

United States, and rights secured by treaty.<sup>19</sup> In *Twining v. New Jersey*,<sup>20</sup> the Court recognized “among the rights and privileges” of national citizenship the right to pass freely from state to state,<sup>21</sup> the right to petition Congress for a redress of grievances,<sup>22</sup> the right to vote for national officers,<sup>23</sup> the right to enter public lands,<sup>24</sup> the right to be protected against violence while in the lawful custody of a United States marshal,<sup>25</sup> and the right to inform the United States authorities of violation of its laws.<sup>26</sup> Earlier, in a decision not mentioned in *Twining*, the Court had also acknowledged that the carrying on of interstate commerce is “a right which every citizen of the United States is entitled to exercise.”<sup>27</sup>

In modern times, the Court has continued the minor role accorded to the clause, only occasionally manifesting a disposition to enlarge the restraint that it imposes upon state action.<sup>28</sup> In *Hague v. CIO*,<sup>29</sup> two and perhaps three justices thought that the freedom to use municipal streets and parks for the dissemination of information concerning provisions of a federal statute and to assemble peace-

<sup>19</sup> 83 U.S. at 79–80.

<sup>20</sup> 211 U.S. 78, 97 (1908).

<sup>21</sup> *Citing* *Crandall v. Nevada*, 73 U.S. (6 Wall.) 35 (1868). It was observed in *United States v. Wheeler*, 254 U.S. 281, 299 (1920), that the statute at issue in *Crandall* was actually held to burden directly the performance by the United States of its governmental functions. *Cf.* *Passenger Cases* (*Smith v. Turner*), 48 U.S. (7 How.) 283, 491–92 (1849) (Chief Justice Taney dissenting). Four concurring Justices in *Edwards v. California*, 314 U.S. 160, 177, 181 (1941), would have grounded a right of interstate travel on the privileges or immunities clause. More recently, the Court declined to ascribe a source but was content to assert the right to be protected. *United States v. Guest*, 383 U.S. 745, 758 (1966); *Shapiro v. Thompson*, 394 U.S. 618, 629–31 (1969). Three Justices ascribed the source to this clause in *Oregon v. Mitchell*, 400 U.S. 112, 285–87 (1970) (Justices Stewart and Blackmun and Chief Justice Burger, concurring in part and dissenting in part).

<sup>22</sup> *Citing* *United States v. Cruikshank*, 92 U.S. 542 (1876).

<sup>23</sup> *Citing Ex parte Yarbrough*, 110 U.S. 651 (1884); *Wiley v. Sinkler*, 179 U.S. 58 (1900). Note Justice Douglas’ reliance on this clause in *Oregon v. Mitchell*, 400 U.S. 112, 149 (1970) (concurring in part and dissenting in part).

<sup>24</sup> *Citing* *United States v. Waddell*, 112 U.S. 76 (1884).

<sup>25</sup> *Citing* *Logan v. United States*, 144 U.S. 263 (1892).

<sup>26</sup> *Citing In re Quarles and Butler*, 158 U.S. 532 (1895).

<sup>27</sup> *Crutcher v. Kentucky*, 141 U.S. 47, 57 (1891).

<sup>28</sup> *Colgate v. Harvey*, 296 U.S. 404 (1935), which was overruled five years later, *see* *Madden v. Kentucky*, 309 U.S. 83, 93 (1940), represented the first attempt by the Court since adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to convert the Privileges or Immunities Clause into a source of protection of other than those “interests growing out of the relationship between the citizen and the national government.” In *Harvey*, the Court declared that the right of a citizen to engage in lawful business in other states, such as by entering into contracts or by loaning money, was a privilege of national citizenship, and this privilege was abridged by a state income tax law which excluded interest received on money from loans from taxable income only if the loan was made within the state.

<sup>29</sup> 307 U.S. 496, 510–18 (1939) (Justices Roberts and Black; Chief Justice Hughes may or may not have concurred on this point. *Id.* at 532). Justices Stone and Reed preferred to base the decision on the Due Process Clause. *Id.* at 518.