

that could be characterized as “land use regulation” traditionally subject to state police power regulation.⁴²

In 1995, reversing this trend, the Court in *United States v. Lopez*⁴³ struck down a statute prohibiting possession of a gun at or near a school, rejecting an argument that possession of firearms in school zones can be punished under the Commerce Clause because it impairs the functioning of the national economy. Acceptance of this rationale, the Court said, would eliminate “a[ny] distinction between what is truly national and what is truly local,” would convert Congress’s commerce power into “a general police power of the sort retained by the States,” and would undermine the “first principle” that the Federal Government is one of enumerated and limited powers.⁴⁴ Application of the same principle led five years later to the Court’s decision in *United States v. Morrison*⁴⁵ invalidating a provision of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) that created a federal cause of action for victims of gender-motivated violence. Congress may not regulate “non-economic, violent criminal conduct based solely on that conduct’s aggregate effect on interstate commerce,” the Court concluded. “[W]e can think of no better example of the police power, which the Founders denied the National Government and reposed in the States, than the suppression of violent crime and vindication of its victims.”⁴⁶

Notwithstanding these federal inroads into powers otherwise reserved to the states, the Court has held that Congress could not itself undertake to punish a violation of state law; in *United States v. Constantine*,⁴⁷ a grossly disproportionate excise tax imposed on retail liquor dealers carrying on business in violation of local law was held unconstitutional. However, Congress does not contravene reserved state police powers when it levies an occupation tax on all persons engaged in the business of accepting wagers regardless of

⁴² *Hodel v. Virginia Surface Mining & Recl. Ass’n*, 452 U.S. 264 (1981).

⁴³ 514 U.S. 549 (1995).

⁴⁴ 514 U.S. at 552, 567–68.

⁴⁵ 529 U.S. 598 (2000).

⁴⁶ 529 U.S. at 618.

⁴⁷ 296 U.S. 287 (1935). The Civil Rights Act of 1875, which made it a crime for one person to deprive another of equal accommodations at inns, theaters or public conveyances, was found to exceed the powers conferred on Congress by the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments and hence to be an unlawful invasion of the powers reserved to the states by the Tenth Amendment. *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3, 15 (1883). Congress has now accomplished this end under its commerce power, *Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States*, 379 U.S. 241 (1964); *Katzenbach v. McClung*, 379 U.S. 294 (1964), but it is clear that the rationale of the *Civil Rights Cases* has been greatly modified if not severely impaired. *Cf. Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co.*, 392 U.S. 409 (1968) (13th Amendment); *Griffin v. Breckenridge*, 403 U.S. 88 (1971) (13th Amendment); *United States v. Guest*, 383 U.S. 745 (1966) (14th Amendment).