SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES JAMES K. KAHLER,) Petitioner,) v.) No. 18-6135 KANSAS,) Respondent.)

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1 IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES 2 _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ JAMES K. KAHLER, 3) 4 Petitioner,)) No. 18-6135 5 v. 6 KANSAS,) 7 Respondent.) 8 _ _ _ _ _ - - - - - -9 Washington, D.C. 10 Monday, October 7, 2019 11 12 The above-entitled matter came on for 13 oral argument before the Supreme Court of the 14 United States at 10:07 a.m. 15 16 **APPEARANCES:** 17 18 SARAH SCHRUP, Chicago, Illinois; 19 on behalf of the Petitioner. 20 TOBY CROUSE, Solicitor General, Topeka, Kansas; 21 on behalf of the Respondent. 22 ELIZABETH B. PRELOGAR, Assistant to the Solicitor 23 General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; 24 for the United States, as amicus curiae, 25 supporting the Respondent.

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1 PROCEEDINGS 2 (10:07 a.m.) CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: 3 We'll hear argument first this term in Case Number 18-6135, 4 5 Kahler versus Kansas. 6 Ms. Schrup. ORAL ARGUMENT OF SARAH SCHRUP 7 8 ON BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER MS. SCHRUP: Mr. Chief Justice, and 9 10 may it please the Court: For centuries, criminal culpability 11 12 has hinged on the capacity for moral judgment, to discern and to choose between right and 13 14 wrong. The insane lack that capacity. 15 This understanding of insanity has persisted since the 1500s and remains the rule 16 in 48 jurisdictions today. But Kansas scrubs 17 18 moral capacity from its criminal law and runs 19 afoul of the Fourteenth and the Eighth 20 Amendments. 21 Kansas rewrites history in two ways, 22 first by elevating the wild beast test, one that 23 was never used in this country and only rarely 24 in England, and secondly by conflating common 25 law intent, which required a vicious will and

was bound up in moral capacity, with the -- what
 it applies today, a morality-free modern mens
 rea.

As such, Kansas uproots the deeply rooted by eliminating any mechanism to assess whether a defendant's capacity for moral judgment was intact or was irretrievably compromised by mental illness.

9 Now, I'd like to turn briefly to due 10 process first and explain why the moral capacity 11 notion is and always has been fundamental in our 12 system.

13 The model penal code is an excellent 14 example. As criminal law evolved, the drafters 15 moved to more precise mental states. When they 16 did that, though, they retained the compelling 17 mechanism to show insanity. We could do that, 18 the drafters said, because we kept this, this 19 narrow remnant of common law criminality.

In Clark, too, this Court recognized both the presumption of sanity and that evidence of insanity trumps mens rea. This demonstrates the continued need for a mechanism to rebut the presumption of sanity, even when -- even though a defendant harbors the requisite mental state.

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1 And it was not only the mechanism that was important in Clark; the substance was too. 2 This Court said Arizona could do that, it could 3 eliminate the first part of the M'Naghten test, 4 5 because it kept this, the right and wrong principle that subsumes it. 6 So I'd like to now turn back to 7 8 history because it can be --JUSTICE GINSBURG: Well, before you do 9 10 that, you're relying on due process. And suppose a state decides it wants to rethink the 11 12 insanity defense. It looks to other nations for 13 models. And one is what's known as a -- as a 14 judgment of guilty but insane; that is, two determinants are made. Did the defendant do the 15 act with which he is charged? That's the first 16 17 question. And the second question is, what is 18 the proper incapacitation? So guilty but insane 19 would lead to incapacitation in a mental 20 institution. Guilty and not insane would lead 21 to incarceration in prison. 22 Would such a scheme, if adopted by a 23 state of the United States, violate due process? MS. SCHRUP: Yes, it would, Justice 24 25 Ginsburg. And I think it would because the

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1 conviction itself carries collateral 2 consequences that -- and we have never, as a 3 country, treated the insane as culpable. And 4 that conviction would -- would impose collateral 5 consequences on the insane person who really 6 should be excused. CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But I -- I 7 8 would have thought you would want collateral 9 consequences imposed, as I understood your 10 submission, because the idea is that someone acquitted by reason of insanity would not go 11 12 free but would instead be committed to mental 13 care. 14 MS. SCHRUP: Yes, that's right, Your 15 Honor. But --16 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Well, why 17 wouldn't that -- if that's the consequence of 18 the system Justice Ginsburg was talking about, 19 guilty but insane, I don't understand why that's 20 not exactly the sort of course you're looking 21 for. 22 MS. SCHRUP: Well, I want to rewind a 23 little bit, Your Honor, because really what 24 we're talking about is the mechanism to be able

to show that you lack moral capacity. The back

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1	end of it, as long as you have the mechanism to
2	show that you lack moral capacity, that you can
3	choose right from wrong or can't do that, then
4	the ultimate result is not all that
5	determinative. If guilty but insane means that
6	you if if you end up in exactly the same
7	place, then I suppose the label doesn't matter,
8	but what I'm nervous about, actually, is if you
9	have a guilty but insane, some of those statutes
10	in some jurisdictions are you're guilty, you go
11	and get treatment, and then once you are
12	JUSTICE GINSBURG: My
13	MS. SCHRUP: well
14	JUSTICE GINSBURG: My hypothetical is
15	the question of where the person is incarcerated
16	is determined second. It has no collateral
17	consequences. You're found to have committed
18	the conduct charged, but because you are insane,
19	you go to a mental institution. So it would
20	take out any collateral consequences that would
21	label you on the criminal side. It's just you
22	have committed the deed that you were charged
23	with, but you were insane; therefore, you go to
24	mental institution. That, you think, would

1 MS. SCHRUP: Well, Your Honor, I --2 you know, to the extent -- so I guess I would go back to history on this. And what we know is 3 that these people were not even subject to 4 prosecution at all. Hawkins, in his Plea of the 5 6 Crown, said so. But as long as -- the mechanism -- as long as the mechanism for the 7 8 defendant to present his lack of moral 9 capability at the back end, if the regime 10 protects him in that way. But I also disagree, Your Honor, that 11 12 the conviction doesn't stigmatize or show that he is guilty. I mean, if you're found guilty, 13 14 you have that conviction. I do think that the 15 insane need mental treatment. They need 16 commitment. 17 So I quess I'm not -- unless I'm 18 missing your point, I believe it's more about 19 the mechanism and not allowing a conviction of 20 an insane person. 21 JUSTICE ALITO: You're talking about 22 lack of moral capacity. Would it be 23 unconstitutional if a state said that a person 24 is same if the person knows that the act is 25 illegal, even if the person thinks that the act

1 is moral? 2 MS. SCHRUP: So the right-and-wrong principle, Your Honor, includes both knowledge 3 4 of legal wrong and knowledge of moral wrong. 5 There's very little light between the two. 6 So --7 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, I don't know 8 that that's the case. Someone can know that 9 something is illegal but feel very strongly that 10 it is moral. So what -- what's the answer to my 11 question? 12 MS. SCHRUP: Justice Alito, it's not 13 about a belief. It's about a capacity fueled by 14 mental illness. So if a person justifies or 15 believes that they are justified in acting in 16 that way, they are not covered by this baseline 17 standard. 18 JUSTICE ALITO: If the --19 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: What's the answer 20 _ _ 21 JUSTICE ALITO: -- person -- I -- if 22 the person has the capacity to know that what he 23 did was a violation of the criminal law, and 24 that's the defense that is provided by a state, 25 is that unconstitutional?

1 MS. SCHRUP: No. So long as it 2 encompasses -- it can't just be that you are -that you -- you forget what criminal law is. 3 What Justice Brever said in the dissent from the 4 5 denial of cert in Delling was that what legally 6 wrong means -- and it still falls within the right-and-wrong principle, what legally wrong 7 8 means is that you are unable to comprehend the actual nature of -- of the act such that you 9 10 believe, for example, that you're falling into a 11 defense. 12 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, there are many, many people who believe, maybe not so much for 13 14 murder, but certainly for a lot of other 15 offenses, that things that are violations of the 16 law are nevertheless moral. 17 And so if that were the general rule 18 in criminal law, that you cannot be convicted if 19 you -- if you know that -- if you believe that 20 what you've done is moral, that would 21 revolutionize criminal law. And the only 22 element that you are adding to that is that this 23 is caused by a mental disorder. 24 So it becomes important to understand

what you mean by mental disorder. And what do

25

1	you mean by a mental disorder? Do you mean
2	everything that is listed as a mental disorder
3	in the latest edition of the DSM?
4	MS. SCHRUP: Your Honor, it's not
5	about the diagnosis. And you asked what mental
б	capacity means and and what mental illness
7	means. I can put it this way: It is as if a
8	person it's again, it's not about a
9	belief. It's not about justifying. It's about
10	you actually can't tap in to the part of your
11	brain that allows you to choose right versus
12	wrong.
13	And juries have, in 48 jurisdictions,
14	been able to make this distinction regardless of
15	what the diagnosis is.
16	JUSTICE ALITO: Well, what is the
17	answer to my question? Is it sufficient if the
18	person has something that is considered to be a
19	mental disorder in the DSM? And it has been
20	calculated that one in five people in the United
21	States has some mental disorder. So we're
22	talking about 60 plus 60 million plus people.
23	All of them could go to the jury on the question
24	of whether they had the capacity to know that
25	what they were doing when they committed the

1 crime was morally wrong. 2 MS. SCHRUP: Justice Alito, they 3 should be given the opportunity to at least try. This shouldn't be legislatively cut off at the 4 5 There are many mechanisms in place in knees. 6 our trial system, many hoops that they would 7 have to jump through. 8 But if they have a mental disease 9 that's diagnosed, then they should at least be 10 able to get in the door and get evaluated and 11 then proceed --12 JUSTICE KAGAN: Ms. --MS. SCHRUP: -- and --13 14 JUSTICE KAGAN: Ms. Schrup --15 MS. SCHRUP: Yes? 16 JUSTICE KAGAN: Can I ask you about a 17 premise of your argument? And it's that if we 18 look to history, and if history supports what 19 you say, then we're obligated to go with it now. 20 And I -- I just want to ask how and 21 why that's so, because there are many ways in 22 which understandings of criminal culpability 23 change over the years. And -- and -- and how do 24 we figure out which are the ones that the 25 Constitution requires stay the same now as they

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1 were back in the common law or back at the 2 founding or back in 1868, depending on which date you're using, and -- and -- and which ones 3 can change? What -- what -- what do we do? 4 5 We're not stuck with all of history, are we? So if we're -- if we're not stuck with 6 all of history, why are we obligated to keep 7 8 this part of it? 9 MS. SCHRUP: Well, Your Honor, because 10 that's the test that this Court has set out for due process. And you could go back as far as 11 12 you want, but by the 1500s, we know that this was an intact principle. 13 14 JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, the -- I mean, 15 the test that was set out by this Court for due 16 process, I mean, I could give you some ways in 17 which the criminal law of olden times seems 18 remarkably archaic to us now, marital rape 19 exception, maybe sodomy laws. I'm sure that there are others that I could list. 20 21 You know, what does due process 22 require we hang onto notwithstanding changing 23 times? And -- and I guess what is criminal -not -- what -- what is -- what does the Due 24 25 Process Clause require that we hang onto,

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1 notwithstanding the judgments of some states 2 that the time for this has come and gone? MS. SCHRUP: Well, we are -- we 3 4 actually have sort of a perfect complements, 5 Justice Kagan, because we have not only the 6 history that goes back maybe a thousand years, and certainly since the mid 1500s, but we also 7 8 have the modern practice, a fundamental -- a 9 rule of fundamental fairness currently in 10 operation in 48 of 53 U.S. jurisdictions. So it's not just the history. It's 11 12 the fact that we look and everyone has retained 13 it or nearly everyone has retained it. 14 JUSTICE GINSBURG: With respect to 15 history, can we take into account the reality, 16 in the old days at common law, the result of the 17 insanity defense would be you were sent to 18 bedlam, where the conditions were often far 19 worse than in prison? So someone might decide, 20 no, I'm not going to plead insanity, because 21 then I'll end up with an incarceration worse 22 than prison. 23 Do we take that into account in 24 deciding the function of the insanity defense? 25 MS. SCHRUP: I don't think you need to

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1 take it into account. I think what the 2 fundamental principle is, is that the good and 3 evil principle or the right and wrong principle as applied to the insane, it's -- it's the 4 5 application to the insane that has -- is deeply 6 rooted in our country. And where those people -- I mean, in 7 8 today's time, those people wouldn't be sent 9 there, right? We know after Foucha that this --10 those people are sent to an institution. So, no, I don't think it's -- it's how 11 12 they were historically -- where they ended up. 13 They ended up in a lot of places, Justice 14 Ginsburg. Sometimes they ended up there. 15 Sometimes they were released to their families. 16 So --17 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: The things 18 that I -- I think is underlying a lot of the 19 debate is the expansive notion of what counts as 20 evidence. In -- in -- in your brief, you say 21 the defendant in this case was -- this is 22 evidence to support his insanity claim, was 23 described by some as a tightwad who would, for 24 example, borrow rather than purchase tools. 25 And -- and in the same page, again,

1 this is evidence that you selected in the -- to 2 put in your brief of his mental disorder, that 3 he thrived on self-importance, community prestige, and being perceived as having an ideal 4 5 or perfect marriage. Now, maybe that's not the best way to 6 order your life, but if that's what you mean by 7 8 insanity, you can understand why that might 9 cause some reservations. 10 MS. SCHRUP: Your Honor, Mr. -- Mr. Chief Justice, let me just tell you why those 11 12 facts are in there and why they're not -- why they're there and that will shed light on it. 13 14 What we know is that Mr. Kahler had a major depressive disorder. He had a qualifying 15 mental illness. Those facts are in there to 16 17 show that there was an entire other category of 18 evidence that, in combination with that major 19 depressive disorder, could have been been 20 developed. 21 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But that he --22 MS. SCHRUP: But it doesn't --23 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: -- borrows 24 tools instead of purchasing them? That sounds 25 like the reasonable option.

1 (Laughter.) 2 MS. SCHRUP: Well, you can't -- Mr. Chief Justice, you can't take that one fact out 3 of context. But the most important thing is, is 4 5 that juries are able to take the collection of 6 evidence and -- that is presented to them, and decide, they decide whether the person is 7 8 insane, whether they have the capacity for moral 9 judgment or not. 10 JUSTICE GINSBURG: What -- what would 11 be put before the jury, that is, what now, what 12 evidence in this record would you point to to show that Kahler was unable to tell right from 13 14 wrong? What evidence is there that he was 15 unable to make that distinction? MS. SCHRUP: On the current record --16 17 which, of course, was not developed with a right 18 and wrong principle -- I would point you to the 19 Joint Appendix at 87 where his expert said that he -- he couldn't rule out short-term 20 21 disassociation. If you are off-line in that 22 way, he couldn't appreciate right versus wrong. 23 But, again, I'd like to point out that he was --24 he was not even given the opportunity to put 25 forth that and to develop other evidence that

1	would have shown more forcefully that he didn't.
2	And that's
3	JUSTICE ALITO: Well, he had the
4	MS. SCHRUP: the same for every
5	defendant.
6	JUSTICE ALITO: He had the opportunity
7	and every incentive to do that at the penalty
8	phase. At the penalty phase, he was able to
9	to argue I shouldn't get a death sentence
10	because I didn't know that what I was doing was
11	morally wrong.
12	And you'd think that, if the jury
13	believed that, they wouldn't have imposed the
14	death penalty.
15	But they did. And you have to keep in
16	mind what he did. And this is an intelligent
17	man, and he sneaked up on the house, where his
18	wife and her mother and his children were
19	staying. He killed his ex-wife. He killed his
20	ex her mother. He executed his two teenage
21	daughters. One of them is heard on the tape
22	crying. He, nevertheless, shot her to death.
23	He spared the son, because he didn't think the
24	son was siding with the mother. And then he ran
25	away and turned himself in the next day.

1 Now, this is the stuff from which you're going to make a defense he didn't know 2 that what he was doing was morally wrong, much 3 4 less he didn't know what he was doing was 5 legally wrong? MS. SCHRUP: Justice Alito, I'll 6 answer the first part. Sentencing is not a 7 8 substitute because we know from the briefs that 9 jurors make up their mind at the quilt phase. 10 And, In fact, a dissenting Justice in the 11 opinion below said we should not let what 12 happens at guilt indicate what happens at 13 sentencing. 14 And because that he lacked that, the 15 jury lacked that lens to consider the moral capacity principle, you can't draw any -- it 16 17 would be speculative to say what the capital 18 jury would have decided. 19 JUSTICE ALITO: But is that realistic? I'm on a jury and I say: Well, now I -- I've 20 21 convicted this guy. I found him guilty. Having 22 done that, even though I think that he didn't 23 know that what he was doing was morally wrong, 24 I'm going to vote to impose the death penalty. 25 Is that realistic?

1 MS. SCHRUP: It is realistic because 2 we know from the briefs that they -- that jurors are swayed by what they decide at the guilt 3 phase. And if they have lacked the mechanism 4 5 and the opportunity to look through the lens of 6 capacity for moral judgment, then -- then we can't draw any conclusions about that. 7 8 Now, the facts are hard in every case 9 and they are hard in this case. But what we're 10 talking about is an opportunity, a mechanism for all defendants, to be able to get into the 11 12 threshold and let a jury decide --13 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: You've referred 14 several times to the jury. And one of the 15 debates that has occurred over the last several decades is the capacity of juries to be able to 16 17 parse these fine concepts. And one of the 18 things that leading scholars have said is that 19 this may be beyond the capacity of jurors to do 20 in a principled way. 21 So why can't a state say, as Justice 22 Alito points out, we're going to take this away 23 from the jury as a separate defense, put it into 24 mens rea, and then, as Justice Ginsburg points 25 out, have it considered at sentencing? Why is

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1 that an unreasonable policy judgment, so 2 unreasonable as to violate due process? 3 MS. SCHRUP: Well, two points, Justice Kavanaugh. First of all, the critiques or the 4 5 debates were not about abolition. They were not about scrapping the defense entirely. Those 6 should be handled through instructional or --7 8 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Well --9 MS. SCHRUP: -- evidentiary 10 mechanisms. 11 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Sorry to 12 interrupt, but I think one of the debates was, 13 in fact, about putting it into a mens rea 14 defense as Kansas has done, in part because the 15 concept as a separate defense was too confusing for jurors. And Professor Goldstein pointed 16 17 that out in his book and that has been part of 18 the debate. 19 So they haven't necessarily abolished 20 the insanity defense. I think that's a bit of a 21 misnomer. They have funneled it into mens rea 22 and then said that it can be considered at 23 sentencing as well. 24 MS. SCHRUP: Justice Kavanaugh, they 25 have abolished. I mean, they -- they've

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1 acknowledged they've abolished. And what is 2 present in the mens rea approach is nothing more than what Winship requires. And we know that it 3 is not sufficient because it doesn't allow -- it 4 5 doesn't allow a jury or -- or the defendant to 6 raise his capacity for moral judgment, which, if 7 you go back through history, was an important 8 component --9 JUSTICE KAGAN: Ms. --10 MS. SCHRUP: -- of criminal 11 culpability. 12 JUSTICE KAGAN: Ms. Schrup, do you have any information about how this works in the 13 14 46 states that have the rule that you prefer? 15 In other words, how often do people raise insanity defenses? How often do juries actually 16 17 find insanity? 18 If this were in one of the other 46 19 states, how would it operate? But -- or -- or 20 not if this case was. I mean, honestly, you 21 can't say this, but I can. This -- in none of 22 these 46 states, I'm -- I'm -- I'm guessing, 23 would your client be found insane. But what 24 happens in these 46 states? How often are 25 people found insane?

1 MS. SCHRUP: So, Justice Kagan, it's not in the record. I have done some research. 2 I could let you know what I found out if you'd 3 like me to, but it's not contained in the 4 record. But I do know that it is raised in the 5 6 right-and-wrong states and that there are 7 acquittals every year. 8 JUSTICE GORSUCH: And, counsel, can I 9 just -- one other question about the extent of 10 how far this goes. Obviously, this is a capital case, but how -- how far down the road would you 11 12 say this defense must be extended as a matter of 13 due process? To all homicides? To all 14 felonies? Where do you think the line would be 15 drawn? MS. SCHRUP: I don't think that you 16 17 draw the line, Justice Gorsuch, at punishment. 18 JUSTICE GORSUCH: So an insanity 19 defense is required with respect to any criminal 20 complaint, even a regulatory strict liability 21 misdemeanor? 22 MS. SCHRUP: This Court has never --23 well, so it's our position -- we're making a 24 facial challenge, so it's our position it should 25 be applied everywhere.

1 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Okay. 2 MS. SCHRUP: But this Court has never definitively ruled on the extent of strict 3 liability crimes. I think it could carve that 4 5 out. But I think what's important are two 6 things, Justice Gorsuch: First of all, this is a rarely used defense. It's invoked in less 7 8 than one percent of the cases and successful in only a quarter of that. We're not talking about 9 10 a huge number of people. But for the people that it really 11 12 matters, there is no mechanism in these states 13 to protect them, to let them be excused or to 14 let the -- a jury consider their actual 15 culpability when they can't tap into their 16 brains in the way other people's -- people can. 17 And I think jurors are able to decide that. 18 They decide the term "reasonableness" all the 19 time. 20 JUSTICE ALITO: If a state adopted the 21 irresistible impulse defense, would that be 22 unconstitutional? 23 MS. SCHRUP: This Court in Leland said 24 that it is not a constitutional floor. So, no. JUSTICE ALITO: No, not whether it's 25

1 required, but would that be unconstitutional 2 because it does not ask whether the person knew 3 right from wrong? MS. SCHRUP: I think, yes, it would --4 5 it would also have to include the right-and-wrong principle. 6 I'd like to turn briefly to the Eighth 7 8 Amendment. The original public meaning of that 9 term was that it would be cruel and unusual to 10 punish the insane. In 1868, with the 11 Reconstruction, amendments were adopted. Every 12 single jurisdiction had an insanity defense. 13 And even if you rewind back to 1791, it would 14 have been cruel and unusual to punish the 15 They were either handled outside of the insane. 16 legal process or they were allowed to come in 17 and plead and prove insanity. 18 Because the Eighth Amendment was --19 was intended as a check on sovereign power, 20 states are simply not free to legislatively 21 redefine culpability in a way that is 22 inconsistent with history and long-standing 23 practice. 24 But that is what Kansas has done here. 25 It is an outlier. It prevents people from -- it -- well, by taking away the mechanism, they
 ensure that insane people will be punished in
 their borders.

JUSTICE GINSBURG: The Kansas Supreme Court didn't reach that question, so you are asking to -- us to decide it as a matter of first impression.

8 MS. SCHRUP: No, Justice Ginsburg. 9 And this -- you know, was vetted at the cert 10 stage, and I would point this Court to the addendum to -- at our cert reply at page 18 and 11 12 19, because there it's clear that this notion of 13 applying wrongfulness to the insanity defense 14 came up at oral argument, was argued, and in 15 that post-argument memo, counsel said we believe 16 that this issue is presented. We're going to --17 if you want supplemental briefing, we'll provide 18 it, but we believe it is an issue that is 19 implicit in this Court's ruling.

JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: What do you do with the statement of Justice Marshall for a plurality in Powell versus Texas? "Nothing could be less fruitful than for this Court to be impelled into defining some sort of insanity defense -- or insanity test in constitutional

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1 terms." I think pointing out the difficulty of 2 us, through the Due Process Clause, wading into 3 this policy debate and figuring out what the 4 line is.

5 MS. SCHRUP: Justice Kavanaugh, that -- and Powell was not an abolition case, first 6 of all. But, secondly, what Justice Powell said 7 8 there was a reflection of the facts of that 9 That case had to grapple with Leland, and case. 10 the only mechanism or the only test that would have applied in Powell is an irresistible or 11 12 compulsion-based test.

So our standard, the right-and-wrong standard, is below that. And it's not a --

15 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: But Leland in turn said -- noted the wide disagreement among 16 different tests and said choice of a test 17 18 involves not only scientific knowledge but 19 questions of basic policy. The whole problem 20 has evoked wide disagreement among those who 21 have studied it, which is true as to this -- as 22 to the Kansas approach as well. There's wide 23 disagreement, but some have advocated for that 24 as well.

25 MS. SCHRUP: Well, Leland also

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1 recognized the right-and-wrong principle was the 2 majority test in the majority of jurisdictions. And that holds true today because 48 3 4 jurisdictions have retained this baseline 5 principle. And we're not --6 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Are -- are all 48 7 constitutional? 8 MS. SCHRUP: If they have the 9 right-and-wrong principle, they are. Yes. 10 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Is that a yes? 11 MS. SCHRUP: Yes, I'm sorry. 12 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: All 48 are constitutional? 13 14 MS. SCHRUP: Yes. 15 JUSTICE ALITO: Justice Marshall's --Justice Marshall's statement in Powell was not 16 17 limited in the way that you suggest. It was 18 categorical. And he was joined by Chief Justice 19 Warren, Justice Black, and Justice Harlan in 20 saying that. So they were all wrong at that 21 time? 22 MS. SCHRUP: Mr. Chief Justice? 23 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Briefly. 24 MS. SCHRUP: Okay. Justice Alito, 25 it's not that they were wrong; it's just they

1 were talking about a different scenario, a 2 non-abolition case dealing with a test that is north of our standard. 3 Thank you. 4 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, 5 counsel. Mr. Crouse. 6 ORAL ARGUMENT OF TOBY CROUSE 7 8 ON BEHALF OF THE RESPONDENT MR. CROUSE: Mr. Chief Justice, and 9 10 may it please the Court: Petitioner asked this Court to define 11 12 a rule of insanity and to require the states to 13 implement that rule in its criminal justice 14 proceedings. But, as this Court indicated in 15 Powell, nearly 50 years ago, nothing would be less fruitful than for this Court to select a 16 17 rigid rule of constitutional law of insanity. 18 And that admonition rings as true today as it 19 did 50 years ago. 20 The first thing I'd like to talk about 21 is that it's not deeply rooted. The right versus wrong test is a relatively recent 22 23 vintage. The historical basis for it started 24 somewhere around the 1800s; and, therefore, it's 25 not deeply rooted.

1 In addition, the states have had historical and traditional discretion to both 2 define the elements of the criminal law, the 3 defenses that are available in those criminal 4 justice proceedings, and the substantive rules 5 at which those defenses and elements are met. 6 And consistent with that discretion, 7 8 the State of Kansas has a holistic approach to 9 the mental illness problem starting at the time 10 the criminal justice proceeding is initiated, throughout the guilt phase, as well as in the 11 12 punishment phase, and continuing on even with 13 regard to the sentence as it's carried out, 14 whether being in a prison or in a mental 15 hospital. These factors confirm that Petitioner 16 17 has not carried the heavy burden to identify a 18 single rule that is clearly established and

19 required by the fundamental elements of due 20 process. And for that reason, we believe that 21 the state supreme court judgment in Kansas 22 should be affirmed.

And so unless there are additional questions this Court would have, I'd -- I'd like to first turn to the answer of Justice Alito's

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1 question, and the answer is the right-and-wrong 2 test has multiple components. There is no consistent element or definition of how that's 3 applied in any of the 46 jurisdictions. As our 4 5 brief points out, there are a host of different 6 factions and different ways in which those elements would be met, and we think that, in and 7 8 of itself, undermines the constitutional floor that Petitioner seeks --9 10 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Mr. Crouse --MR. CROUSE: -- to have US --11 12 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I -- I understand 13 what you're saying, but I have a problem 14 because, as I understand the mens rea test, it 15 takes away excusing a person who, from the 15 --16 1400s, would have been considered a lunatic, a 17 person who hears voices and the voices tell him 18 or her what to do, and they have no volition to 19 fight back. 20 They -- many of them know they're 21 killing somebody. So intent under your mens rea 22 test is met. They absolutely know they're 23 killing someone; they just have no ability to 24 say no. They -- they don't -- they can't 25 because of their either mental illness --

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1 lunacy, all of the wild beast things, all of --2 yes, they have two components, some volition and some not, but for centuries, that concept of no 3 4 volition, the true lunatic, would get off. 5 Your test doesn't do that. MR. CROUSE: Well, it -- it does. And 6 so our test is -- is relatively consistent with 7 8 the cognitive capacity test. There's a 9 volitional, there's a moral test, and then 10 there's the product test. And so we -- we would 11 view our test as consistent with the cognitive 12 test. 13 And if the individual can't formulate 14 the in -- criminal intent in Kansas, that --15 that is a sufficient defense. And that has been 16 _ _ 17 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But that's not how 18 I read your charge. And when I read the charge 19 here, it doesn't talk -- you're talking the very 20 language that your adversary is suggesting you 21 should adopt. 22 MR. CROUSE: Yeah. 23 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But it's not part 24 of the mens rea test. The strict mens rea test now is do you intend to -- do you know what 25

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1 you're doing? 2 MR. CROUSE: Do you have criminal intent, that's right. I -- I --3 4 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: No, no --5 MR. CROUSE: What I --JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- there's not --6 7 yes, you're -- you're adding a volition. But 8 what I'm saying is your -- this test standing alone doesn't do that. 9 10 MR. CROUSE: So, as I -- I understand 11 Petitioner's test, is they want to ask the 12 question of whether or not the individual knows that it's either legally or morally right versus 13 14 wrong. What Kansas does is, if you have 15 criminal intent, you are responsible. 16 But --JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, I think 17 18 there --19 MR. CROUSE: -- after conviction then 20 you have the opportunity to assert a right 21 versus wrong test. 22 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Well, but that's 23 the point, which is that issue, which is after 24 conviction. What she's been arguing is that 25 since the beginning of time, both under English

1 law and at the time of the founding, all the 2 states then -- and, frankly, until I think the 1970s -- all 50 states didn't make it a subject 3 4 of sentencing. 5 They made it a reason for why you should be excused from your conduct -- for your 6 conduct. 7 You're saying the same thing with 8 9 something like duress: I intend to kill 10 someone, but it's because somebody is holding a gun to my head. All 50 states would let you 11 12 off. But you're now saying it's okay to 13 stigmatize you with a criminal conviction even 14 though, in fact, you may be insane. MR. CROUSE: I'm saying what the state 15 of Kansas has done is it has defined its mental 16 illness defense consistent with what the 17 historical teachings are, dating back to 18 19 Blackstone, going all the way up to the 1910, I believe it was Professor -- Dean Orville Morris 20 21 indicated that up until the 19th Century, that 22 being M'Naghten, criminal intent was what 23 handled everything with regard to criminal 24 insanity.

25 JUSTICE KAGAN: So, General Crouse,

1 could you assume for a moment that I disagree 2 with you on the reading of the historical record? And just let's say that the historical 3 4 record actually -- that there's much more 5 evidence than you are suggesting that a 6 defendant had to have a guilty mind, meaning an understanding that what he was doing was 7 8 immoral, as well as the inability to form 9 specific criminal intent. 10 And if -- if that's the case, if you 11 look at the -- all the cases and say, you know, 12 case after case after case what they're talking 13 about is something more than criminal intent, 14 what they're talking about is some kind of moral 15 understanding, if that's the case what's your best argument that you should win? 16 MR. CROUSE: So I think I have three. 17 18 The first one is the existence of strict 19 liability. The second would be the existence of corporate liability. And, third, I think 20 21 there's just the general understanding that 22 criminal intent has always been separated from 23 moral and -- moral capacity. 24 And even with regard to -- I think the 25 hypothetical you have suggested, I think we

would have to know whether or not the right
 versus wrong test is being defined in a legal
 sense or a moral sense.
 And even if so, the states that have

5 adopted the right versus wrong test have 6 variations within them. Some, for example, like 7 the federal government, to my understanding, 8 would require a severe mental illness.

9 JUSTICE KAGAN: You know, I quess I --10 I understand that there are some variations in the historical record and even in states now, 11 12 but -- but there are some number of states, a great number, 46 states, 48 states, whatever it 13 14 is, that go further than you do in terms of 15 saying something more is required than the mere 16 capacity to -- to formulate criminal intent, and 17 that that something more in large measure is 18 some ability to -- to -- to make moral judgments 19 and to distinguish between right and wrong. 20 And, again, let's just assume that --

21 that that's what the historical record said. I
22 know you don't agree with that. But let's
23 assume that that's what the historical record
24 indicated. Could you still win and why?
25 MR. CROUSE: I -- I could because of

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the nature of this Court's inquiry. This Court has to -- I'm sorry, Petitioner has to satisfy a high burden to identify a particular rule that the absence of which Kansas law would constitute a violation of a deeply-rooted rule. And that simply doesn't exist based upon the very generalities that we've talked about today. So --

9 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: But it seems 10 that by its nature, if the principle is, as Justice Kagan suggests, hypothetically, if it's 11 12 historically established that you cannot punish 13 people who don't know the difference between 14 right and wrong, that certainly sounds like 15 something that is rooted in the conscience and would be ranked as fundamental. 16

MR. CROUSE: Well, I -- I think what the -- what the -- and I don't mean to fight the hypothetical here -- but my understanding of the history is that what has been dealt with throughout our time is how to resolve and handle mental illness within the criminal capability system.

And what this Court's decision,Arizona versus Clark said, is that there is no

1 fundamental --2 JUSTICE BREYER: You're not going to get it exactly. I mean, it is a -- it is a 3 nightmare trying to figure out exact standards. 4 5 I agree with that. But my question, which I 6 just hope you would clarify, because it's -- I'm stumbling on it, imagine two defendants. 7 8 Both defendants, 1 and 2, are 9 certified by whatever board of psychiatrists you 10 want as totally insane. All right? The first 11 defendant shoots and kills Smith. The second 12 defendant shoots and kills Jones. The first defendant thinks that Smith 13 14 is a dog. The second defendant knows it's a person but thinks the dog told him to do it. 15 Okay? What's the difference? 16 17 MR. CROUSE: So I think that's -- the 18 difference is criminal intent in the first 19 situation because, as I understand the 20 hypothetical, the individual intends to commit a 21 crime against a human being. 22 JUSTICE BREYER: I -- I -- I know 23 these are words, you see, I want it looking for

25 purpose or human purpose or whatever that would

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something in terms of criminal law or legal

1 treat the two -- why treat them differently? 2 One answer you've given, you said it's 3 so hard to figure out. I agree it's hard to get a definition. That's going to be true in both 4 5 cases. 6 You say criminal, corporate criminal 7 liability, and regulatory offenses. I agree 8 with you, you'd have to carve out exceptions and 9 that is not easy to do. Okay? I've got those 10 points. 11 But I'm looking for something 12 different between the two defendants. The dog, 13 there he is, the dog, he told me to do it. They 14 are both crazy. 15 And why does Kansas say one is guilty, 16 the other is not quilty? MR. CROUSE: So I -- I think that this 17 18 Court's cases have historically allowed 19 legislative --JUSTICE BREYER: I don't care --20 21 MR. CROUSE: -- bodies --22 JUSTICE BREYER: -- what the cases say 23 at this moment. I've read cases, my law clerk 24 has found 40 instances, going back to Bracton, 25 you know, where it seems to be against you, but

1 I'm not interested in that. 2 I'm interested in a practical, pragmatic purpose, in why the law should treat 3 those two cases differently. Same question, 4 5 I've just now repeated it three times, and I am 6 listening for your answer. MR. CROUSE: So -- and I apologize for 7 8 not getting to the answer of your question. Ι 9 think that the problem is that states have 10 grappled with this and they've made different 11 moral judgments as to who is morally responsible 12 or not. And this Court's cases allow the state 13 legislatures or federal Congress to determine 14 whether that person should be or should not be 15 held responsible. What Kansas does is it identifies 16 17 those who intend to commit a crime, punishes 18 those. 19 JUSTICE BREYER: You're -- you're 20 telling me --21 MR. CROUSE: Our -- our --22 JUSTICE BREYER: -- that states -- and 23 you're right, particularly Kansas, do, in fact, 24 treat he's a dog, the dog told me to do it, differently. But my question was why? 25

1 MR. CROUSE: Well, I think it's a 2 spectrum as to what the states believe is 3 appropriate.

In Delaware, for example, my
understanding is that individual would not be
convicted, whereas in Illinois that person could
be convicted because they know that shooting a
human being is legally wrong.

9 JUSTICE KAGAN: Do you think, General 10 Crouse, that you could also eliminate consideration of the moral understanding at 11 12 sentencing, in other words, take the Justice Breyer example and the dog told me to do it, 13 14 would it be unconstitutional if your state did 15 not have a procedure for considering that at 16 sentencing?

17 MR. CROUSE: So obviously a different 18 question and I think it also engenders a 19 different test. I think that -- that, if you're 20 considering what is available at the sentencing, 21 for whether it violates the constitution, would 22 implicate the Eighth Amendment.

JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, let's put the
Eighth Amendment to the side. Let's say that
this isn't a capital case. All right? Does a

1 state just have to have a way to consider at 2 sentencing somebody's complete lack of understanding of the morality of his actions? 3 MR. CROUSE: I don't believe that this 4 5 Court's cases would indicate that the states have to consider the morality at sentencing or 6 any particular time. 7 8 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: But the --9 JUSTICE GORSUCH: How about -- how 10 about the mens rea aspect of that? I -- I -- I just want to follow up on Justice Breyer's 11 12 question as well, and Justice Kagan. If --13 would you -- would you accept that at least that 14 is required as a matter of due process, that 15 some inquiry into mens rea is required in these 16 cases? And if so, why? And if not, why? 17 MR. CROUSE: Well, yes, I would accept 18 that carving out strict liability in the 19 corporate liability context. 20 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Why? And how do you 21 reconcile that with our strict liability cases? 22 MR. CROUSE: Well, I -- I think what 23 this Court has done is historically guarded mens 24 rea because that's what separates innocent 25 conduct from criminal conduct. And that's what

1 Kansas has done here. 2 JUSTICE GORSUCH: So you -- you accept that there is a constitutional minimum floor 3 below which the state -- states cannot proceed 4 5 with respect to mental capacity and insanity; you just suggest that you've met that standard. 6 MR. CROUSE: I --7 8 JUSTICE GORSUCH: Is that the -- the 9 nub of the argument, then? 10 MR. CROUSE: I think I would finely parse that a little bit. I would -- I admit 11 12 that there is a mens rea requirement with regard 13 to how one would define insanity. I don't 14 believe that this Court has identified a floor 15 and suggested that there are variations of ways 16 to handle --17 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: I'm not sure I 18 understand. You accept that states can define 19 strict liability crimes. I don't know if you've 20 answered Justice Gorsuch's question --21 JUSTICE GORSUCH: No. JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- which is could 22 23 -- could you do away with the mens rea defense? 24 Could you simply say we in Kansas believe if you 25 kill someone, regardless of the reasons, if

1 you've done the act, you've committed murder? 2 Period, end of story. No mens rea defense, no 3 nothing. MR. CROUSE: Again, I think that is a 4 5 much more difficult situation, and I -- I -- I 6 think that would present a -- a lot of 7 additional problems for the State of Kansas 8 because of this Court's requirement of having a mens rea baseline. 9 10 JUSTICE KAGAN: Could you --JUSTICE ALITO: Well, has that --11 12 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- get rid of other 13 defenses --JUSTICE ALITO: -- ever been --14 15 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- General Crouse? 16 Could you get rid of other defenses? You know, 17 duress. Could you get rid of the duress 18 defense? 19 MR. CROUSE: Yeah, so -- so I -- I 20 think the same historical analysis that we have 21 undergone with regard to the insanity test is 22 something that we would have to look at. I 23 haven't done the --24 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Well, on the --MR. CROUSE: -- individual research on 25

1 duress --2 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: -- the history --JUSTICE ALITO: You seem very reticent 3 about answering these questions. Has there ever 4 5 been -- can you cite any -- any state or any 6 legal system, I'll even just limit it to English-speaking countries, that have ever said 7 8 that killing another person is a strict liability offense? 9 10 MR. CROUSE: No. And -- and Kansas 11 certainly doesn't do that. 12 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: On the history 13 that Justice Kagan was asking about, I think 14 your primary answer was that there's been no particular test that is historically rooted. 15 But isn't there a baseline that is historically 16 17 rooted, above which there have been a variety of 18 tests that have been accepted by the states 19 until, as Justice Sotomayor said, until the end 20 of the 20th century? 21 MR. CROUSE: I -- I think I would agree that the states have -- organized 22 23 societies have consistently struggled with how 24 to define and handle mental illness, but I don't 25 believe that there has been a baseline that has

been established beneath which the states could

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2 go. JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: Well, since the 3 early 1800s, at least, to the late 20th century 4 in the United States, didn't every state allow 5 6 some form of a separate insanity defense at the guilt phase? 7 8 MR. CROUSE: My understanding is that 9 the treatment of insanity has varied within 10 particular parameters. For example, some states would require an affirmative defense. Kansas, 11 12 for example, didn't have a separate defense. It --13 14 JUSTICE KAVANAUGH: But all 15 separate -- let me just focus on my question. 16 All -- all the states had something separate 17 from the mens rea approach at the guilt phase 18 through the end of the 20th century; isn't that 19 correct as a matter of historical practice? You 20 can still win the case, as Justice Kagan noted, 21 but just to make sure we're on the same page. MR. CROUSE: Yeah, and I'm not trying 22 23 to -- to skip the answer, because I think Kansas 24 actually included it as part of the guilt phase. 25 It didn't have a separate insanity defense.

1 So, for example, it came in with a different definition. 2 JUSTICE ALITO: I mean, you're saying 3 all states had a separate insanity defense in 4 5 1791? 6 MR. CROUSE: I -- I -- I don't believe I was saying that --7 8 JUSTICE ALITO: No. 9 MR. CROUSE: -- they have separate 10 defenses. I think they handled it differently. Some of them defined it as an affirmative 11 12 defense. Some of them put it in a separate 13 proceeding. 14 JUSTICE ALITO: Some of them handled it through mens rea, did they not? 15 MR. CROUSE: They have. 16 17 JUSTICE ALITO: Does mens rea for 18 murder or for any other criminal defense vary 19 from case to case? Is it not the same in every 20 case regardless of whether the person claims to 21 be mentally ill or not? 22 MR. CROUSE: The mens rea element 23 would be consistent in an attempt to commit a 24 crime, yes. 25 JUSTICE ALITO: So if the mens rea

1	element traditionally incorporated a requirement
2	of moral capability of moral culpability,
3	that would apply across the board, would it not?
4	Not just to cases where the person says this is
5	I I had this lack of capacity due to
б	mental illness, but I have it due to political
7	brainwashing or religious fanaticism or any
8	other reason?
9	MR. CROUSE: That's correct, Justice
10	Alito.
11	JUSTICE ALITO: I mean, is that was
12	was that the traditional understanding of mens
13	rea?
14	MR. CROUSE: So I don't believe that
15	was consistent with the historical understanding
16	of mens rea. And I think it's also inconsistent
17	with general criminal principles in which we
18	don't look at the motive of the individual
19	committing the crime
20	JUSTICE KAGAN: Would would you
21	agree that historically, if you go back and you
22	look at the cases, you see this operating in two
23	categories of cases. One is for insane people,
24	and one is for what were then called idiots,
25	right, people who lacked mental capacity?

1 So, I mean, but -- but for those 2 people, it came up again and again that, yes, 3 you know, you lack the moral capacity to 4 understand what you're doing and, therefore, the 5 criminal system ought to operate differently on 6 you. Isn't -- isn't that right? MR. CROUSE: So I would push back only 7 in -- in regard to whether or not it was a moral 8 9 capability. I think, historically, it's looked 10 at a cognitive capability as to whether we could -- can take intent to commit a crime. 11 12 And I don't think that the moral 13 capacity came in until the M'Naghten era as 14 to -- we asked whether or not someone knew it 15 was right and wrong to commit a crime. JUSTICE BREYER: But it wasn't phrased 16 17 at that. I mean, it's quite deep, this 18 question. It's like ethics and Aristotle. The 19 wind blew my hand. You don't hold him -- well, 20 I'll save my depth for later. 21 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Finish your 22 question. 23 JUSTICE BREYER: I'm not sure I want 24 to. 25 (Laughter.)

1 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, 2 counsel. 3 MR. CROUSE: Thank you. 4 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Ms. Prelogar. ORAL ARGUMENT OF ELIZABETH B. PRELOGAR 5 FOR THE UNITED STATES, AS AMICUS CURIAE, 6 SUPPORTING THE RESPONDENT 7 8 MS. PRELOGAR: Mr. Chief Justice, and 9 may it please the Court: 10 Petitioner bears the burden of 11 establishing that substantive due process 12 principles override the Kansas legislature's 13 judgment in this case in adopting a mens rea 14 test of insanity, and he has not carried that 15 burden. 16 Petitioner suggests that this Court 17 should recognize a theory of moral culpability 18 and impose that uniformly across the states. 19 But the problem with that approach is, both as a 20 matter of history and in contemporaneous 21 practice, there has been no agreement on the 22 precise circumstances when mental illness should 23 excuse criminal responsibility. 24 And I'd like to begin, actually, with 25 the hypotheticals that Justice Sotomayor and

Justice Breyer brought up, because I think that this actually illustrates that even in contemporary jurisdictions today, there is a basic divide on when someone should be entitled to invoke the insanity defense. And this gets to the -- the difference between legal wrong and moral wrong.

8 Even in those jurisdictions that adopt 9 a wrongfulness test, the one that Petitioner is 10 proposing, there is differential treatment of 11 defendants based on whether they could 12 appreciate that their conduct violated the law 13 and constituted a crime or not.

So imagine the defendant who hears voices that command him to kill in order to save the human race. He knows that murder is a crime and that he'd be violating the law, but he thinks the action is morally justified because of his mental illness.

In a substantial number of jurisdictions, he would not be entitled to invoke the insanity defense. And so to try to recognize or articulate a theory of moral culpability, I think, has -- has no roots in history and would actually raise the possibility

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1 of challenging state laws across the nation. 2 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Excuse me. We have -- every state has a duress defense. 3 They all vary. They all have different exceptions. 4 They all have different articulations. 5 There's never been a common one, but all 50 have them. 6 And the essence of it is defined very 7 8 simply as duress, compulsion. And we give wide, 9 wide, incredible latitude to the states to 10 define those circumstances. I think what your adversary is saying 11 12 is that making this go simply to intent and 13 taking out some differentiation from the true 14 lunatic who knows it's wrong to kill a person 15 but the TV made him do it, no volition whatsoever to conform his conduct to the law, no 16 17 ability, I think it's more moral incapacity, 18 rather than capacity. The intent-based defenses 19 don't encompass that in any way. This is not like Clark where we found 20 21 that the two prongs of the M'Naghten test were 22 really encompassed in the first. That's what 23 the problem is for me. There is an essence, 24 just as there is an essence of compulsion for duress as a defense mechanism, there is some 25

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1 minor amount that has to excuse criminal 2 liability. MS. PRELOGAR: And, Justice Sotomayor, 3 4 Kansas here has recognized cognitive incapacity 5 as the way that you excuse criminal 6 responsibility when you are assessing these 7 difficult issues of how mental illness should 8 function to excuse criminal culpability in a 9 criminal justice system. 10 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But that's --11 MS. PRELOGAR: I think that --12 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- where we 13 differ. 14 MS. PRELOGAR: But to the extent that 15 what --16 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: Because you could 17 know something is against the law and still not 18 have the ability to conform your conduct. If I 19 make a moral choice I could say, if it's only a 20 moral choice, I could say I don't wish to do it 21 because of my morality. Could I physically stop 22 myself? Yes. 23 Someone who is insane can't even 24 physically stop themselves. 25 MS. PRELOGAR: And our --

1 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: But that's a different, sort of --2 MS. PRELOGAR: I absolutely agree it's 3 a different test of insanity. As this Court has 4 5 recognized, jurisdictions have struggled with 6 this across time and across different places and 7 they've settled on different variants in trying 8 to identify the precise circumstances --9 JUSTICE KAGAN: But, Ms. --10 MS. PRELOGAR: Which would pull someone totally outside the realm of --11 12 JUSTICE KAGAN: Ms. Prelogar --13 MS. PRELOGAR: -- criminal 14 culpability. 15 JUSTICE KAGAN: -- what you are suggesting as a test for insanity is not a test 16 17 for insanity. It's just the usual intent 18 requirement that we apply to all defendants. 19 If the defendant doesn't have the intent to kill, then the defendant is not 20 21 culpable for that act. And it has nothing to do 22 with his insanity or not. And I think that the 23 question Ms. -- Justice Sotomayor is asking is, 24 is there something else that's necessary? And 25 we would leave a lot of flexibility to the

states, but that something else is -- is something that relates particularly to insane defendants, to, you know, their ability to say, because I have a mental illness, there has to be something more.

6 MS. PRELOGAR: So I don't think that 7 there is something else here. And as this Court 8 has recognized, the guidepost is history. What 9 Petitioner needs to do is come forward with some 10 kind of historical consensus establishing that 11 there's a fundamental principle that Kansas's 12 mens rea approach is violating.

13 And actually the mens rea approach is 14 itself one that was linked to the common law 15 early articulations of insanity. It was long 16 understood that one of the ways you might try to 17 identify that class of individuals who should be 18 declared legally insane as a legal concept was 19 to look at those who didn't have capacity to form criminal intent. 20

21 And I -- I want to pause --

22 JUSTICE KAGAN: But --

MS. PRELOGAR: -- for a moment -JUSTICE KAGAN: Ms. Prelogar, let's
just say I disagree with this, that when I look

1 back at the history I see lots of cases, Rex v. 2 Arnold, Billingham, a number of others, which make it quite clear, I mean, these are all 3 people who had an intent to kill. 4 5 And what the common law was saying was that even though they had the intent to kill, 6 there was going to be a further inquiry into how 7 8 their insanity limited their moral understanding, that -- their understanding of 9 10 wrongfulness of their act. So if I think that 11 that's kind of all over the history, how do I 12 find for you? 13 MS. PRELOGAR: Well, I want to make 14 clear that even if you thought this was a novel 15 approach that didn't have roots in history, the Court has many times recognized that outlier 16 17 states aren't necessarily violating substantive 18 due process. 19 Leland versus Oregon, for example, was 20 a case where Oregon was the only state in the 21 nation that required defendants to prove their 22 insanity beyond a reasonable doubt. So I don't 23 think that that's cause alone to think that somehow this is violating a fundamental 24 25 principle.

1 And I think, actually, looking at the 2 jury instructions in some of the cases that you mentioned, Justice Kagan, like Rex versus 3 Arnold, the jury was instructed there that the 4 5 defendant had to be shown to have no 6 understanding or memory such that he could form no intent whatsoever. 7 8 That is a restrictive test of 9 insanity. It's focused on this same idea of 10 cognitive incapacity --JUSTICE KAGAN: Well, it's -- it's 11 12 less helpful to me to go over each case one by 13 one than for you to tell me that if, you know, 14 if I -- what I think is true is that the 15 history, there's -- there's -- there's just a ton that suggests that -- that there was 16 17 something more than a requirement that the 18 defendant have -- be able to form an intent to 19 kill. Does -- does Ms. Schrup then win? 20 21 MS. PRELOGAR: I don't think so, 22 because Petitioner still bears the burden of 23 trying to articulate with precision what that 24 something more is. And I --25 JUSTICE BREYER: You can --

1 MS. PRELOGAR: -- think for this here 2 JUSTICE BREYER: You can, I mean, that 3 was the point of my question, I think. 4 The law has many, many ways of, in different 5 6 circumstances, trying to separate out individuals for whom the criminal justice system 7 8 is just not going to work in terms of 9 preventing, et cetera, the crimes. 10 One, the wind blew my arm. Okay? 11 Two, duress, because in a duress case you're 12 looking to see could the -- could the defendant 13 have done otherwise. 14 With insanity you're close to that. 15 Often it's a question of could the defendant have done otherwise. 16 And even where not, it is is this 17 18 individual so different from an ordinary 19 individual that it just doesn't make sense to 20 apply the law? 21 Now, if some something like that is 22 going on, then my question, if, in fact, he's 23 the dog, out. Why isn't it? The dog told me to 24 do it. 25 Now, that's the fourth time I have

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1 asked that. But I would like to know what you 2 think about it. MS. PRELOGAR: So these are obviously 3 difficult questions, Justice Breyer. 4 They're ones that societies have wrestled with for 5 6 centuries in trying to balance the medical and 7 moral and legal judgments that go into crafting 8 an insanity rule. 9 This Court has long recognized that 10 states have principal responsibility to do that. And I think that there are various ways states 11 12 could decide that they want to distinguish between those two defendants. 13 14 For one thing that cognitive 15 incapacity test which focuses on whether the individual thinks that the person he shot was a 16 17 dog, might be an easier inquiry for juries to 18 undertake. It might be a more 19 readily-observable sign of mental illness and 20 less likely to lead to confusion about what was 21 actually in the defendant's mind and whether he 22 was considering right versus wrong. 23 A jurisdiction might also think that 24 looking at considerations of individual 25 culpability, they don't want an on/off switch

1 for criminal responsibility but, rather, want to 2 shift those considerations to the sentencing stage where a judge can take evidence and make a 3 more nuanced determination of individual 4 5 culpability. 6 Ultimately --7 JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: How does that stay 8 _ _ 9 MS. PRELOGAR: -- I think that these 10 _ _ JUSTICE SOTOMAYOR: -- consistent with 11 12 Apprendi, assuming we find that since the 13 beginning of modern thought that there is an 14 irreducible minimum of due process that requires 15 the insane to be not convicted by a judge or put 16 in a mental institution by a judge but by a 17 jury? 18 MS. PRELOGAR: May I answer, Mr. Chief 19 Justice? 20 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Yes. 21 MS. PRELOGAR: There would still be a 22 question, Justice Sotomayor, of how you define 23 who is the insane. That's a legal concept. 24 It's one that's yielded no single formulation. 25 And I think for this Court to try to articulate

1 a theory of moral culpability could throw into 2 question state laws across the nation that are 3 trying to make these difficult judgments. 4 CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you, 5 counsel. Ms. Schrup, you have five minutes 6 7 remaining. 8 REBUTTAL ARGUMENT OF SARAH SCHRUP ON 9 BEHALF OF THE PETITIONER 10 MS. SCHRUP: Thank you, Mr. Chief Justice. I'd like to make three quick points: 11 12 First, the problem with the mens rea approach, to get to Justice Breyer and 13 14 Sotomayor's point, is that it scrapes out the 15 why, the underlying motivation fueled by mental illness that explains a defendant's act. And 16 17 that has been a part of our history for 18 centuries. 19 And that gets to the dog or the dog 20 example. It's completely arbitrary. I don't 21 know why if you think -- why one defendant who 22 thinks that a dog, he's shooting a dog, versus 23 another one who thinks a dog is ordering him to 24 shoot someone else, makes any difference 25 whatsoever. The first person is acquitted and

let out on the streets and the second is put in
 jail and maybe put to death.

The second piece of this -- and so 3 there's no safety net, basically. What Kansas 4 5 does, actually, is even more extreme because it 6 limits the kind of mental illness evidence that could come in, and it is essentially advocating 7 8 -- it -- it never explains why or whether there 9 is any light between the wild beast test and the 10 M'Naghten I test, but either way it is fundamentally different than what we have had 11 12 historically and what 48 jurisdictions retain. 13 Second, I'd like to turn to my friend 14 on the other side's notion that -- that there is 15 some limits. He actually doesn't suggest 16 anything. And if you look at page 39 and 40 of 17 their brief, basically everything is up for 18 grabs. 19 There can be no mens rea. They can 20 make everything strict liability. Duress, 21 self-defense, all of these defenses are on the line because, according to them, all that's 22 23 required in Kansas is a voluntary act and 24 intentionality.

25 And, finally, turning back to history,

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1 it's just not right to say that the right and 2 wrong principle is a 19th Century invention. There is a wall of cases and authorities 3 starting in the 1500s and continuing, 4 5 uninterrupted, all the way through until 1843 6 when M'Naghten was formed. 7 There's literally scores of cases, 8 here and in England, applying the right and 9 wrong principle. 10 To contrast that with the test that 11 they suggest, which is essentially the wild 12 beast test, that was invoked maybe two or three 13 times. It was a blip. 14 So history favors us. And although 15 due process is a rigorous burden for a petitioner to meet, we satisfy it here because 16 17 they have taken something out of our fundamental 18 criminal culpability, what we believe as a 19 country, they have scraped it out and they are 20 punishing the insane as a result. 21 If this Court has no further 22 questions, we would ask you to please --23 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, I would --24 MS. SCHRUP: -- reverse the case. 25 JUSTICE ALITO: -- ask you a question

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1 if you -- if you've finished your -- your -- the 2 comments that you want to make. In your reply brief you say that the 3 4 state's premise is that insanity was 5 traditionally tied to a lack of mens rea. And 6 you say -- you agree with that, right? MS. SCHRUP: It was tied to common law 7 8 intent, if we use the term mens rea, but it was 9 tied to common law intent, which is a very 10 different term than what they used, Justice 11 Alito. 12 JUSTICE ALITO: Well, you -- I -- I'll 13 quote you: "The state's premise is that 14 insanity was traditionally tied to a lack of 15 mens rea, true, but mens rea historically required precisely the moral blame worthiness 16 17 that Kansas law now excludes." So that's your 18 historical position. 19 MS. SCHRUP: That's half of our --20 JUSTICE ALITO: And how do you 21 reconcile that with the fact that mens rea does 22 not vary from crime to crime? So if that was 23 the understanding of mens rea, that would apply 24 in every case and there would have to be moral 25 blame worthiness in every case, not just those

1 where the -- the -- the lack of blame worthiness is attributable to mental -- to a mental 2 disorder, however that is defined? 3 MS. SCHRUP: If I'm understanding your 4 5 question, Justice Alito, yes, mens rea, but mens 6 rea historically or common law intent always 7 contained this moral component, this --8 JUSTICE ALITO: Then it would --9 MS. SCHRUP: -- intent to harm. 10 JUSTICE ALITO: -- apply across the 11 board. 12 MS. SCHRUP: It would, with the 13 exception of --14 JUSTICE ALITO: It would apply --15 MS. SCHRUP: -- perhaps --16 JUSTICE ALITO: -- to the person who 17 said I assassinated this political leader 18 because he is an evil person --19 MS. SCHRUP: Oh. 20 JUSTICE ALITO: -- and he is going to 21 do evil things. 22 MS. SCHRUP: No, Justice Alito, 23 because the only people that were -- that this 24 has traditionally been applied to are the insane 25 and maybe infants and that's what --

1	JUSTICE ALITO: And that's what you
2	are arguing for, a separate insanity defense,
3	and that was M'Naghten. But that's inconsistent
4	with the historical record as you, yourself,
5	understand it, which is that it was tied to mens
6	rea, which is categorical, applies in every
7	single case. What what is wrong with that?
8	MS. SCHRUP: Our position is that to
9	the extent it was tied to mens rea, inherent in
10	the notion of mens rea was the ability to choose
11	between right and wrong.
12	So that is very different. That is
13	very different than what Kansas has today, which
14	has no inquiry into that.
15	JUSTICE ALITO: I mean, these 18th
16	Century cases that talk about moral capability
17	or lack thereof in mens rea in the same breadth
18	are hard to understand, but you have to take
19	into account may I finish my sentence
20	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Certainly.
21	JUSTICE ALITO: Mr. Chief Justice?
22	(Laughter.)
23	JUSTICE ALITO: That you have to take
24	into account that people that the 18th
25	Century and early 19th Century understanding of

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1	how the human mind works was very different from
2	what we have today. There wasn't even any
3	any such thing as psychiatry in 1791 and it was
4	in its infancy in 1868. Is that wrong?
5	MS. SCHRUP: Mr. Chief Justice?
б	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: You may.
7	MS. SCHRUP: I want to answer this
8	succinctly. It's not about what mental illness
9	was or wasn't. It's about how we treated insane
10	people, this narrow group of them. I think
11	everybody knows who they are when they are
12	forced to decide it. And it's about not
13	punishing people who don't know right from
14	wrong.
15	Thank you.
16	CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Thank you,
17	counsel. The case is submitted.
18	(Whereupon, at 11:09 a.m., the case
19	was submitted.)
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