

eral courts,²⁰⁹⁰ and to provide criminal²⁰⁹¹ and civil²⁰⁹² liability for state officials and agents²⁰⁹³ or persons associated with them²⁰⁹⁴ who violate protected rights. These statutory measures designed to eliminate discrimination “under color of law”²⁰⁹⁵ present no problems of constitutional foundation, although there may well be other problems of application.²⁰⁹⁶ But the Reconstruction Congresses did not stop with statutory implementation of rights guaranteed against state infringement, moving as well against private interference.

Thus, in the Civil Rights Act of 1875²⁰⁹⁷ Congress had proscribed private racial discrimination in the admission to and use of inns, public conveyances, theaters, and other places of public amusement. The *Civil Rights Cases*²⁰⁹⁸ found this enactment to be beyond Congress’s power to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court observed that § 1 prohibited only state action and did not reach private conduct. Therefore, Congress’s power under § 5 to enforce § 1 by appropriate legislation was held to be similarly limited. “It does not invest Congress with power to legislate upon subjects which are within the domain of State legislation; but to provide modes of relief against State legislation, or State action, of the kind referred to. It does not authorize Congress to create a code of municipal law for the regulation of private rights; but to provide modes of redress against the operation of State laws, and the action of State officers executive or judicial, when these are subversive of the fundamen-

²⁰⁹⁰ Section 3 of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, 14 Stat. 27, 28 U.S.C. § 1443. See *Virginia v. Rives*, 100 U.S. 313, 318 (1880); *Strauder v. West Virginia*, 100 U.S. 303 (1880). The statute is of limited utility because of the interpretation placed on it almost from the beginning. Compare *Georgia v. Rachel*, 384 U.S. 780 (1966), with *City of Greenwood v. Peacock*, 384 U.S. 808 (1966).

²⁰⁹¹ 18 U.S.C. §§ 241, 242. See *Screws v. United States*, 325 U.S. 91 (1945); *Williams v. United States*, 341 U.S. 97 (1951); *United States v. Guest*, 383 U.S. 745 (1966); *United States v. Price*, 383 U.S. 787 (1966); *United States v. Johnson*, 390 U.S. 563 (1968).

²⁰⁹² 42 U.S.C. § 1983. See *Monroe v. Pape*, 365 U.S. 167 (1961); see also 42 U.S.C. § 1985(3), construed in *Griffin v. Breckenridge*, 403 U.S. 88 (1971).

²⁰⁹³ *Ex parte Virginia*, 100 U.S. 339 (1880).

²⁰⁹⁴ *United States v. Price*, 383 U.S. 787 (1966).

²⁰⁹⁵ Both 18 U.S.C. § 242 and 42 U.S.C. § 1983 contain language restricting application to deprivations under color of state law, whereas 18 U.S.C. § 241 lacks such language. The newest statute, 18 U.S.C. § 245, contains, of course, no such language. On the meaning of “custom” as used in the “under color of” phrase, see *Adickes v. S.H. Kress & Co.*, 398 U.S. 144 (1970).

²⁰⁹⁶ *E.g.*, the problem of “specific intent” in *Screws v. United States*, 325 U.S. 91 (1945), and *Williams v. United States*, 341 U.S. 97 (1951), and the problem of what “right or privilege” is “secured” to a person by the Constitution and laws of the United States, which divided the Court in *United States v. Williams*, 341 U.S. 70 (1951), and which was resolved in *United States v. Price*, 383 U.S. 787 (1966).

²⁰⁹⁷ 18 Stat. 335, §§ 1, 2.

²⁰⁹⁸ 109 U.S. 3 (1883). The Court also rejected the Thirteenth Amendment foundation for the statute, a foundation revived by *Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co.*, 392 U.S. 409 (1968).