# THE POSTAL POWER OF CONGRESS; A STUDY IN CONSTITUTIONAL EXPANSION. A DISSERTATION

Published @ 2017 Trieste Publishing Pty Ltd

### ISBN 9780649371419

The postal power of Congress; a study in constitutional expansion. A dissertation by Lindsay Rogers

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# LINDSAY ROGERS

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# THE POSTAL POWER OF CONGRESS

### A STUDY IN CONSTITUTIONAL EXPANSION

# BY LINDSAY ROGERS

### A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Board of University Studies of The Johns Hopkins University in Conformity with the Requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy 1915



BALTIMORE 1916

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THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY LANGASTER, PA.

## CONTENTS

|           |            |   | PAGE |
|-----------|------------|---|------|
| PREFACE . | ce e e e e |   | vii  |
| CHAPTER   | I.         | Introductory: The Antecedents of the Power              | 9    |
| CHAPTER   | II.        | The Power of Congress to Establish                      | 9    |
|           |            | Postoffices   | 26   |
|           |            | Expansion of Facilities                                 | 26   |
|           |            | Collectivist Activities                                 | 33   |
|           |            | Postal Crimes   | 36   |
| CHAPTER   | III.       | Fraud Orders  | 56   |
| CHAPIER   | 111.       | Postroads   | 61   |
|           |            | Legislative Action                                      | 61   |
|           |            | Judicial Determinations                                 | 80   |
| Chapter   | IV.        | Limitations on the Postal Power                         | 97   |
|           |            | Freedom of the Press<br>Unreasonable Searches and Seiz- | 98   |
| CHAPTER   | v.         | The Power of the States to Interfere                    | 123  |
|           |            | with the Mails  | 127  |
| CHAPTER   | VI.        | The Extension of Federal Control Over                   |      |
|           |            | Postroads   | 150  |
|           |            | Federal Ownership of Railroads                          | 150  |
|           |            | Postal Telegraphs and Telephones                        | 156  |
| CHAPTER   | VII.       | The Extension of Federal Control                        |      |
|           |            | Through Exclusion From the Mails                        | 158  |

### PREFACE

The purpose of this essay is to trace the legislative and judicial history of the grant to Congress of the power "to establish postoffices and postroads," and to discuss the constitutionality of the proposals that, under this clause, federal control may be extended to subjects over which Congress has no direct authority. The essay is thus one in constitutional expansion, and does not consider the history or efficiency of the postoffice as an administrative arm of the government. A treatment of this subject, which has as yet received scant notice, I may some day attempt.

Portions of Chapters IV and VII have appeared as articles on "Federal Interference with the Freedom of the Press," and "The Extension of Federal Control through the Regulation of the Mails," in the Yale Law Journal (May, 1914) and the Harvard Law Review (November, 1913) respectively. They have been thoroughly revised for publication in their present form. Chapter V appeared in substantially the same form in the Virginia Law Review (November, 1915).

I am under great obligations to Professor W. W. Willoughby, not only for much direct assistance in the preparation of this essay, but for the inspiration of his productive scholarship.

L. R.

# Chary Of California

### THE POSTAL POWER OF CONGRESS

### CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY: THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE POWER

It is, perhaps, not insignificant that *The Federalist* contains but a single reference to the power lodged in Congress "to establish postoffices and postroads." The writers of that incomparable collection of political papers which discussed in such exhaustive detail the disputed points of the proposed governmental frame-work for the United States of America, hardly needed to argue that the proposed delegation could not be deemed dangerous and was admittedly one of national concern. "The power of establishing postroads," said Madison, "must, in every view, be a harmless power, and may, perhaps, by judicious management, become productive of great public conveniency. Nothing which tends to facilitate the intercourse between the states can be deemed unworthy of the public care."

Half a century later, Story prefaced the discussion of this power in his Commentaries, with the remark that, "One cannot but feel, at the present time, an inclination to smile at the guarded caution of these expressions, and the hesitating avowal of the importance of the power. It affords, perhaps, one of the most striking proofs, how much the growth and prosperity of the country have outstripped the most sanguine anticipations of our most enlightened patriots."

At the time Story wrote, the postal power had, of course, already achieved a "commercial, political, intellectual and

<sup>1</sup> The Federalist, No. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Story, Commentaries on the Constitution, vol. iii, p. 22.