. 14 Q. Yes. Right. So the basic task or challenge was to 15 think about ways to summarize how the founding 16 generation in general would have thought about issues of 17 18 political corruption improper political influence. And as I thought about that, it seemed to me that there were 19 20 two main ways two vectors if you want to use that term that would best describe their attitudes. 21 22 One is tied to the tradition of republican 23 thinking which is a rich subject of historians of 24 political theory essentially a body of police department 25 call thinking if we run back to the early 16th century

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and continues on for obvious reasons into the American revolutionary period and indeed beyond and the other was a much more specific set of issues that revolve around the operations and the particularly the way in which the American colonists would have perceived them of the British Constitution especially in the period after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the accession of the Hanoverian monarchs. The Hanoverians are the -- the dynasty who replaced the Stuarts.

Q. Stuarts?

A. I could say the "execrable race of the Stuarts," to quote John Adams.

But in any case how the American revolutionary generation thought about issues of political corruption in the context of how they thought about the British Constitution in the 18th century.

- Q. And you said you selected those two vectors.

  Would there be other vectors that other scholars might use to analyze this issue?
- A. Potentially though I'd have to think more about that. These are far and away the two most obvious ones the two most salient ones so I felt they were the ones that really deserved emphasis.
- Q. So before preparing these declarations and I quess I mean, you know, for the Alaska case originally

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# -\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*had you done any writing on the meaning of political corruption at the time of the founding? Α. No. Q. And what is your understanding of why the meaning of political corruption is significant to the issues in this case? A. Well, from the perspective I was dealing with here, the -- you know, the basic challenge was simply to describe a mentality or a way of thinking about a particular set of issues back in the 18th century I have not studied the details of this case in any -- to any great extent. Q. Okay. Do you know what the case is about? Roughly. Α. All right. And what's your rough Q. understanding? There -- a commission has been established in Α. the state of Maine and it -- it does have some legal authority to monitor and I suppose to restrict donations to candidates and so on. Q. Okay. And what do you understand the nature of my client's challenge to that law to be? To -- you know, to in effect to say it's

Q. Yeah. It's a -- under what provision of the

constitutionally improper.

\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\* 1 Constitution? 2 Well, I suppose it'd be the First Amendment. Α. 3 All right. And so, does the term political Q. corruption appear in the First Amendment? 4 5 Α. No. 6 All right. So then, why are you providing Q. 7 testimony on what political corruption was in this case? Because I was asked to do so. 8 Α. 9 Okay. And can you help me understand what the Q. nexus is between political corruption and the First 10 11 Amendment? Well, it's -- you know, it's -- I -- I suppose 12 it's a broad free speech issue. 13 Political corruption is a? 14 Outside the scope of this expert's 15 MS. AUSTIN: 16 expertise. 17 THE WITNESS: I think, you know, the argument 18 that I draw towards the -- towards the end of my statement pivots it seems to me on the extent to which 19 20 legislators in general members of Congress in particular will be corrupted in a way that would be antagonistic to 21 22 the views of the founding era predominant views of the 23 founding era because of the importance of, you know, 24 raising funds to continue campaigning in highly 25 competitive environments and that the sources of funding

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will have a deleterious impact on their independence and
their status as legislators.

BY MR. MILLER:

- Q. And were those potential concerns of the founders about that potential political corruption expressed anywhere in the First Amendment?
  - A. Not directly.
- Q. Okay. I'm going to take a step back away from this particular declaration for a moment and just, you know, ask you kind of a question about sort of the nature of what you're offering here. You know, in cases typically, I -- you know, will have witnesses who offer evidence based upon their firsthand knowledge and, you know, perceptions. You know, obviously you weren't at the founding so that's not -- this isn't your firsthand knowledge of what happened then; correct?
  - A. No. I wasn't at the founding.
  - Q. Yeah. Sorry for the assumption.
- A. I was born in 1947.
  - Q. Yeah. So sorry for these silly lawyerly questions but we just have to kind of run through it I guess is a conceptual thing; right?

So, then, the nature of what you're providing here is based upon what you as an academic have garnered over the course of your career?

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A. Yes.

- Q. All right. And within the academic realm and in history, scholars sometimes disagree about the significance of different formative events even at the time of the founding; correct?
  - A. Sure.
- Q. Okay. So then, are the -- the -- the items that are contained in this declaration -- is this your interpretation of -- of history or is it the fact of history that's being set forth here?
- A. That's quite a philosophical question. I would, you know, claim and be prepared to defend the proposition that I've actually done a pretty good job of synthesizing the large body of scholarship which relates to the particular themes I discuss here. So there is a sense in which I think what I'm saying is I wouldn't -- you know, it would not be all that provocative to other historians, you know, or would not shock them but you'd have to ask them I mean, I -- I do believe that history, like other disciplines, proceeds but are criticizing each other's work.
- Q. Yeah. And so, in that sense, when you offer testimony through this declaration, do you consider your testimony to be authoritative?
  - A. Personally, yes.

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Q. And why do you say yes?

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- 2 Well, look, I -- I've been in this field for, 3 you know, I started graduate school in 1969 I've worked primarily on the late 18th century. As I'd like to tell 4 my students I spend most of my waking hours in the 18th 5 6 century and a good part of that thinking about 7 James Madison I am probably the nation's leading Madison scholar and whether or not you think of him as the 8 9 father of the Constitution he's clearly most important or arguably the most creative political thinker in 10 America in the late 18th century. 11
  - Q. Do you think of him as a father of the Constitution?
  - A. I'm actually involved in a set of scholarly debates about this with among others Akhil Amar.
    - Q. Sure.
  - A. Who is a very well known scholar at Yale. And actually we have an -- an exchange on this in the journal of American constitutional history I don't think father is actually a very useful term. Analytically. What does it mean to say you're the father of a collective document that comes out of four months of deliberation but I will say that I've written this in a couple of other places I think Madison is the leading strategist of constitutional reform. In fact, I'm in

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the middle of writing yet another passage on this today so I think that's a broader way to think about his contribution.

- Q. And does that apply to the Bill of Rights as well?
- A. Without a doubt the word from Madison, we my feeling is we wouldn't have it Madison more or less forces what he call -- actually calls the nauseous project of amendments down the throats of his colleagues in the first Congress. He didn't mean nauseous to himself. He was committed to getting it done he meant it was a difficult task to get them to agree on its importance.
  - Q. And why was it important?
  - A. To Madison or to -- or to others.
  - Q. To Madison.

A. My personal view is Madison felt it was important to bring the whole process of Constitution making to a satisfactory political conclusion. He wasn't fully convinced that a Bill of Rights was absolutely necessary he had some reservations about the problem of enumerating rights tied to the Ninth Amendment also the problem of textualizing rights what happens if you have to textualize them and your the formula end up with is not as ample as the formula you'd

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like to have would be one concern.

But he felt there was a body of moderate anti-Federalist -- anti-Federalists, of course, were the opponents of the constitution. And the proper spelling is A-N-T-I- capital F -- anti-Federalist -- you know, F -- Federalists -- he felt there was a moderate body of moderate anti federal is who felt very strongly in this issue this had come out of the ratification debates over the Constitution 1777, 1788 and if you adopted these amendments even though Madison had some residual qualms about them they would become essential parts of they would be essential politically they would put a period to the constitutional discussions and you could go on and get the government up and running without worrying that there was a dissident group out there who were still opposed to its adoption.

- Q. And why did the anti-Federalists want the Bill of Rights?
- A. You know, well, how long do you want me to go on about this?
  - Q. 20 seconds.
- A. You know, it was -- it -- writing -- writing
  Bills of Rights had become a part of American
  constitutionalism in 1776. I think rating of the new
  state constitutions had Bills of Rights accompanied

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them. The Bills of Rights were not necessarily part of the first state constitutions that was true in Pennsylvania it was true in Massachusetts elsewhere particularly in Virginia they are kind of companion documents. Which many Americans seeing themselves as republicans and revolutionaries felt a new government should have when it was being formed so, you know, it's a novel -- the idea of writing a Constitution in a historical moment is a great historical novelty it's exactly what I'm writing about literally this week.

And, you know, but then people think about the, you know, what does it mean to if I -- if you want to clarify the authority of statements of rights, it might be advantageous to include them directly in the text of the Constitution Madison actually did not actually want to have the amendments we now think of the Bill of Rights as separate articles he wanted them inserted in the text of the Constitution at the points he deemed most relevant. But Roger Sherman --

- Q. He actually wanted to actually amend the Constitution line by line?
  - A. Well you're amending it one way or the other.
  - Q. Sure.

A. The question is -- it's the question of I think the term uses.

\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\* 1 Q. Lineal? 2 Interlineal. Α. 3 Q. Yeah. Yeah. I think interlineal is -- is the 4 Α. 5 relevant term so I actually -- Madison was thinking and 6 I think perhaps not incorrectly that the statements of 7 rights might be legally more authoritative if they were right there in the text and not there as supplemental 8 9 articles but Roger Sherman who was a political veteran as well from Connecticut, had different thoughts and 10 Sherman's view prevailed in the House of 11 12 Representatives. Q. All right. You -- you stated that Madison had 13 some concerns about -- about delineating the rights and 14 that's why there was the Ninth Amendment. 15 Can you explain more to that. 16 17 MS. AUSTIN: Objection. Outside the scope. THE WITNESS: Well, there are two concerns here 18 19

THE WITNESS: Well, there are two concerns here I mean Ninth Amendment means what happens if you can't get a right adopted. And there -- you could have expressio unius exclusio alterius, I suppose aspect of that. I think Madison also worried about, you know, so there was a human racial problem which is a serious problem if you want to say that the Bill of Rights, you know, that excuse me if you want to say that

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incorporating the text of an amendment or -- excuse

me -- incorporating the text of a right incorporating

your concept of right into a text will become its

primary source of authority, preeminent. What happens

if you -- if you leave it out?

Some people I think Benjamin Rush said, you know, we don't know what all our rights are. So what happens if you leave it out will that right be relegated to an inferior authority because it's not incorporated in text?

Then Madison also worries I think about the proper textualization I think you see this in terms of the revision clause. There were different, you know, if you look at the state constitutions I've actually written a book on the subject. Now if you look at the state constitutions, there's — their religious Liberty clauses are modeled more on the First Amendment but on actually on the new Pennsylvania Constitution of 1790 Madison worries that religion is a controversial issue you might not be able to get as full a statement of it in the federal text or in any text as you find.

And if you think about the religion clause, it's the most concise and therefore ambiguous or open ended statement of right of religious freedom that we have.

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### -\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 BY MR. MILLER: 2 Q. Okay. Thank you for that. 3 I want to go off on a tangent there but I won't. All right. So I guess returning to your 4 5 declaration here, again paragraph 4. So you state 6 there, there is obviously no question that they 7 understood overt forms of bribery to be blatant forms of corruption and then you talk about the Impeachment 8 9 Clause. And so there it was bribery, treason? 10 A. Other high crimes and misdemeanors. 11 Other high crimes and misdemeanors? 12 Q. I've written about that at length. 13 Α. I have no doubt but here you wrote offenses. 14 Q. What did you mean by "offenses"? 15 Well, the basis of charging impeachment or the 16 Α. basis literally the basis of impeaching. 17 18 Q. Okay. A. There's a big difference in American practice 19 20 from the British practice. 21 (Reporter clarification.) 22 THE WITNESS: There's a big difference in 23 American practice from British practice. BY MR. MILLER: 24 25 Q. All right. And then there the next sentence

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\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*\* 1 you talk about the Foreign Emoluments Clause and the 2 well established historical knowledge that the founders 3 had of the Treaty of Dover of 1670? The second Treaty of Dover. 4 Α. The second? 5 Q. Or the secret Treaty of Dover. 6 7 Secret -- secret treaty? Q. 8 Yeah. Yeah. Secret treaty. Α. 9 Right. Q. So one thing I was curious about is, you know, 10 if that was a hundred years prior to them how did they 11 12 have established historical knowledge of for the founders? 13 It's a funny story. 14 Α. 15 Yeah. Q. I don't know how much of it you want. 16 Α. 15 seconds? 17 Q. A friend of David Hume somehow was doing 18 research in the in the royal archives of the French 19 20 monarchy and he discovered there was a secret treaty 21 between Louis XIV and Charles II which, you know, as 22 stated here had to do with, you know, I think among 23 other things Charles got yet another mistress out of --24 out of the equation but it would, you know, provide for 25 his conversion to Catholicism and provide, you know,

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French troops might be sent to -- sent -- sent to England to support his reign.

And so, this was discovered -- I think it -- I think in 1778. I forget sometime in the early 1770s so it was a relatively hot story in the Anglo-American political world and a couple of the framers referred to it at the convention.

- Q. I -- I see. So it was like -- it was breaking historical knowledge?
  - A. Breaking news 18th century style, yeah.
  - Q. Yeah. All right. All right. That's great.
  - A. It's a great story.
  - Q. Yeah, it is.

All right. So with respect to the Impeachment Clause wasn't there thoughts of including sort of, you know, other categories of offenses such as malpractice or neglect of duty or maladministration?

A. The -- what specifically happened is the Committee of Detail which meets in late August -- excuse me late July, early August 1787 refines the Impeachment Clause. You could be impeached in England for anything it's really the judgment of the House of Commons so the Americans in effect are trying to legalize, you know, in a certain sense -- sense of defining what you can be impeached for. So treason and bribery were the only two

explicit bases of impeachment as the Committee of Detail proposed it -- proposed the clause to the Federal Convention.

And then George Mason, who was one of Madison's colleagues from Virginia colleagues in the Virginia delegation says maladministration. Maladministration as you think about it is as open ended a term or well maybe there are others. But it's about as open ended a term as one can come up with and, you know, so the so Madison objects and, you know, -- you know, because in a sense, you know, Madison wanted to preserve the constitutional independence of the Executive to be subject for impeachment for specific causes maladministration would open up almost anything.

So someone I can't remember who if it's mason says accommodation up with other high crimes and misdemeanors which is, you know, it's actually a venerable term runs back I believe to the 14th century in English usage it's hard for Americans to understand because we think misdemeanors involve, you know, crossing the street against the white or something like that. But, you know, high crime -- high crimes and misdemeanors and the problem is they don't debate it so, you know, it's a venerable phrase as a, you know, it has its own history. But it's not very well defined that's

what Gerald ford eventually said you can be impeached for whatever the House of representatives wants to I mean peach you for.

- Q. All right. Returning to that Treaty of Dover I'm kind of curious why did you say that Louis the 14th effectively bribed Charles II why did you call that bribery?
- A. Well, he's -- he's offering him material benefits of the serving kind raising from a very attractive mistress who I think rose to some fame in the English court and then also the promise of, you know, providing French troops to sustain his reign and I think I have to go back and check this but I believe there's also financial support that goes to the Crown directly and, you know, this is a period in English history where --
- Q. Yeah. But see -- see my question is -- is like when we look at that geopolitically, like why isn't that just like forming an alliance? Like, why is it bribery?
- A. Well, the -- because you'd have to get into a kind of complicated narrative between the relations between Britain, France and the Protestant parts of the -- the low countries -- Holland the Netherlands. So you get into grand questions of strategy but -- you

know, but he is offering material inducements, you know, including funding for the monarchy itself at a time when negotiations or I should say conflicts between the House of Commons and the monarchy over the adequacy of the funds it provides are a recurring issue as they've been throughout the 17th century in English politics.

- Q. So an aspect of this is that he was receiving money personally not just for the state?
  - A. Yeah.

Q. All right. So, like, when American sort of client states now, you know, where we see it in our political interest to do so, that's not necessarily bribery; that's just state craft?

MS. AUSTIN: Objection outside the scope.

THE WITNESS: Yeah. No. I -- I -- I don't think it's bribery. I mean, giving -- giving foreign aid -- you know, take the -- the USAID -- USAID issues. That's not -- I mean, that's not bribery. You know, it's certainly intent to influence foreign policy. You wouldn't say it's bribery.

BY MR. MILLER:

- Q. All right. Okay. And then, like, the --
- A. You know, not to say that you can't -- not to say that some parts of its don't become bribes de facto, which may well be the case.

- Q. Right. But France didn't bribe the Americans during the revolution. They were just --
  - A. No they gave us a treaty of alliance.
- Q. All right. Let's see. At the end of that paragraph you say this is the top of the next page back in the 1760s Virginia politics had been wracked by the charges of financial corruption directed against John Robinson the speaker of the lower house.

How was that manifest?

- A. Look, I'd have to go back to the record, which I haven't looked at but it's a -- it's a well known scandal. I mean, Robinson's reputation was ruined and he had been a dominant figure I'd have to go back it may have revolved around land grants.
- Q. Okay. Do you know what the case *Buckley v.*Valeo is?
- A. I know it roughly but I haven't -- I haven't gone back and looked at it recently.
- Q. Okay. Do you know the significance of the term quid pro quo corruption in Buckley?
  - A. This for that.
  - Q. Yeah. Right. That's what it means.
- But do you know the significance of that term and how it's utilized in campaign finance cases?
- A. Well, I haven't studied it directly I -- I

have a general concept of what it means.

- Q. Have you studied whether Buckley and its progeny are original list style cases?
  - A. No.

- Q. All right. So the next couple sections of your declaration sort of lay out a long historical record of -- of what corruption was at various times in the past; right?
  - A. Yes.
- Q. All right. And that was sort of one of the approaches that you delineated earlier going back to the 1600s or something to kind of -- to see how the framers viewed things; right?
  - A. In general, yeah.
- Q. Yeah. Okay. I'm going to try to avoid getting, you know, too much into the weeds of all of this. But like, how do we know how much, you know, Machiavelli and -- and others, you know, informed the founders understanding of what corruption was?
- A. I think historians in general -- I mean, look it's very tricky and difficult to measure quantitatively the influence of given writers. But there is a fairly substantial body of scholarship which has evolved really over the last have century or even -- even more which traces in some detail the origins and the

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characteristics of republican thinking in early modern political thought. And my underlying assumption is that the -- because they were well read particularly the guys we're most interested in -- you know, people like Madison, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton. They did have a kind of classical education and that -- that did include extensive readings in ancient history in the classics as well as in, you know, the, you know, more modern political writers, you know, Machiavelli, you know, they -- well, in the American tradition, certainly Hobbes and Locke and other figures less well known to us.

And Machiavellian is customarily seen by scholars as far as I say in, you know, my statement really as the first modern political scientist in a certain, you know, not in the rigid academic sense but in terms of, you know, the organization of his thought. He breaks with so many of the conventions of, you know, political treatises as -- as -- as they had been done before then. And his work is absorbed and -- and reacted against by -- by other writers.

Q. All right. So was this something that, you know, simply sort of, you know, the class of people that we think of as the founders would have been knowledgeable in or would this have been sort of like

common knowledge and understanding of what corruption was, you know, by you know, by the people at the time?

A. Well, by the people -- if by the people at the time means the mass of the citizenry, it's hard to get at the --

(Reporter clarification.)

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THE WITNESS: Oh. Sorry. I covered -- I covered the mic.

You know, by the mass of the people -- you know, by the mass of people, you mean the citizenry, you know, historians work from documents. You know, we work from text the logic of history is you should be able to run most statements back to some documentary source so, you know, the evidence we have for the founders, you know, there are volumes after volumes after volumes of their papers and of course there's also a lot of evidence in public political writing about the fragility of republics, you know, about their history ancient and early and modern going back -- back both to antiquity, you know, knowledge of ancient Athens and Sparta which was a Republic of sorts and then the it, you know, the early modern Italian city states like Machiavelli's in accordance, you know, figure prompt innocently or a part of that story and, you know, a lot of the framers knew that history pretty well.

BY MR. MILLER:

- Q. Okay. And, again, I guess -- I guess this maybe sounds like a silly question or maybe -- maybe naive, but when -- when we say political corruption here, can you tell me what we mean because I want to make sure that I'm -- you know that this doesn't have a particular definition that was different back then than what we're using now when we think political corruption.
  - A. Well, that's what my statement tries to do.
  - Q. Yeah.
- A. One argument is the Machiavellian theme or motif or strain of thinking tries to imagine republics has an entire polity, you know, as a community. And the question is what -- you know, what -- what kind of traits and characteristics do they need to possess to preserve their lives as republics.

So for example the whole question of the militia, which ties into the Second Amendment quite directly -- our Second Amendment quite directly would be one dimensional -- how is it the republics maintain their stability? So that's the main theme of the first big part of my declaration.

Second theme is the more specific use that arises in post -- primarily in post 1714 England but, you know, with some earlier antecedents as well, which

## -\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 has to do with, you know, the corruption of the 2 legislative branch -- or more specifically, the House of 3 Commons. Since the aristocracy's inherently corrupt because it's already tied to the monarchy. But, you 4 5 know, the House of Commons is supposed to be the 6 independent voice and representative of the people and 7 so the question of what techniques of political manipulation and influence of a corrupting nature were 8 9 available to the ministerial governments that become the effective wielders of executive power after 1714 10 although the king -- the king himself, George III, could 11 still intervene in this process. 12 13 Q. Okay. Should we take a break now? 14 MR. MILLER: 15 should we keep going? 16 THE WITNESS: It's up to you. 17 MS. AUSTIN: Sure. A break sounds good if it's a good stopping point for you. 18 19 MR. MILLER: It is yeah. 20 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We're going off the record. The time is 9:58 a.m. 21 22 (Recess taken.) 23 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Okay. We're back on the 24 record the time is 10:04 a.m. /// 25

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BY MR. MILLER:

Q. All right professor, I'm going to I think skip over most of sort of the historical analysis that you have here and skip forward to the American perception which starts on page 17.

And to try to -- to summarize this, say, I -- I -- I think what you do here is initially sort of lay out what the American perception of political corruption was at the time based upon sort of everything that they knew and understand and what has had been going on in prison is that fair?

- A. That's essentially the starting point.
- Q. Yeah. And then you go through and kind of delineate certain examples of corruption in here that they were -- could have been concerned with; correct?
  - A. Yes.
- Q. Okay. And I guess, one of the examples here is you were talking about rotten --
  - A. Rotten prudence.
  - Q. Is that malapportionment is that what that is?
- A. Well, it's not malapportionment as we would use the term under the Constitution. It just -- you know, I mean rotten borough means literally a constituency with few if any voters. I visited the most famous one once it's known as Old Sarum, S-A-R-U-M, it's

near Salisbury --

- Q. Mm-hmm?
- A. -- consisting mostly of sheep and not people so there's just a handful of voters and -- but not just a -- it's hardly a population to represent.
- Q. All right. And so, in the modern era, you know, people complain about the -- the Senate, you know, is it similar to that? And not as extreme but is it a similar concept?

I'm just trying to understand what we're talking about.

- A. Metaphorically, you could say yes. You could say North -- you could say North Dakota is a rotten borough created by the republicans in the late 19th century. But since it's constitutionally prescribed, each state has two senators, you know, it rests on a valid principle of representation.
- Q. I guess never really thought about that there was really no reason to split the Dakotas is that what you're saying?
- A. My understanding is that the -- the House was highly competitive in the 19th century that's why we got a lot of gerrymandering. And, you know, to make sure they held on to the Senate the republic republicans took areas they thought they could control whose population

## \*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\* 1 was scant. 2 All right. And with respect to the rotten Q. 3 boroughs was anything done in the U.S. Constitution to prevent those things from happening? 4 Well, sure. The -- I mean, the whole -- well, 5 6 I mean yes and no. I mean there are no rotten boroughs 7 in American representation and there's certainly, you know, the 18th century. 8 9 Q. All right. The -- you know, the right -- the right to be 10 11 represented was routinely almost unthinkably -- almost unthinkably extended to communities as they were 12 organized. So that would be townships in new England 13 counties in, you know, most of the other colonies. 14 So when Americans think about this but -- but in 15 England there was substantial criticism of the existence 16 of both rotten and pocket boroughs. 17 18 Yeah I guess my question simply was is, you know, did they try to address that issue in the American 19 Constitution through, you know, census and 20

- reapportionment.
  - That's why we have the census. Α. Yeah.
  - Q. And reapportionment?

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- Α. Yeah. And reapportionment.
- And in here a little before that you sort of Q.

#### -\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*talk about it sign of curious and the like? 1 2 Α. And the. 3 Sign curious sign curious and the like. And Q. that also was the attempted to address in the 4 5 Constitution; correct? 6 Right. I -- there was well, I could give a 7 long answer to this but the short answer is yes. All right. And same thing with ineligibility 8 Q. 9 for certain offices for legislators? 10 Could you be more specific. Α. Q. Well, I'm sorry. Yes. So in here you 11 discuss, you know, concern about the Crown corrupting, 12 you know, members of the House? 13 14 Α. Oh. By giving them? 15 Q. Right. 16 Α. Executive offices? 17 Q. 18 Yeah. Α. 19 Q. And that issue was addressed in the U.S. Constitution? 20 A. Or pensions or military yeah. You -- the term 21 22 they used was placement and so a recurring theme is 23 that, you know, is to put restrictions on the ability of 24 the Crown to, kind of, in effect buy off or let's say 25 obtain the political loyalty of members of the House of

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Commons because other benefits could be given to them.

Q. All right. This was a -- this was a concept I'd not heard of before in paragraph 37 you discuss ministerial domination.

Can you explain what you mean by that?

- A. Let me just take a look at the paragraph first.
  - Q. Sure.

A. So the concept of ministerial domination of parliament runs something like this. You know, the great normative conceptual legacy of the Glorious Revolution was that the House of Commons should be independent of royal control and manipulation. It should be an independent -- fully independent Constitution of government. It's an assent should be necessary for most acts of the Crown to take effect to be honest it's -- it should be back in our discussions today because the whole issue of does the Crown have the right to suspend laws, which is very -- actually, very much in our own political agenda is tide in with this.

And so, you know, the basic question is what happens after 1714 is when you have a monarchy, the -- you know, the English monarchy passed from the Stuarts who were originally a Scottish family to the Hanoverians meaning the electors of Hanover, which is a German

principality -- or whatever -- you know, one of, you
know, many small German dominions.

The great advantage was they were Protestants.

And they weren't all that interested in royal government in Britain. They weren't the most active monarchs.

George III who was the actually the fourth generation because his father died before he acceded the monarchy.

So George III was the grandson was of George II.

George III was probably the most active monarch of all politically.

So you have the rise of ministerial government. Sir Robert Walpole was the first of the great ministers, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord North serving George III so you had the rise of ministerial government to -- to -- that meant you had to be able to control you had to be a figure who could control or who could put together a coalition representing a majority of the House of Commons.

And one way you did that was by wielding all the techniques of influence that, you know, on be -- in a sense, on behalf of the Crown. But the "Crown" here means the royal branches as much as the king himself so the Parliament, which in theory is supposed to be independent as a check but in fact the working majorities are always, you know, by definition almost by

definition are loyal to the government.

- Q. Okay. All right. So then here you say that the constitutions that the new American states began adopting in 1776 illustrate the underlying political conception and commitment that shaped American constitutionalism?
  - A. Right.

- Q. I -- can -- can you marry those two concepts?

  Because I don't quite understand.
- A. Let's take so one of the main complaints against Parliament is, you know, after, you know, I cite a actually very influential book J.H. Plumb called -- two editions -- either the origins of the growth of political stability in England. He talks about all the techniques that developed, you know, both before and particularly after the Glorious Revolution which would allow the British politics to restabilize on the basis of having strong ministerial governments.

One of those techniques is you go from having a triannual act -- meaning, Parliament would be -- the House of Commons would be elected every three years to a centennial act. Second, was you would actually you worked hard to reduce the suffering, which actually had grown in the 17th century because of inflation. If you have -- you know, if you have a -- a property

requirement, inflation is going to, by definition, you know, enlarge that.

So to take one example -- you know, probably the best one all -- the American legislatures created under the new state constitutions which replaced the old colonial regimes had annual elections for at least members of the lower house which would be seen as the predominant branch of government. There's actually a popular saying where annual elections end slavery begins 1718th country did not just mean channel slavery it's a term that also notes the contempt ration of political rights and so on you have annual election of governors usually by the Legislature. That's, you know, so in a sense the -- the power of the Executive was eviscerated.

So American constitutional reform in 1776 which was self-consciously republican -- lower case "R" republican in nature implements, you know, changes that, you know, in a certain sense they -- they rest upon the critique of how British constitutional practice had evolved particularly after the accession of the Hanoverians in 1714.

- Q. Okay. And then what made the U.S. Federal Constitution, I guess, less direct in addressing those issues?
  - A. Well, you create a federal senate that's

elected by the state legislatures. You have a house -
I mean this -- it's not that big a deal but you have a
house that's elected every two years so they -- they
depart Madison.

O. There's a lot more travel?

A. Well, that's part of the reason. The other thing that went out and this is a behavioral thing is, you know, very few members of the mean term of service in the House of representatives for roughly its first century plus or minus was three years meaning the vast majorities of members of the House served only one or two terms.

So you -- it -- you know, so you -- so, I mean, in a sense, you know, the Constitution makes some departures from -- you know, from 1776. But I mean other -- other factors intervene.

- Q. All right. So it sort of sounds like that when drafting the American Constitution, they were careful to try to address these forms of corruption that they were concerned about; is that true?
- A. Yes I think it's true. I mean, you know, the barrier on members of Congress holding offices under the Executive would be one, you know, what would be one example but it doesn't apply to the Supreme Court when John Jay is sent oversees to negotiate the Jay Treaty

-\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 when he's chief justice. 2 So it's particularly Congress where you want to 3 create that barrier between the Executive and its -and -- and, you know, members -- members of either 4 5 house. 6 On paragraph 45, you're talking I guess about 7 impeachment and emoluments and I think that there was some concern here articulated about the Legislative 8 9 department as well. So I just want to kind of --Is there an Emoluments Clause that applies to 10 11 the Legislature? I would need to get the text of the 12 Constitution in front of me to look at the -- the --13 both clauses. 14 Q. Okay. You don't recall that. 15 All right. Did -- what about impeachment? Did 16 impeachment apply to Congress? 17 18 No there was, you know, there's an early excuse me there was an early attempt to impeachment one 19 20 senator. Mm-hmm? 21 Q. 22 I think I'd have to go back and check this I 23 think that one of the North Carolina senators but no 24 it's always understood to apply yes. 25 Q. It makes sense it would be a senator; right?

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-\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 That way -- 'cause it was the House that was upset about 2 it? So --3 (Audio interruption.) BY MR. MILLER: 4 5 Q. Okay. 6 (Reporter admonition and clarification.) 7 MR. MILLER: It was probably not significant. think I said it made sense that it was the House because 8 9 if it was the senators that were concerned they could have removed him on their own I think it's probably what 10 11 I said something like that. THE WITNESS: Well, each House couldn't expel 12 its own members. 13 BY MR. MILLER: 14 15 Exactly. Q. Okay. All right. And then, you discuss the 16 idea of overt bribery directed by foreign powers that 17 18 the president or senators remained part of the ratification discussion. 19 Mm-hmm. 20 Α. 21 Why were they concerned about that? Q. 22 Well, I think in -- you know, as in the case 23 of this paragraph, the idea of overt bribery directed by 24 foreign powers -- powers that the president or senators 25 remain part of the ratification discussions because, you

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know, the treaty power, you know, under the advice under -- under the two an advice and consent clauses is shared between the president and the Senate that was actually a very much a last minute change in the convention.

It was another one of those subjects I keep working on in my -- in my scholarship. Though, I -- actually I first started writing about this literally 40 years ago.

So, you know, the idea -- the idea that members of -- you know, you have to remember the Senate was a small body. So there are actually the first senate originally had 22 members then 26 once Rhode Island and North Carolina belatedly ratify the Constitution you have a quorum and so on a lot of concern was expressed in 1777 and 1778 because of travel issues you might have a, you know, that you have a small number of senators you need two-thirds of them to ratify a treaty. But you have a small number there had been at least one experience of the French ministers bribing, you know, one of the members of the Continental Congress. There are these wealthy urine ministers that might have an interest in American foreign policy so yeah. So, you know, so that concern was -- it was not implausible.

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And there's also -- there was I think some

residual authority what's the relative balance of authority between the -- the president and the Senate in negotiating treaties so you have to start working that out in practice.

- Q. Okay. And then, in paragraph 47, you sort of discuss contemporary understanding of the ambitions of politicians?
  - A. Yeah.

- Q. And then sort of discuss the -- the tenures of at the time of the founding which you just sort of mentioned.
  - A. Right.
- Q. But, like, I -- when they were -- when the founders were drafting the Constitution, were they concerned about ambitions of men?
  - A. Not in the way we are.
- Q. Yeah. Please -- yeah so when they talk about ambitions because they did right?
- A. That could be my second book something else. Well, they -- they still assumed, you know, I think correctly that political life was more avocational in nature. Particularly elective office. There's -- you know, there's high turn over in both -- as I said a few minutes ago there's high turn over both in Congress and also the state legislatures for a long period of time.

So the desire to be reelected which now dominates

American politics, and when we think about elective

office holders, you know, particularly in Congress and

to some extent I think in the states as well the idea

that politics has become professionalized since the

early 20th century that's become a kind of major theme

in -- in -- in -- in how we think about the nature of

politics. It was not a concern of the framers. And I

think the point I'm trying to make here is that, you

know, there's a limit on the extent to which they would

have anticipated or understood what's happened to

political ambition since I would say the turn of the

20th century.

Madison, you know, who I sometimes describe as my alter ego -- Madison would have welcomed having more people like himself in Congress. I mean Madison was kind of foundering in terms of a career when the revolution came along and taught him that actually he would have a real career in public life. He didn't really want to be a planter back in Montpelier his plan -- in the family plantation.

- Q. Wasn't he just like 16 at the time? Wasn't he young?
  - A. Well, he he's born in 1751.
  - Q. Okay.

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A. So he's -- no. He's -- so he -- when he goes off to the -- the fifth Virginia provincial convention and place a role in the religion clause of its declaration of rights and altering he had just turned 25. And then, you know, he lost one election to the Virginia Legislature but then he, you know, he served consistently in public life, you know, for the really for the next, you know, 20 some years and then, you know, and then a short break and then he's back in okay but yeah but he -- he would have welcomed the idea of having more people like himself people who would learn how to legislate on the basis of experience. He -- he felt that would be a net good.

But he understood -- I -- again, I think

correctly -- that you would still have high turn -- high

turnover, particularly in Congress, you know, because,

you know, I hate to use a word not used by the framers

it was a big schlep to go back and forth to your home to

the national capitol two or three times it took a whole

year after you were elected before you'd actually go to

Congress for your first session so they assumed it was

going to be a big inconvenience so in that sense, the

concerns we have about the legislative about the

Legislature being corrupted not, you know, in the manner

of Lord North or, you know, Walpole or, you know, the

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Duke of Newcastle -- or whatever -- but, you know, in the modern sense by outside, you know, what we call outside interests becoming so important. To, you know, one's campaigns for reelection. And, of course, that's in some ways that's probably multiplied by the importance of party primaries in elections, you know, depending on how gerrymander -- districts are effectively gerrymandered or not so that -- that concern would have been novel our modern concern would not have been one in general that the framers would have shared just because the nature of political ambition in the late 18th and 19th century was different you're -- I go -- I may -- stop me. One last thing.

If you're a politician in the 19th century you probably would serve a two in Congress like Abraham Lincoln right but then you go back, you know, either you think it would enhance your career as a lawyer and lawyers become and I'm sure as you well know, you know, become a main, you know, source for recruitment actually Hamilton wrote about that in Federalist 35 or you -- you'd -- you'd find some other office closer to home and family and, you know, whatever your -- you know, your plantation or your legal practice was that would give you additional fees but without the inconvenience of national service.

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# \*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-So there's the desire for reelection which is so dominant in modern politics and by modern I mean essentially the early 20th century on was not really part of their political world. All right. So --Q. So their fear -- their fear of corruption had other sources. All right. So if that's the case, does the Q. original Constitution including with the Bill of Rights do anything to address that modern issue? A. Well, so --MS. AUSTIN: Objection. Outside the scope. THE WITNESS: Yeah. Certainly not in the Bill of Rights. I mean, you know, the term limits are -you know, we have no term limits; right? And, you know, it's -- as I'm sure you know, the Thornton case from I think it's early 1992 -- Term Limits v. Thornton. I --I think -- I think that's --BY MR. MILLER: I think that's right, yeah. Q. Bears on this. I mean I -- I think that case was correctly decided you can't allow the states to restrict the access of the people to choose whoever they want to choose. You know, so that would be a

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qualification. And you can't -- you know, you can't do that legislatively you'd have to do it by amendment.

Q. You talk about how originally, you know, for election, there's -- there was little if anything they could obtain by spending money.

My question for you is this: How -- how did the -- the presses at the time kind of play -- play into that?

- A. Presses were very important. I mean, it's not a subject I've studied intensely.
  - Q. Yeah.

A. Because they become much more important in the kind of as party politics teed up and the intensity of party politics waxes and wanes over the 19th century it's not a steady state condition, you know, parties form they break up they reform, they break up, you know, the Federalist party breaks up. The Whig party broke up and so on and so on.

But yes. You know, presses are an important part of I don't want to say of campaigning but of mobilizing the public and so have lots of other activities I mean it's not something I've worked on directly but, you know, but I, you know, there's intensity kind of waxes and wanes having lots of elections, you know, at different levels of government

#### \*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 actually it was, you know, some scholars have argued was 2 a great mobilizing technique in 17th century politics 3 instead of concentrating your elections, so we, you know, we for efficiency, you know, having different 4 5 elections they actually might have a beneficial impact 6 on maintaining civic loyalty. 7 Right. Like, Wisconsin just had an election Q. for their judges. 8 9 Α. Right. And it's just like kind of what they just do 10 Q. when it's on as separate schedule. So --11 12 Α. Right. Right. -- something like that --13 Q. 14 Α. Right. 15 -- or you -- okay. Q. But, like, Were presses expensive to operate? 16 17 Do you know? 18 You know, I don't think so. But it -- it's 19 not -- it's not something I've studied directly. 20 Q. Okay. 21 Of course there is the franking privilege, Α. 22 which, you know, congressmen take -- you know, take 23 advantage of I'm sorry. That's -- that's beside the point. 24 25 Right? Q.

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#### \*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 Α. It's not the -- it's the fact that I think 2 newspapers circulate a lot among, you know, copies are 3 sent off to other presses so there's a lot of borrowing --4 5 And reprinting. Q. -- stories. 6 Α. 7 Yeah. Because I -- I'm sort of fascinated Q. about how that -- how that worked? 8 9 Α. Yeah. And, you know, what were these -- because, you 10 Q. 11 know, my understanding is there were some presses that were more Federalist? 12 Yeah of course. 13 Α. Anti-Federalist? 14 Q. Yeah. Party oriented newspapers and some 15 newspapers have short cycles. 16 17 But your understanding is there was not a lot 18 of cost associated with that? 19 A. It's not something identify studied. 20 Q. You just don't know yeah okay that's fair. 21 And then, yeah. Is it despite being sort of a, 22 you know, Madison's second persona, like I mean how can, 23 you know, like, how they would -- how the founders would react to sort of the modern era? 24 25 Yeah. That's a great question and, you know, Α.

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when I'm asked it in general, my first response is that, you know, I think particularly Madison they were deeply empirical thinkers so you cannot simply -- you know, it's tricky difficult to project how they would react to some modern phenomenon that they could not have anticipated without giving them the same data and I use the term data here quite broadly, you know, both historical and contemporary that we have.

So in one sense there is a kind of I don't want to say foolishness but, you know, -- you know, there's a limit on what you can reasonably predict.

On the other hand I think there were some things that they believed quite strongly, you know, at a normative level. That would, you know, that -- that -- you know, that once when you were working the materials, you know, pretty consistently you -- you would understand and see. So, -- you know, so you can't try to -- for example I and this is tricky and I've written a little bit about this in terms of the free exercise clause, you know, to think about underlying values. I mean, it -- I just -- I published a book a few years ago called "Beyond Belief Beyond Conscience the Radical Significance of the Free Exercise of Religion," and I end the book with what I call Madison's razor. I -- I don't -- do you -- do you --

Q. I know Occam's razor?

- A. Yeah. It's my version of Occam's razor -- the simpler explanation works better than the more complicated one.
  - Q. All right.

- A. And I think Madison's razor is you want to do as much as possible to preserve an individual right of, you know, belief and expression and you also want to do as much as possible to keep religion out of public affairs you want religion get -- so you want religion to be as privatized as possible. Religion was the first thing -- religion was the first issue that Madison cared about even more I think than the overt political stuff. I mean, he came back from Princeton, he went to college in New Jersey now Princeton he came back from there deeply attached to ideas of religious freedom and exactly how his ideas coalesced are a little hard to say but the evidence for their coalesce sense was pretty strong I think at that point I think Madison would be fairly consistent. I think.
  - Q. On the religion point?
  - A. I'm sorry.
    - Q. On the religion point?
- 24 A. On the religion point.
- 25 Q. Yeah.

- A. On the Second Amendment I don't think he'd follow my point of view.
- Q. Let's see. On the -- on the religion point, let's see Madison was from Virginia?
  - A. Yeah.

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- Q. Did Virginia have an established church?
- 7 Well, it's a -- it's a big struggle. Α. church -- the church of England had been established. 8 9 The Anglican Church retained some privileges after 1776 that are kind of embedded in state law. And Madison's 10 one of Madison's big projects was to get Jefferson's --11 the -- the bill of -- the Statute of Religious Freedom 12 that Jefferson had drafted in the late 1770s, you know, 13 Virginia constituted a commit -- the Virginia 14 Legislature in the House of Delegates had constituted a 15 16 committee to refer to a comprehensive reform of Virginia 17 legislation Madison was -- Jefferson was the main guy on 18 that committee and the thing he was proudest of doing 19 was drafting the Statute of Religious Freedom, which did effectively -- for all intents of purposes, did 20 effectively thoroughly disestablished religion in 21 22 Virginia.

But, you know, they're a little bit busy during the revolutionary war with the war.

Q. Right?

- A. So they didn't have time to work on the reform of, you know, the Virginia law code so gerrymandering went off to France in 1784 and Madison was actually term limited out of Congress in Congress in 17831785, 86 where he becomes a dominant figure until he's -- you know, until a certain point he's working the other legislators so hard they get upset with him but one of the projects was to get the Statute of Religious Freedom finally enacted.
- Q. I'd love to talk about -- I'd love to talk about gerrymandering and his religion but we'll save that for another time?
  - A. It's a great subject.
- Q. So how does the concept of political corruption that you articulate here in this declaration inform the formation and creation of the free speech clause in the First Amendment? If at all?
- A. Well, I wouldn't say I mean given any of the circumstances of the drafting of the First Amendment be the brevity of its text as I talked about earlier.
  - Q. Yeah.
  - A. I'd say the link would be fairly thin.
  - Q. Okay.

A. But I think that there's a general concern about -- well, sorry. I'll -- I'll stop there.

## \*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-1 Q. Okay. 2 MR. MILLER: I have no further questions. Okay. 3 Thank you. Are you going to ask anything? 4 5 MS. AUSTIN: No. Nothing from me. 6 MR. MILLER: All right. And I'll ask for the 7 court reporter -- read and sign? Or not read and sign 8 do you know what I mean? Like does -- do you want to 9 like does he need to read and sign the transcript to 10 review it in advance or no? 11 MS. AUSTIN: Yes. 12 MR. MILLER: Okay. THE WITNESS: Do I need to read and sign it? 13 14 (Reporter inquired about transcript purchase orders.) 15 16 MR. MILLER: Yes. I definitely want that. MR. KNOWLTON: The state of Maine would also 17 18 like a transcript. 19 MS. AUSTIN: Yes so would we Mackenzie Austin. 20 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Can I also get video orders 21 from everyone as well. 22 MR. MILLER: Yeah. I -- can we get the 23 transcript linked? 24 MS. AUSTIN: We'll do the same. 25 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Okay we're going off the -\*\* ROUGH DRAFT - DO NOT CITE \*\*-

