

1 C.D. Michel – SBN 144258  
Email: cmichel@michellawyers.com  
2 Joshua R. Dale – SBN 209942  
Sean A. Brady – SBN 262007  
3 Anna M. Barvir – SBN 268728  
MICHEL & ASSOCIATES, P.C.  
4 180 E. Ocean Blvd., Suite 200  
Long Beach, CA 90802  
5 Telephone: (562) 216-4444  
Facsimile: (562) 216-4445

6 Attorneys for Plaintiffs  
7

8 **IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT**  
9 **CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA**  
10 **WESTERN DIVISION**

11 MICHELLE FLANAGAN, et al.,

12 Plaintiffs,

13 v.

14 CALIFORNIA ATTORNEY  
GENERAL XAVIER BECERRA, in  
15 his official capacity as Attorney  
General of the State of California, et  
16 al.,

17 Defendants.  
18

Case No.: 2:16-cv-06164-JAK-AS

**PLAINTIFFS’ OPPOSITION TO  
DEFENDANT’S MOTION FOR  
SUMMARY JUDGMENT ON  
COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY  
AND INJUNCTIVE RELIEF**

Judge: John A. Kronstadt  
Hearing Date: November 6, 2017  
Hearing Time: 8:30 a.m.  
Courtroom: 10B

Action Filed: August 17, 2016  
Trial Date: February 6, 2018

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## INTRODUCTION

1  
2 Plaintiffs are competent, law-abiding Californians who seek to carry firearms  
3 outside their homes for protection from violent crime. Rather than seeking some  
4 broad right to carry firearms without restriction, Plaintiffs seek to carry a firearm in  
5 public in *some manner*. California generally forbids anyone who does not hold a  
6 license from doing so. Plaintiffs have each sought such a license, but the State-  
7 designated authority denied their applications. Plaintiffs thus have no lawful means  
8 to carry a firearm in most locations outside their homes “for the core lawful purpose  
9 of self-defense.” *District of Columbia v. Heller*, 554 U.S. 570, 630 (2008).

10 The State cannot flatly deny this right to law-abiding, competent adults. The  
11 right to bear arms, which the Second Amendment grants to “the people,” cannot be  
12 limited to the tiny fragment of the people who satisfy the very narrow exceptions  
13 California has created, or who can demonstrate a particularized need for self-  
14 defense. In short, given the Framers’ decision to extend the Second Amendment to  
15 “the people,” a “law-abiding citizen’s right to bear common arms must enable the  
16 typical citizen,” “to carry a gun.” *Wrenn v. District of Columbia*, 864 F.3d 650, 668  
17 (D.C. Cir. 2017). California’s complete denial of that constitutional right to  
18 Plaintiffs cannot be reconciled with the Second Amendment. Indeed, denying all  
19 manner of carry to ordinary law-abiding citizens is one policy choice the  
20 Constitution takes “off the table.” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 635.

21 The State seeks to justify its complete ban on constitutionally protected  
22 conduct by claiming that doing so furthers its public safety interests. But, even if  
23 the State’s asserted public safety interests were furthered by its ban on carry—  
24 which they are not—no interest is sufficient to nullify a constitutional right. That is  
25 anathema to the notion of fundamental rights. Accordingly, the State cannot prevail  
26 on its motion for summary judgement.

## BACKGROUND

27  
28 In describing its public carry laws, California omits critical elements to make

1 its regime appear less restrictive than it is in practice. In reality, California’s  
2 oppressive laws effectively prohibit law abiding citizens from carrying arms for  
3 their own defense. For instance, while it is true that the law does not prohibit *openly*  
4 carrying a loaded firearm in unincorporated areas where discharging one is legal,  
5 Cal. Penal Code § 25850, such areas are generally remote, isolated, and ill-defined.  
6 *See, e.g.*, Cal. Fish & Game Code § 3004(a) (prohibiting discharge, and thus  
7 carrying, of a firearm within 150 yards of buildings without lawful possessor’s  
8 permission); Cal. Penal Code § 374c; 51 Op. Atty. Gen. 197, 10-3-68 (prohibiting  
9 discharge of a firearm over any public road or highway, which, according to  
10 Defendant’s predecessor, prohibits carrying on every public road or highway); 36  
11 C.F.R. § 27.41 (national wildlife refuges); Cal. Fish & Game Code § 10500 (state  
12 game refuge); Cal. Code Regs. tit. 14, § 43B(a) (state parks); Cal. Code Regs. tit.  
13 14, § 550 (cc) (state wildlife areas); Cal. Code Regs. tit. 14, § 630 (ecological  
14 reserves). And, local no-discharge ordinances can also create “prohibited areas”  
15 where carrying firearms is illegal.

16 While there are exceptions to the carry restrictions for certain types of  
17 individuals, Def.’s Mot. Summ. J. at 3, none of those exceptions includes ordinary,  
18 law-abiding citizens like Plaintiffs. Likewise, while California allows individuals  
19 with the proper license to carry a loaded handgun in public, Cal. Penal Code §§  
20 26150-26155, the government authorities authorized to issue such licenses currently  
21 exercise “unfettered discretion” in deciding whether to issue one. *Nichols v. County*  
22 *of Santa Clara*, 223 Cal. App. 3d 1236, 1243 (1990); *see also Erdelyi v. O’Brien*,  
23 680 F.2d 61, 63 (9th Cir. 1982). Each Plaintiff has, in fact, applied for and been  
24 denied such a license. Pls.’ Add’l Uncont. Facts & Concl. of Law (“Pls.’ A.U.F.”)  
25 ¶¶ 45, 48; Statement of Uncont. Facts & Concl. of Law Supp. Pls.’ Mot. Summ. J.  
26 ¶¶ 16-18, 22-23, 25-26, 28-29.

27 Finally, the “focused self-defense exception to all of these restrictions,” as  
28 the State describes it, Def.’s Mot. Summ. J. at 3, is merely a defense that

1 individuals can assert *after being charged* with violating the loaded (but not  
2 concealed) carry restriction. To be successful, one must prove to a trier of fact that  
3 there was a reasonable belief that he or someone else was in “immediate, grave  
4 danger” of being attacked. Cal. Penal Code § 26045(a). And the defense applies  
5 only during “the brief interval” between when law enforcement officials are  
6 notified and when they arrive on scene. *Id.* § 26045(c). Further, because an  
7 individual is prohibited from having an unloaded firearm on or near his person,  
8 should “immediate, grave danger” arise, *see id.* §§ 26350 (prohibiting open carry of  
9 unloaded firearms) and 25400 (prohibiting concealed carry of firearms, even if  
10 unloaded), “where the fleeing victim would obtain a gun during that interval is  
11 apparently left to Providence.” *Peruta v. County of San Diego (Peruta II)*, 742 F.3d  
12 1144, 1147, n.1 (9th Cir. 2014), *vacated*, 824 F.3d 919 (9th Cir. 2016) (en banc).

13 While several of the Plaintiffs did testify at their deposition that they would  
14 prefer to carry concealed rather than openly, *all* Plaintiffs also testified that they  
15 would without question opt to carry a firearm openly rather than not carry at all.  
16 *Compare* Def.’s Sep. Statement of Uncont. Facts & Concl. of Law Supp. Mot.  
17 Summ. J. ¶¶ 1-7, *with* Pls.’ A.U.F. ¶¶ 38-44, 47. And, contrary to the State’s claim,  
18 not one said he or she believes criminals are “likely” to use greater or deadly force  
19 when attacking someone openly carrying. The State’s quoted excerpts of Plaintiffs’  
20 depositions show only that they thought the risk *could* be higher than if carrying  
21 concealed.

22 In sum, California effectively bars ordinary, law-abiding citizens from  
23 carrying firearms outside their homes for self-defense in any manner, whether  
24 openly or concealed, unless they have a Carry License, issuance of which is subject  
25 to the discretion of a government actor. California has exercised such “discretion”  
26 to deny each Plaintiff in this case a Carry License.

**ARGUMENT**

**I. THE SECOND AMENDMENT PROTECTS THE RIGHT TO CARRY ARMS IN PUBLIC**

**A. The Text and Structure of the Second Amendment Illustrate that the Right to Bear Arms Is Not Confined to the Home**

Any inquiry into the scope of the Second Amendment must begin with its text. *See Heller*, 554 U.S. at 576. That text provides: “A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.” U.S. Const. amend. II. Critically, the Supreme Court has already held that the text protects two separate rights: the right to “keep” arms, and the right to “bear” them. *See Heller*, 554 U.S. at 591 (“keep and bear arms” is *not* a “term of art” with a “unitary meaning”). To “keep arms” means to “have weapons.” *Id.* at 582. While to “bear arms” means to “ ‘wear, bear, or carry’ ” them “ ‘upon the person or in the clothing or in a pocket, for the purpose . . . of being armed and ready for offensive or defensive action in a case of conflict with another person.’ ” *Id.* at 584 (quoting *Muscarello v. United States*, 524 U.S. 125, 143 (1998) (Ginsburg, J., dissenting)). “To speak of ‘bearing’ arms within one’s home would at all times have been an awkward usage.” *Moore v. Madigan*, 702 F.3d 933, 936 (D.C. Cir. 2017). It is “more natural” to view the Second Amendment as encompassing public carry. *Wrenn*, 864 F.3d at 657.

That natural reading of the text is reinforced by the amendment’s structure. As *Heller* explained, the Second Amendment’s prefatory clause—“[a] well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State”—performs a “clarifying function” with respect to the meaning of the operative clause. 554 U.S. at 577-78. The prefatory clause’s reference to “the Militia” clarifies that the operative clause’s protection of the right to “bear Arms” encompasses a right that extends beyond the home. Militia service, of course, necessarily includes bearing arms in public. And all the Justices in *Heller* agreed that the right to bear arms was codified at least in part to ensure the viability of the militia. *See id.* at 599; *id.* at 637

1 (Stevens, J., dissenting).

2  
3 **B. The History of the Second Amendment Shows that the Right to**  
4 **Bear Arms Is Not Confined to the Home**

5 “Constitutional rights are enshrined with the scope they were understood to  
6 have when the people adopted them, whether or not future legislatures . . . think that  
7 scope too broad.” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 634-35. The Second Amendment, “like the  
8 First and Fourth Amendments, codified a *pre-existing* right.” *Id.* at 592. From its  
9 English origins to colonial America, through the ratification of the Fourteenth  
10 Amendment and beyond, that right was overwhelmingly understood to include  
11 carry outside the home. Notwithstanding the State’s efforts at historical  
12 revisionism, the record is clear—a state may not enact laws diminishing the ability  
13 of law-abiding citizens to carry firearms for self-defense. It is no wonder, then, the  
14 State is hard-pressed to find an historical law resembling its oppressive regime.

15 **1. Historically, the Laws of England and America Recognized a**  
16 **Broad Right to Carry Arms**

17 The Supreme Court has twice held that the Second Amendment protects the  
18 right of law-abiding, responsible citizens to keep and bear arms *for lawful self-*  
19 *defense.* *McDonald v. City of Chicago*, 561 U.S. 742, 767-78 (2010), *Heller*, 554  
20 U.S. at 635. “Self-defense,” the Court held, “is a basic right, recognized by many  
21 legal systems from ancient times to the present day.” *McDonald*, 561 U.S. at 767.  
22 And our British predecessors were no exception. Blackstone, whose works greatly  
23 shaped the Founders’ understanding of English law, cited “ ‘the right of having and  
24 using arms for self-preservation and defence,’ ” as “one of the fundamental rights  
25 of Englishmen.” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 594. That “fundamental right” necessarily  
26 includes the right to carry firearms outside the home because the need for self-  
27 defense necessarily arises outside the home. *Wrenn*, 864 F.3d at 657; *Moore*, 702  
28 F.3d at 935-36. To wit, English authorities made clear that “the killing of a Wrong-  
doer . . . may be justified . . . where a Man kills one who assaults him *in the*

1 Highway to rob or murder him.” 1 William Hawkins, *A Treatise of the Pleas of the*  
2 *Crown* 82 (1716) (emphasis added); see also 1 Matthew Hale, *Historia Pacitorum*  
3 *Coronae* 481 (Sollum Emlyn ed. 1736) (“If a thief assault a true man *either* abroad  
4 *or* in his house to rob or kill him, the true man . . . may kill the assailant, and it is  
5 not a felony.” (emphasis added)). Indeed, there was “no Reason why a Person, who  
6 without Provocation, is assaulted by another *in any Place whatsoever*, in such a  
7 Manner as plainly shews an Intent to murder him, . . . may not justify killing such  
8 an Assailant . . .” Hawkins, *supra* at 83. Following the Glorious Revolution of  
9 1688, the English Bill of Rights codified the natural right to possess and carry  
10 weapons. See *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 593. As the *Heller* Court authoritatively  
11 concluded, this guarantee—a direct predecessor of our Second Amendment—  
12 recognized “an individual right protecting against *both public and private*  
13 violence.” *Id.* at 594 (emphasis added).

14 The need to carry arms for self-defense beyond the home was even greater in  
15 an early America dominated by “wilderness,” threats from “hostile Indians,” and  
16 other dangers. *Moore*, 702 F.3d at 936. As St. George Tucker explained, “[i]n many  
17 parts of the United States, a man no more thinks, of going out of his house on any  
18 occasion, without his rifle or musket in his hand, than a European fine gentleman  
19 without his sword by his side.” 5 George Tucker, *Blackstone’s Commentaries*, app.,  
20 n.B, at 19 (1803). Practices of the Founding Fathers demonstrate just how well  
21 established the right was. George Washington is said to have customarily ridden  
22 between Alexandria and Mount Vernon with pistols holstered to his horse’s saddle.  
23 Benjamin Ogle Tayloe, *In Memoriam: Anecdotes and Reminiscences* 95 (Wash.,  
24 D.C., 1872). Thomas Jefferson advised his nephew to “[l]et your gun . . . be the  
25 constant companion on your walks.” 1 *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* 398 (letter  
26 of August 19, 1785) (H.A. Washington ed., 1853). And John Adams, during his  
27 defense of the British soldiers charged in the Boston Massacre, conceded that in  
28 America, “every private person is authorized to arm himself; and on the strength of

1 this authority I do not deny the inhabitants had a right to arm themselves at that  
2 time for their defence.” John Adams, *First Day’s Speech in Defence of the British*  
3 *Soldiers Accused of Murdering Attucks, Gray and Others, in the Boston Riot of*  
4 *1770*, in 6 *Masterpieces of Eloquence* 2569, 2578 (Hazeltine et. al. eds. 1905).

5 Indeed, in colonial America not only did individuals have a right to carry  
6 firearms in public, they were often required to do so. “About half the colonies had  
7 laws *requiring* arms-carrying in certain circumstances.” Nicholas J. Johnson et al.,  
8 *Firearms Law and the Second Amendment* 106 (2012). For example, a 1770  
9 Georgia law enacted, “ ‘for the security and defence of this province from internal  
10 dangers and insurrections’ required those men who qualified for militia duty  
11 individually ‘to carry fire arms’ ‘to places of public worship.’ ” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at  
12 601 (quoting 19 *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* 137-39 (A. Candler ed.  
13 1911 (pt. 1) (emphasis omitted)). A 1639 Newport, Rhode Island ordinance  
14 provided that “noe man shall go two miles from the Towne unarmed, eyther with  
15 Gunn or Sword; and that none shall come to any public Meeting without his  
16 weapon.” Johnson, *supra* at 107 (quoting 1 *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island*  
17 *& Providence Plantations, in New England* 94 (John Russell Bartlett ed., 1856)).

18 The right to carry outside the home was further entrenched through the  
19 adoption of Second Amendment analogues in state constitutions. For example, the  
20 Pennsylvania Declaration of Rights of 1776 proclaimed: “That the people have a  
21 right to bear arms for the defence of themselves and the state . . . .” *Heller*, 554 U.S.  
22 at 601 (quoting § XIII, in 5 Thorpe 3082, 3083 (emphasis removed) (alteration in  
23 original)). In the 18th and early 19th century, nine states enshrined such provisions  
24 in their constitutions—provisions that, according to *Heller*, protected an  
25 individual’s right to carry arms. *See Heller*, 554 U.S. at 585-86 & n. 8.

## 26 2. The Statute of Northampton and Its American Successors 27 Respected the Right to Carry Arms

28 The historical record leading up to the ratification of the Second Amendment

1 is clear: There was a generally recognized right to carry firearms outside the home  
2 for self-defense. Relying on the ancient Statute of Northampton and its early  
3 American progeny, the State attempts to paint a very different historical picture, in  
4 which the carrying of firearms outside the home was a rare event, either heavily  
5 regulated or outright banned. The State’s revisionist history cannot be reconciled  
6 with the historical record.

7 At the outset, the State claims that the 1382 Statute of Northampton made it  
8 “generally unlawful to ‘go armed,’ with concealed or open weapons, in public  
9 places” in England, Def.’s Mot. Summ. J. at 9—that is simply not true. It prohibited  
10 all but the king’s servants and ministers from bringing “force in affray of the  
11 peace,” Statute of Northampton, 2 Edw. 3 (Eng. 1328), “affray” meaning “a public  
12 offence *to the terror of the King’s subjects*, and so called because it affrighteth and  
13 maketh men afraid, and is enquirable in a leet as a common nuisance.” *State v.*  
14 *Huntly*, 25 N.C. 418, 421 (1843) (emphasis added) (quoting Sir Edward Coke, 3d  
15 Just. 158). The mere act of carrying did not constitute a crime; it was only unlawful  
16 to carry for an *unlawful purpose*. The English courts made that clear. In the famous  
17 case of *Rex v. Knight*, Chief Justice Holt explained that “the meaning of the statute  
18 of [Northampton] was to punish people who go armed to terrify the King’s  
19 subjects.” 87 Eng. Rep. 75 & 90 Eng. Rep. 330 (K.B. 1686); *see also Rex v. Smith*,  
20 2 Ir. R. 190 (K.B. 1914) (“[W]e think that the statutable misdemeanor is to ride or  
21 go armed *without lawful occasion in terrorem populi . . .*”).

22 Prominent commentators in the centuries to follow agreed. As 18th century  
23 legal scholar William Hawkins explained, “[N]o wearing of arms is within the  
24 meaning of this statute, unless it be accompanied with such circumstances as are apt  
25 to terrify the people.” Hawkins, *supra* at 135. Blackstone concurred, noting that  
26 Northampton banned only the carrying of “dangerous and unusual weapons.” *See*  
27 *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 627 (citing 4 William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of*  
28 *England* 148-49 (1769)). James Wilson, “virtual coauthor of the Constitution,”



1 opined that by the Founding, Northampton banned only the carry of “ ‘dangerous  
2 and unusual weapons, in such a manner, as will naturally diffuse a terrour among  
3 the people.’ ” *Wrenn*, 864 F.3d at 660 (quoting James Wilson, *The Works of the*  
4 *Honourable James Wilson* 79 (1804)).

5 American versions of the Statute of Northampton followed the same tradition  
6 of punishing only those who used arms to terrorize their fellow citizens. For  
7 example, Virginia’s version of the statute forbade citizens from “rid[ing] armed by  
8 night []or by day, in fairs or markets, or in other places, *in terror of the County*,”  
9 1786 Va. Laws 33, ch. 21 (emphasis added), while Massachusetts punished those  
10 who went “armed offensively, to the fear or terror of the good citizens of this  
11 Commonwealth,” 1795 Mass. Laws 436, ch. 2. Other states followed a similar  
12 approach. *See, e.g.*, 1801 Tenn. Laws 710, § 6 (“publicly ride or go armed to the  
13 terror of the people”); 1821 Me. Laws 285, ch. 76 § 1 (“ride or go armed  
14 offensively, to the fear or terror of the good citizens of this State”); 1852 Del. Laws  
15 330, ch. 97, § 13 (“all who go armed offensively to the terror of the people”). When  
16 confronted with this exact question, the Supreme Court of North Carolina  
17 confirmed that Northampton codified only “the offence of riding or going about  
18 armed with unusual and dangerous weapons, to the terror of the people,” *not* the  
19 general carrying of weapons. *Huntly*, 25 N.C. at 420, 422-23.

20 The State also seriously misconstrues Massachusetts’s 1836 statute and  
21 similar laws, claiming that they prohibited the carrying of weapons absent “exigent  
22 threats to persons and/or property.” Def.’s Mot. Summ. J. at 10. Those statutes did  
23 nothing of the sort. What the illustrative Massachusetts statute actually says is:

24 If any person shall go armed . . . ***without reasonable cause***  
25 ***to fear an assault or other injury***, or violence to his person,  
26 or to his family or property, he ***may, on complaint of any***  
27 ***person having reasonable cause to fear an injury, or***  
***breach of peace***, be required to find sureties for keeping  
the peace, for a term not exceeding six months, with the  
right of appealing as before provided.

28 1836 Mass. Laws 750 § 16 (double emphasis added). The statute plainly did not

1 require people to have “reasonable cause” to carry firearms. To the contrary, it  
2 *assumed* that everyone could carry firearms, but created a mechanism whereby  
3 someone accused of carrying a firearm with intent to injure another or breach the  
4 peace could be required to post a bond to continue to carry a firearm. But even that  
5 requirement—which was by no means a prohibition on carrying—was subject to an  
6 *exception* if the person otherwise required to post a surety had reasonable cause to  
7 fear assault or injury. If anything, then, these laws only underscore that public carry  
8 was the norm, not the exception, in our nation’s early years.

### 9                   **3.     Laws of the Old West Are Poor Indicators of the Right’s** 10                   **Scope**

11           The State also highlights scattered 19th century regulations from the  
12 territorial west as purported evidence that the right to bear arms did not include a  
13 right to carry weapons. *See* Def.’s Mot. Summ. J. at 12-13. These ordinances,  
14 enacted largely by isolated localities with reputations for lawlessness, represent  
15 outliers. They are generally not probative of the scope of the Second Amendment  
16 because most were enacted long after the Founding and, typically, after the  
17 Fourteenth Amendment. *See Heller*, 554 U.S. at 614. Furthermore, much of the Old  
18 West—places like New Mexico, Wyoming, Arizona, Idaho—remained under  
19 territorial governance at the time. It is questionable whether such ordinances could  
20 have survived scrutiny following statehood. Indeed, the Idaho Supreme Court,  
21 citing the Second Amendment and its state analogue, invalidated one such  
22 territorial law following Idaho’s admission to the Union: “the legislature has no  
23 power to prohibit a citizen from bearing arms in any portion of the state of Idaho,  
24 whether within or without the corporate limits of cities, towns, and villages.” *In re*  
25 *Brickey*, 70 P. 609, 609 (Idaho 1902).

### 26                   **4.     Nineteenth Century Precedent Confirms that the Right to** 27                   **Carry Could Not be Unduly Burdened by the State**

28           The far better indicator of how the right was understood during the 19th

1 century is the near-unanimous body of caselaw concluding that the right enshrined  
2 in the Second Amendment included a robust right to carry a firearm outside one's  
3 home. *See generally* Michael P. O'Shea, *Modeling the Second Amendment Right to*  
4 *Carry Arms (I): Judicial Tradition and the Scope of "Bearing Arms" for Self-*  
5 *Defense*, 61 Am. U. L. Rev. 585 (2012).

6 For example, while the State inexplicably describes the Supreme Court of  
7 North Carolina's decision in *Huntly* as "[a] primary example" of "the notion that in  
8 most places in the country it was unlawful to carry a firearm in public," Def.'s Mot.  
9 Summ. J. at 11, *Huntly* actually held "the carrying of a gun *per se* constitutes no  
10 offence. For any lawful purpose—either of business or amusement—the citizen is  
11 at perfect liberty to carry his gun." 25 N.C. at 422-23. *Nunn v. State* reached a  
12 similar conclusion. 1 Ga. 243 (1846). There, the Georgia Supreme Court held in  
13 favor of a man convicted of carrying a pistol on his person. *See id.* at 251. As the  
14 court explained, any statute preventing the carrying of handguns in a manner that  
15 "deprive[s] the citizen of his *natural* right of self-defence, or of his constitutional  
16 right to keep and bear arms . . . . is in conflict with the Constitution, and *void*." *Id.*

17 Additional examples are plentiful. *See, e.g., Andrews v. State*, 50 Tenn. 165,  
18 178 (1871) ("The right to keep arms, necessarily involves the right to . . . . carry  
19 them to and from his home, and no one could claim that the Legislature had the  
20 right to punish him for it, without violating this clause of the Constitution."); *State*  
21 *v. Chandler*, 5 La. Ann. 489, 490 (1850) (The open carrying of firearms is a "right  
22 guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, and which is calculated to  
23 incite men to a manly and noble defence of themselves, if necessary, and of their  
24 country . . . ."); *State v. Reid*, 1 Ala. 612, 616-17 (1840) ("A statute which, under  
25 the pretence of regulating, amounts to a destruction of the right, or which requires  
26 arms to be so borne as to render them wholly useless for the purpose of defence,  
27 would be clearly unconstitutional").

28 The few cases to the contrary proffered by the State are unpersuasive because

1 they largely rely on the flawed premise expressly rejected by *Heller*, 554 U.S. at  
2 602—namely, that the right to bear arms was associated exclusively with militia  
3 service. *See City of Salina v. Blaksley*, 83 P. 619, 620 (Kan. 1905) (explaining that  
4 both the Second Amendment and its Kansas analogue apply “only to the right to  
5 bear arms as a member of the state militia, or some other military organization  
6 provided for by law.”); *English v. State*, 35 Tex. 473, 475 (1871) (“[W]e shall be  
7 led to the conclusion that the [Second Amendment] protects only the right to ‘keep’  
8 such ‘arms’ as are used for purposes of war. . . .”).

9         With no answer to the wealth of 19th century authority confirming that the  
10 government may not unduly restrict the right to carry—much of it relied upon by  
11 *Heller* itself, 554 U.S. at 612-15, 627—the State asks this Court to simply ignore  
12 these cases because they come from “the antebellum South.” Def.’s Mot. Summ. J.  
13 at 15. The State tellingly cites no authority for the proposition that decisions from  
14 the antebellum South are somehow lacking in any value when understanding the  
15 scope of constitutional rights. At any rate, notwithstanding the State’s not-so-subtle  
16 suggestion that each of these decisions must have been motivated by racism, it  
17 identifies just one case (from Pennsylvania, which was hardly part of “the  
18 antebellum South”) that had anything to do with slavery—a case in which Supreme  
19 Court Justice Baldwin, sitting as a circuit judge, concluded that a citizen has “a  
20 right to carry arms in defence of his property or person, and to use them, if either  
21 were assailed with such force, numbers or violence as made it necessary for the  
22 protection or safety of either.” *Johnson v. Tompkins*, 13 F. Cas. 840, 852 (C.C.E.D.  
23 Pa. 1833). But the fact that Justice Baldwin recognized this right in the abhorrent  
24 context of recapturing an escaped slave hardly suggests that the right extended only  
25 to that context, and the State identifies nothing in the opinion suggesting as much.

26         Indeed, what the historical record reflects is that it was not the exercise of the  
27 right to bear arms that proved troublesome, but rather its restriction to certain  
28 segments of the population. Limiting the right served as a tool of oppression.

1 Indeed, Chief Justice Taney’s fear that freed slaves might “keep and carry arms  
2 wherever they went” was part of the rationale for his infamous decision to deny  
3 African Americans citizenship. *See Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393, 417  
4 (1857). In ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment, the People affirmed that the right  
5 to carry arms, as with other civil rights, belongs to all Americans.

6 \* \* \*

7 Without question, the right to keep and bear arms, as historically understood,  
8 extended beyond the confines of one’s home. By denying that right entirely to  
9 ordinary, law-abiding citizens, California’s carry laws plainly burden—indeed,  
10 eviscerate—a right protected by the Second Amendment.

11 **II. CALIFORNIA’S BAN ON BEARING ARMS VIOLATES THE SECOND**  
12 **AMENDMENT UNDER ANY APPLICABLE TEST**

13 Concluding that the right to bear arms extends beyond the home all but  
14 resolves this case, as the total denial of a right protected by the Second Amendment  
15 “fail[s] constitutional muster” under “any of the standards of scrutiny.” *Heller*, 554  
16 U.S. at 628-29. Accordingly, whether this Court applies the categorical approach  
17 that *Heller* demands or applies one of the levels of heightened scrutiny, the result is  
18 the same: California’s refusal to allow ordinary law-abiding citizens—the very  
19 “people” the Second Amendment protects—is unconstitutional.

20 **A. California’s Ban on Bearing Arms by Ordinary, Law-abiding**  
21 **Citizens Is Categorically Unconstitutional**

22 Because California completely denies ordinary law-abiding residents any  
23 outlet to exercise their right to carry outside the home, there is no need to determine  
24 the applicable level of scrutiny. For a law that completely denies a constitutionally  
25 protected right to those entitled to exercise it must “fail constitutional muster”  
26 under “any of the standards of scrutiny.” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 628-29. That is the  
27 approach *Heller* took in striking down a total denial of the ordinary citizen’s right  
28 to *keep* arms, *id.*, and it is the approach numerous courts have taken in striking

1 down bans on the right to *bear* arms, *see Wrenn*, 864 F.3d at 664-66; *Peruta II*, 742  
2 F.3d at 1175; *Moore*, 702 F.3d at 941-42; *Palmer*, 59 F. Supp. 3d at 182-83. It is  
3 also an approach that a unanimous Ninth Circuit panel endorsed in *Jackson v. City*  
4 *and County of San Francisco*, noting that a law that “amounts to a destruction of  
5 the Second Amendment right, is unconstitutional under any level of scrutiny.” 746  
6 F.3d 953, 961 (9th Cir. 2014). Because California law prevents Plaintiffs from  
7 publicly carrying a firearm, it “amounts to a destruction” of the ordinary citizen’s  
8 right to bear arms, and is thus “unconstitutional under any level of scrutiny.” *Id.*

9 While the State’s scheme is subject to various exceptions, none of them—  
10 individually or in aggregate—satisfies the Second Amendment. That California’s  
11 carry prohibitions exempt narrow categories of people (not including Plaintiffs)  
12 makes no difference. The Second Amendment guarantees the right to keep and bear  
13 Arms to “the people,” not just to special subsets the state deems worthy of  
14 exercising the right. Indeed, the possession ban at issue in *Heller* had “minor  
15 exceptions” for certain people, such as retired police officers, *see* 554 U.S. at 575  
16 n.1, but that did not stop the Court from declaring it a “complete prohibition” on the  
17 right of “the people” to keep arms or from categorically invalidating it, *id.* at 629.  
18 The same result should follow here. Because a ban “on the ability of most citizens  
19 to exercise an enumerated right would have to flunk any judicial test that was  
20 appropriately written and applied,” this Court should “strike down [California’s]  
21 law here apart from any particular balancing test.” *Wrenn*, 864 F.3d at 666.

22 Nor is California’s narrow affirmative defense to criminal prosecution for an  
23 individual facing “immediate, grave danger” a meaningful caveat to its otherwise  
24 comprehensive prohibitions. As described above, if a victim is even legally able to  
25 access a firearm under the circumstances triggering this defense, it applies only  
26 during the narrow window until law enforcement arrives in response. *See supra* pp.  
27 2-3 (citing Cal. Penal Code § 26045(a)-(c)). More fundamentally, however, the  
28 notion that the right to bear arms is sufficiently accommodated by a potential

1 defense to a prosecution for its exercise cannot be reconciled with the Supreme  
2 Court’s repeated admonishments that the Second Amendment protects a  
3 fundamental right to be “armed and ready” in case of confrontation. *Heller*, 554  
4 U.S. at 584 (quoting *Muscarello*, 524 U.S. at 143 (Ginsburg, J., dissenting)).

5 Finally, while there are technically parts of unincorporated areas where it is  
6 legal to openly carry a firearm, the reality for most counties is that these are tiny  
7 islands in a sea of “prohibited areas.” Cal. Penal Code §§ 17030, 25850(a). Indeed,  
8 as explained above, if individuals are anywhere near civilization in Los Angeles  
9 County—i.e., almost anywhere in Los Angeles County where the need for self-  
10 defense might arise—they are prohibited from openly carrying. *See supra* pp. 3.

11 In short, for ordinary, law-abiding individuals like Plaintiffs, California’s  
12 prohibitions are, in all meaningful respects, the functional equivalent of a flat ban  
13 on publicly carrying firearms for self-defense. Because a ban on the exercise of a  
14 right protected by the Constitution “amounts to a destruction” of the right, it is  
15 necessarily “unconstitutional under any level of scrutiny.” *Jackson*, 746 F.3d at 961  
16 (citing *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 629).

17  
18 **B. Regardless, California’s Ban on Open Carry Cannot Survive Any  
Level of Means-end Review**

19 Even if the Court applies a traditional tiers-of-scrutiny approach, the same  
20 result must obtain. Under *United States v. Chovan*, courts select the appropriate  
21 level of means-end scrutiny, either strict or intermediate,<sup>1</sup> based on “how close the  
22 law comes to the core of the Second Amendment” and “the severity of the law’s  
23 burden on the right.” 735 F.3d 1127, 1138 (9th Cir. 2013). Because the State  
24 generally bars ordinary, law-abiding citizens from bearing arms in public for self-  
25 defense, its laws impose a severe burden on conduct at the core of the right. Strict  
26 scrutiny must thus apply. But even if this Court selects intermediate scrutiny, the

27  
28 <sup>1</sup> It is clear from *Heller* that heightened review must apply, for the Court specifically rejected rational-basis review. 554 U.S. at 628-29 & n.27.

1 government must still establish that the law is sufficiently tailored to achieve an  
2 important government interest. As explained below, there is nothing remotely  
3 tailored about a law that bars most law-abiding residents from meaningfully  
4 exercising their right to bear arms for self-defense.

5 **1. Because Banning the Carry of Firearms for Self-defense**  
6 **Severely Burdens Core Second Amendment Conduct, Strict**  
7 **Scrutiny Must Apply**

8 In determining the appropriate level of scrutiny, courts must first determine  
9 whether the burdened conduct lies at the “core” of the Second Amendment. *Id.* at  
10 1137. As the D.C. Circuit recently recognized, “the ‘core’ or ‘*central component*’  
11 of the Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms protects ‘individual self-  
12 defense,’ (citation omitted), by ‘law-abiding, responsible citizens’ (citation  
13 omitted).” *Wrenn*, 864 F.3d at 657 (quoting *McDonald*, 561 U.S. at 767-78, and  
14 *Heller I*, 554 U.S. at 635). That “core,” *Wrenn* confirms, extends beyond the  
15 home—to the public carry of firearms. *Id.*; *see also Moore*, 702 F.3d at 935. It  
16 must, for “the need to defend oneself may suddenly arise in a host of locations  
17 outside the home.” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 679 (Stevens, J., dissenting).

18 Sure, *Heller* mentions that “the need for defense of self, family, and property  
19 is most acute” in “the home.” 554 U.S. at 628. But that passing observation is  
20 muffled by the Court’s more boisterous explication of the text and historical  
21 understanding of the Second Amendment—an analysis giving “independent and  
22 seemingly equal treatments” to the separate rights to “keep” arms and to “bear”  
23 them. *Wrenn*, 864 F.3d at 657 (citing *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 570-628). Ultimately, as  
24 the D.C. Circuit has held, it is “more natural to view the Amendment’s *core* as  
25 including a law-abiding citizen’s right to carry common firearms for self-defense  
26 beyond the home.” *Wrenn*, 864 F.3d at 657 (emphasis added).

27 This conclusion should lead us directly to strict scrutiny. If we are guided by  
28 First Amendment principles—and *Chovan* expressly holds that we are, 735 F.3d at  
1138—laws regulating core conduct command strict scrutiny. *See, e.g., Citizens*



1 *United v. FEC*, 558 U.S. 310, 340 (2010). For when a law restricts activity central  
2 to the right, “it makes little difference whether [courts] determine burden first  
3 because [such] restrictions . . . *so plainly impose a ‘severe burden.’*” *Buckley v.*  
4 *Am. Const. L. Found., Inc.*, 525 U.S. 182, 208 (1999) (Thomas, J., concurring)  
5 (emphasis added); *see also United States v. Masciandaro*, 638 F.3d 458, 470 (4th  
6 Cir. 2011) (Just as “*any* law regulating the content of speech is subject to strict  
7 scrutiny, . . . *any* law that would burden the ‘fundamental,’ core right of self-  
8 defense in the home by a law-abiding citizen would be subject to strict scrutiny.”)  
9 (emphasis added). Because burdens on core protected conduct are necessarily  
10 “severe,” strict scrutiny *must* apply.<sup>2</sup>

11       Regardless, by any measure, a complete ban “severely burdens” the right to  
12 bear arms for self-defense. *Silvester v. Harris*, 843 F.3d 816, 821 (9th Cir. 2016).  
13 Citing several exceptions that allow for varying degrees of public carry in  
14 California, the State claims that the burden it imposes is insignificant. Def.’s Mot.  
15 Summ. J. 2. But these trivial exceptions—which, as explained above and in  
16 Plaintiffs’ Motion for Summary Judgment, do not apply to Plaintiffs—do not  
17 alleviate the severity of the burden on Plaintiffs’ rights. Because the State clearly  
18 imposes a severe burden on conduct that is central to the Second Amendment, strict  
19 scrutiny must apply. And because the State does not attempt to defend its ban under  
20 a strict scrutiny analysis, Plaintiffs must prevail.

## 21           **2. California’s Ban on Carry Fails Even Intermediate Scrutiny**

22       Ultimately, however, this Court need not resolve whether strict or  
23 intermediate scrutiny applies because California’s total carry ban cannot survive  
24 even intermediate scrutiny. *Cf. McCutcheon v. FEC*, \_\_U.S.\_\_, 134 S. Ct. 1434,

25  
26       <sup>2</sup> To the extent that *Jackson v. City and County of San Francisco*, 746 F.3d  
27 953, 964-65 (9th Cir. 2014), or *Bauer v. Becerra*, 858 F.3d 1216, 1222 (9th Cir.  
28 2017), suggest otherwise, these cases conflict with longstanding precedent  
regarding the treatment of fundamental rights. Plaintiffs preserve their right to  
challenge such holdings on appeal.

1 1446 (2014) (plurality opinion). Intermediate scrutiny requires a “reasonable fit  
2 between the challenged regulation” and a “significant, substantial, or important”  
3 government objective. *Silvester*, 843 F.3d at 821-22; *Jackson*, 746 F.3d at 965. The  
4 government “bears the burden of justifying its restrictions,” and it “must  
5 affirmatively establish the reasonable fit” required. *Jackson*, 746 F.3d at 965. While  
6 a reasonable fit “is not necessarily perfect” and “not necessarily the least restrictive  
7 means,” it must be “a means narrowly tailored to achieve the desired objective.”  
8 *McCutcheon*, 134 S. Ct. at 1456-57.

9  
10 **a. A flat ban on constitutionally protected *cannot* be  
sufficiently tailored to survive heightened scrutiny.**

11 Completely prohibiting ordinary, law-abiding citizens from carrying  
12 handguns is not a remotely, let alone reasonably, tailored means of furthering the  
13 State’s legitimate objective of public safety. To the contrary, that flat ban is the  
14 paradigmatic *opposite* of tailoring. In applying intermediate scrutiny under the  
15 Second Amendment, the Ninth Circuit has stressed the distinction between laws  
16 that completely prohibit protected conduct and those that leave open “alternative  
17 channels” for that conduct. *Jackson*, 746 F.3d at 968. Unlike laws the Ninth Circuit  
18 has upheld under intermediate scrutiny, California’s carry ban does *not* leave open  
19 alternative channels to bear arms for self-defense outside the home. Instead, the law  
20 flatly denies the right to all but those who can demonstrate—to the satisfaction of  
21 an Issuing Authority with unbridled discretion—a “good cause” for carrying—a  
22 criterion that “says nothing about whether he or she is more or less likely to misuse  
23 a gun.” *Grace v. District of Columbia*, 187 F. Supp. 3d 124, 149 (D.C. Cir. 2016).

24 To be sure, intermediate scrutiny’s “requirement of narrow tailoring is  
25 satisfied ‘so long as the . . . regulation promotes a substantial government interest  
26 that would be achieved less effectively absent the regulation.’ ” *Ward v. Rock  
27 Against Racism*, 491 U.S. 781, 782-83 (1989). But “[t]his standard does not mean  
28 that a . . . regulation may burden substantially more [conduct] than necessary to

1 further the government’s . . . interests.” *Id.* at 799. No, the government “may not  
2 regulate [] in such a manner that a substantial portion of the burden [] does not  
3 serve to advance its goals.” *Id.*; *Colacurcio v. City of Kent*, 63 F.3d 545, 553 (9th  
4 Cir. 1998). And, contrary to the State’s claim, Def.’s Mot. Summ. J. at 20, the  
5 government is not entitled to *any* deference when assessing the “fit” between its  
6 important interest and the means selected to advance it. *Wrenn v. District of*  
7 *Columbia*, 107 F. Supp. 3d 1, 9-10 (D.D.C. 2015), *vacated on other grounds* 808  
8 F.3d 81 (D.C. Cir. 2015) (citing *Turner Broad. Sys., Inc. v. FCC (Turner II)*, 520  
9 U.S. 180 (1997); *Peruta II*, 742 F.3d at 1177). Rather, the State, without the benefit  
10 of deference to its assertions, bears the burden of establishing that California’s laws  
11 do not burden substantially more conduct than necessary to further its public safety  
12 goals. *Id.*; *cf. Moore*, 702 F.3d 933. It cannot make that showing here.

13 Because the laws challenged here, in practice, constitute an outright ban on  
14 carrying firearms in public, *see supra* pp. 1-3, 13-15, they must fail any means-ends  
15 fit test, since the “means” the State has chosen effectively extinguish the right to  
16 bear arms. The State cannot adopt a restriction that wholly and indefinitely  
17 prohibits core Second Amendment conduct, no matter what its reasons, since that  
18 would empty that constitutional protection of all meaningful content. “[T]he  
19 enshrinement of constitutional rights necessarily takes certain policy choices off the  
20 table.” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 636. Surely, the choice to completely prohibit conduct  
21 the right was enshrined to protect is one of them.

22 That conclusion follows directly from the Supreme Court’s precedents in the  
23 secondary-effects area of free speech doctrine. Justice Kennedy’s opinion in *City of*  
24 *Los Angeles v. Alameda Books, Inc.*, 535 U.S. 425 (2002), makes clear that in  
25 defending a restriction as sufficiently tailored to further an important governmental  
26 interest, the government may not rely on the proposition “that it will reduce  
27 secondary effects by reducing speech in the same proportion.” *Id.* at 449. “It is no  
28 trick to reduce secondary effects by reducing speech or its audience; but [the

1 government] may not attack secondary effects indirectly by attacking speech.” *Id.* at  
2 450; *see also City of Renton v. Playtime Theatres, Inc.*, 475 U.S. 41, 47-51 (1986).

3 At least one circuit court has already embraced this kind of reasoning in the  
4 Second Amendment context. In *Heller v. District of Columbia (Heller III)*, 801  
5 F.3d 264 (D.C. Cir. 2015), the D.C. Circuit struck down a prohibition on registering  
6 more than one pistol per month. The government defended the ban as designed to  
7 “promote public safety by limiting the number of guns in circulation,” based on its  
8 theory “that more guns lead to more gun theft, more gun accidents, more gun  
9 suicides, and more gun crimes.” *Id.* at 280. The court rejected this simplistic more-  
10 guns, more-crime syllogism, explaining that “taken to its logical conclusion, that  
11 reasoning would justify a total ban on firearms kept in the home,” and so it simply  
12 cannot be right. *Id.*; *see also Grace*, 187 F. Supp. 3d at 147. In other words, the  
13 government may not adopt a law with the design and effect of limiting the quantity  
14 of conduct protected by the Second Amendment.

15 That is precisely what California has done. The laws challenged here do not  
16 regulate the mere manner of bearing arms or impose reasonable training and safety  
17 requirements. Perhaps if California allowed some other means of carrying firearms  
18 that would be so. But because it prohibits concealed carry too, the laws’ purpose is  
19 clearly not simply to avoid supposed problematic and costly encounters between  
20 law enforcement and the public or to reduce violent crime. *See* Def.’s Mot. Summ.  
21 J. at 21. Rather, it is to limit the number of arms borne in public. To the extent  
22 doing so leads to a reduction of gun crime or increase in public safety, that is only a  
23 byproduct of the State’s suppression of the quantity of core Second Amendment  
24 conduct. As one Second Amendment opinion recently acknowledged, however,  
25 narrow tailoring requires the government to demonstrate that its law is “not broader  
26 than necessary to achieve its substantial government interest in preventing crime  
27 and protecting public safety.” *Wrenn*, 107 F. Supp. 3d at 9. It is telling that the State  
28 makes no meaningful effort to explain how the challenged statutes are sufficiently

1 tailored to survive scrutiny.

2 California's attempt to paint its restrictive laws as merely benign measures to  
3 promote public safety, Def.'s Mot. Summ. J. at 19-21, does not help its cause.

4 Setting aside semantics and pretexts, California's goal is ultimately to reduce the  
5 number of arms borne in public. That goal is illegitimate. This Court should not  
6 credit a purpose so blatantly unconstitutional. It is the equivalent of "decid[ing] on  
7 a case-by-case basis whether the right is *really worth* insisting upon," which the  
8 Supreme Court has expressly forbidden. *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 634. Thus, no matter  
9 what interest California puts forth, and regardless of how well its challenged laws  
10 may further that interest, its ban on bearing arms can never be sufficiently tailored  
11 to pass muster. Even if it were, however, California's carry ban still fails.

12 **b. California's ban on carry does not further the**  
13 **government interests that Defendant asserts.**

14 To survive intermediate scrutiny, a restriction must also be "substantially  
15 related to the achievement" of the government's legitimate interest. *United States v.*  
16 *Virginia*, 518 U.S. 515, 533 (1996). "The burden of justification is demanding and  
17 it rests entirely on the State." *Id.* The State cannot meet that burden. Defendant  
18 asserts three public safety interests that California's ban on open carry supposedly  
19 furthers: (1) violent-crime reduction; (2) conserving law enforcement resources;  
20 and (3) avoiding dangerous interactions between law enforcement and the public  
21 for both their sakes. Mot. Summ. J. at 20. While these are legitimate interests,  
22 Defendant cannot show that they are furthered by the State's open carry ban.

23 i. The State's evidence of its open carry ban's  
24 supposed crime reduction effect is irrelevant and  
unreliable.

25 The only evidence Defendant offers to support his assertion that California's  
26 *open* carry ban will reduce violent crime is a report by a designated expert witness,  
27 John Donohue, III. This witness essentially summarizes an unpublished study he  
28 co-authored that exclusively looked at the impacts of laws liberalizing *concealed*

1 carry. Brady Decl., Ex. 5, 185:17-20; 197:7-8. Aside from the many fatal criticisms  
2 of Donohue’s study described in the report submitted by Plaintiffs’ expert, Gary  
3 Kleck, the study is essentially irrelevant. Brady Decl., Ex. 6, at 13.

4 Donohue “didn’t focus on open carry in [his] paper.” Brady Decl., Ex. 5, at  
5 179:5. He neither conducted any research nor examined data from any state  
6 concerning the impacts of *open* carry. *Id.* at 178:10-12. Nor is he aware of any  
7 research of open carry’s potential impacts on criminality. *Id.* at 179:20-25; 180:1-3.  
8 Donohue admits a distinction between open and concealed carry, *id.* at 197:16.  
9 Nevertheless, he uses inferences from his work on *concealed* carry, *id.* at 197:1-13,  
10 to make conclusory remarks about the impacts of *open* carry, *id.* at 197:7-13. As  
11 Kleck points out, the “obviously unscholarly, evidence-free character” of those  
12 conclusions speaks for itself. Brady Decl., Ex. 6, at 17.

13 Even if his conclusions were relevant, Donohue’s study is rife with the sort  
14 of “shoddy data or reasoning” that the Supreme Court has held insufficient to meet  
15 the burdens of constitutional scrutiny. *See City of Los Angeles v. Alameda Books,*  
16 *Inc.*, 535 U.S. 425, 426, (2002). Donohue misleadingly quotes various studies as  
17 supporting his conclusions when they do not. Brady Decl., Ex. 5, at 91:13-21;  
18 92:14-18, 24-25; 93:1-10, 17-19; 94:15-19. He relied on undeniably biased and  
19 problematic sources, Brady Decl., Ex. 6, at 12, 14, while ignoring relevant data  
20 about right to carry laws, Brady Decl., Ex. 5, at 159:17-18; 321:7-25; 322:1-5.  
21 He also admits not controlling for admittedly important factors, including different  
22 states’ requirement for a carry license or existing gun control laws. *Id.* at 125:9-16;  
23 126:17-25; 127:12-18. But, what is fatal to his entire study is the fact that at least 25  
24 of the 33 states that he analyzed for the impacts of its right to concealed carry laws  
25 already allowed open carry beforehand, and Donohue failed to control for such.  
26 Brady Decl., ¶¶ 10-14; Ex. 5, at 304-06. In other words, he has no idea how many  
27 people were already carrying in public before permissive concealed carry laws were  
28 adopted or after. Nor does he know how many people obtained permits following

1 adoption of such laws. Brady Decl., Ex. 5, at 127:12-13. Without knowing these  
2 facts, it is impossible to conclude that there was an *increase* in public carry—let  
3 alone one that was responsible for an increase in crime.

4 Even setting aside these credibility issues, Donohue has admitted that his  
5 analysis is highly sensitive to the control variables he alone chooses, *id.* at 34:20-  
6 25; 35:1-4, and that he could be wrong, *id.* at 133:20-25. Moreover, Donohue  
7 could not identify any other study that supported his findings. *Id.* at 312:12-20;  
8 313:3-14; 314:9-25; 315:1-25; 316:1-20. Meanwhile several studies exist that  
9 challenge his conclusions, including ones Donohue cites himself. *Id.* at 311:12-16;  
10 *see also* John R. Lott, Jr., *What a Balancing Test Will Show for Right-to-Carry*  
11 *Laws*, 71 Md. L. Rev. 1205, 1206 (2012).

12 Nor can it be said that crime reduction resulting from carry restrictions is a  
13 matter of “common sense” as the State suggests, Def.’s Mot. Summ. J. at 2, since  
14 there are various studies, including ones cited by Donohue, concluding otherwise.  
15 Carlisle Moody, et al., *The Impact of Right-to-Carry Laws on Crime: An Exercise*  
16 *in Replication* 80-81 (2014) (right to carry laws are “socially beneficial”.)  
17 Accordingly, there is no reliable evidence that shows that the impact of allowing  
18 open carry increases the rate of violent crime.

19 The lack of evidence that laws such as California’s advance public safety  
20 should not be surprising, because violent criminals will continue to carry guns in  
21 public regardless, leaving law-abiding citizens defenseless when confronted with  
22 criminal violence. As the Supreme Court recently held in the context of abortion  
23 restrictions, “[d]etermined wrongdoers, already ignoring existing statutes and safety  
24 measures, are unlikely to be convinced to [change their conduct] by a new overlay  
25 of regulations.” *Whole Woman’s Health v. Hellerstedt*, \_\_U.S.\_\_, 136 S. Ct. 2292,  
26 2313-14 (2016). Instead, California’s carry ban must be examined by reference to  
27 those persons “for whom the provision is an actual rather than an irrelevant  
28 restriction,” *id.* at 2320 (brackets omitted).

- 1                                   ii. California's open carry ban does not conserve  
2 resources or reduce dangerous encounters with law  
enforcement.

3           Defendant's additional claim that public safety is furthered by the carry ban  
4 because it will avoid waste of law enforcement resources is equally unavailing. As  
5 an initial matter, Defendant does not cite any authority that such an interest, even if  
6 furthered by a law, is sufficiently important to meet intermediate scrutiny. And, it is  
7 doubtful that it is. If saving police resources were sufficient to restrict constitutional  
8 rights, the government could restrict speech that drew crowds under the First  
9 Amendment, excuse failures to procure search warrants under the Fourth  
10 Amendment, or refuse to produce its officers as witnesses at criminal jury trials  
11 under the Sixth Amendment.

12           Even assuming it is a legitimate interest, however, it is not furthered by  
13 California's open carry ban. The State's expert, Chief Kim Raney (Ret.), does  
14 assert that allowing open carry would result in a drain on law enforcement  
15 resources because of officers being called to investigate individuals openly  
16 carrying. Li Decl., Ex. 10, 101:9-105:2. But he has been shown to be basing his  
17 assertion on pure speculation. While Chief Raney has an extensive and  
18 distinguished law enforcement career, he has almost zero experience with open  
19 carry, having spent his career entirely in a jurisdiction where open carry was  
20 unlawful. *Id.* at 37:17-20, 39: 5-15, 46:23-47:15. He did not conduct or review any  
21 research on open carry from other jurisdictions that allows the practice. *Id.* at  
22 105:10-20. Nor did he speak with officers from such jurisdictions in reaching his  
23 conclusions. *Id.* at 102:2-7, 106:22-107:4.

24           Plaintiffs' expert witnesses, on the other hand, both have extensive  
25 experience in open carry jurisdictions, and both included in their reports that open  
26 carry does not result in the types of law enforcement problems California seeks to  
27 address with its open carry ban. Brady Decl., Exs. 7 & 8. Moreover, even if  
28 Californians did initially react to open carry as the State suggests it might, the State



1 cannot say that the alleged problem will not abate over time when open carry  
2 becomes normative, as it has in all but a handful of the other states. *Id.*

3 The State’s justifications for its laws might be sufficient, if licenses to carry  
4 were available to plaintiffs or concealed carry were legal. But it cannot ban all  
5 forms of carry and then claim that a specific issue associated with open carry  
6 justifies upholding the entire ban.

7 Finally, at least 40 states allow people to openly carry a firearm in public.  
8 Brady Decl. ¶ 10. Thirty-four of these states require no permit to carry openly, six  
9 of the states require a permit but distribute permits on a “shall issue” basis. Brady  
10 Decl. ¶ 13. Most of these states have allowed open carry for as long as they have  
11 existed. Brady Decl. ¶ 14. The fact that not even one of these states has decided to  
12 restrict the practice of open carrying firearms casts serious doubt on whether the  
13 State’s purported public safety interest is furthered by forbidding open carry. It  
14 simply cannot be that all of these states are choosing to harm their residents.

### 15 CONCLUSION

16 The State derides Plaintiffs’ view of the Second Amendment right to bear  
17 arms as “expansive.” But, Plaintiffs are not arguing for a right to “carry any weapon  
18 whatsoever in any manner whatsoever and for whatever purpose.” *Heller*, 554 U.S.  
19 at 626. Rather, they seek to exercise their right to carry “the quintessential self-  
20 defense weapon” in the manner favored by the State for the “core lawful purpose of  
21 self-defense.” *Id.* at 629, 630. If the Second Amendment’s right to bear arms does  
22 not protect this conduct, it might as well not be in the Constitution. Because the  
23 State completely bars the right to bear arms, there is no interest sufficient to justify  
24 the challenged laws under any level of constitutional scrutiny. The Court should  
25 deny the State’s motion for summary judgment.

26 Dated: October 2, 2017

**MICHEL & ASSOCIATES, P.C.**

27 /s/ Sean A. Brady  
28 Sean A. Brady  
Attorneys for Plaintiffs

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**CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE**  
**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT**  
**CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA**  
**WESTERN DIVISION**

Case Name: *Flanagan, et al. v. California Attorney General Xavier Becerra, et al.*  
Case No.: 2:16-cv-06164-JAK-AS

IT IS HEREBY CERTIFIED THAT:

I, the undersigned, am a citizen of the United States and am at least eighteen years of age. My business address is 180 East Ocean Boulevard, Suite 200, Long Beach, California 90802.

I am not a party to the above-entitled action. I have caused service of:

**PLAINTIFFS’ OPPOSITION TO DEFENDANT’S MOTION  
FOR SUMMARY JUDGMENT ON COMPLAINT FOR  
DECLARATORY AND INJUNCTIVE RELIEF**

on the following party by electronically filing the foregoing with the Clerk of the District Court using its ECF System, which electronically notifies them.

Xavier Becerra, Attorney General of California      *Attorneys for Attorney*  
P. Patty Li, Deputy Attorney General                      *General of the State of*  
E-mail: Patty.Li@doj.ca.gov                                      *California*  
Jonathan M. Eisenberg, Deputy Attorney General  
E-mail: Jonathan.Eisenberg@doj.ca.gov  
300 South Spring Street, Suite 1702  
Los Angeles, CA 90013

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed October 2, 2017

/s/ Laura Palmerin

Laura Palmerin