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 9

10 IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
 11 FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
 12 CIVIL DIVISION

13
 14 **JAMES MILLER et al.,**

15 Plaintiffs,

16 v.

17
 18 **CALIFORNIA ATTORNEY
 GENERAL ROB BONTA et al.,**

19 Defendants.
 20

Case No. 3:19-cv-01537-BEN-JLB

**DEFENDANTS' SUPPLEMENTAL
 BRIEF IN RESPONSE TO THE
 COURT'S ORDER OF AUGUST 29,
 2022**

Courtroom: 5A
 Judge: Hon. Roger T. Benitez

Action Filed: August 15, 2019

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INTRODUCTION

1
2 The Supreme Court’s decision in *New York State Rifle & Pistol Ass’n, Inc. v.*
3 *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. 2111 (2022), fundamentally altered the legal standard for
4 evaluating Second Amendment challenges to firearms regulations. Instead of the
5 two-step framework that the Ninth Circuit and most other federal courts of appeals
6 had adopted for resolving those claims, *Bruen* held that courts must apply a
7 standard “rooted in the Second Amendment’s text, as informed by history.” *Id.* at
8 2127. Under this new “text-and-history” standard, courts must determine whether
9 “the Second Amendment’s plain text” protects the conduct in which the plaintiff
10 wishes to engage, and if it does, then decide whether the regulation “is consistent
11 with this Nation’s historical tradition of firearm regulation.” *Id.* at 2126. But, at
12 the same time, the Court also made clear that the Second Amendment is not a
13 “regulatory straightjacket.” *Id.* at 2133. It does not prevent states from adopting a
14 “‘variety’ of gun regulations,” *id.* at 2162 (Kavanaugh, J., concurring), and
15 “experiment[ing] with reasonable firearms regulations” to address threats to the
16 public. *McDonald v. City of Chicago*, 561 U.S. 742, 785 (2010) (plurality opinion).

17 Under the Court’s text-and-history standard, and consistent with the Supreme
18 Court’s Second Amendment precedents, California’s Assault Weapons Control Act
19 (“AWCA”) is a permissible exercise of the State’s police powers that fully
20 comports with the Second Amendment’s text and history.¹ The Court should
21 uphold the challenged provisions of the AWCA.

22
23 ¹ In support of the AWCA’s constitutionality, Defendants rely on evidence in
24 the existing trial record as well as the testimony presented in the additional
25 declarations filed herewith: the Supplemental Declaration of Lucy P. Allen
26 (“Suppl. Allen Decl.”); the Declaration of Ryan Busse (“Busse Decl.”); the
27 Declaration of Saul Cornell (“Cornell Decl.”); the Supplemental Declaration of
28 John J. Donohue (“Suppl. Donohue Decl.”); the Supplemental Declaration of Louis
Klarevas (“Suppl. Klarevas Decl.”); the Declaration of Brennan Rivas (“Rivas
Decl.”); the Declaration of Randolph Roth (“Roth Decl.”); the Declaration of
Robert Spitzer (“Spitzer Decl.”); and the Declaration of Michael Vorenberg

1 the AWCA are commonly used for self-defense. As the Supreme Court has made
2 clear three times over, “individual self-defense is ‘the *central component*’ of the
3 Second Amendment right.” *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2133 (quoting *McDonald*, 561
4 U.S. at 767, in turn quoting *District of Columbia v. Heller*, 554 U.S. 570, 599
5 (2008)). But weapons with the accessories or configurations regulated by the
6 AWCA are not “commonly used” for “self-defense.” *Id.* at 2138. To the contrary,
7 they are military weapons that are practically indistinguishable from assault rifles
8 “like” the M-16 and thus “may be banned” consistent with *Heller*. *See, e.g., Kolbe*
9 *v. Hogan*, 849 F.3d 114, 136 (4th Cir. 2017) (en banc) (citing *Heller*, 554 U.S. at
10 627); *cf. Duncan v. Bonta*, 19 F.4th 1087, 1101 (9th Cir. 2021) (noting that
11 extending *Kolbe*’s reasoning to large-capacity magazines had “significant merit”),
12 *vacated on other grounds*, 142 S. Ct. 2895 (June 30, 2022).

13 ***Second***, even if the plain text of the Second Amendment covers Plaintiffs’
14 proposed conduct, Defendants have satisfied their burden in demonstrating that the
15 AWCA is “consistent with the Nation’s historical tradition of firearm regulation.”
16 *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2130. While the Supreme Court has examined relevant history
17 to determine that law-abiding citizens have a right to keep handguns in the home
18 for self-defense, *see Heller*, 554 U.S. 570; *McDonald v.*, 561 U.S. 742, and to bear
19 handguns outside of the home for self-defense under certain conditions, *see Bruen*,
20 142 S. Ct. at 2138 n.9 (acknowledging permissible conditions on public carry), the
21 Court has not yet examined the types of weapons (other than handguns) that may be
22 kept and borne inside or outside the home. As Justice Alito noted, nothing in *Bruen*
23 “decide[d] anything about the kinds of weapons that people may possess.” *Id.* at
24 2157 (Alito, J., concurring); *id.* at 2161 (Kavanaugh, J., concurring) (underscoring
25 the “limits of the Court’s decision” in *Bruen*).

26 In conducting the historical analysis that *Bruen* requires, the Court must afford
27 governments sufficient leeway in establishing the requisite analogies. Obviously,
28 Defendants cannot identify restrictions like the ones challenged here from 1791 or

1 1868, for the simple reason that neither semiautomatic centerfire rifles nor the
2 regulated accessories existed at either time. But that is not Defendants’ burden. As
3 *Bruen* makes clear, the Second Amendment does not require governments to
4 identify a “historical *twin*” or “dead ringer” to justify a law. *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at
5 2133. And that is especially true here, where the AWCA was adopted in response
6 to “dramatic technological changes,” *id.* at 2132—the exponential increase in the
7 lethality of a single firearm—and the “unprecedented societal concern[,]” *id.*, that
8 followed—mass shootings. Under *Bruen*, the AWCA is constitutional so long as it
9 “impose[s] a comparable burden on the right of armed self-defense” as its historical
10 predecessors, and so long as the burdens of the modern and historical laws are
11 “comparably justified.” *Id.* at 2133.

12 That is the case here. Throughout Anglo-American history, governments have
13 adopted restrictions on “dangerous [or] unusual weapons,” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 627,
14 while allowing law-abiding residents to possess and acquire other firearms for self-
15 defense purposes. The AWCA is a part of that tradition. As explained in the
16 accompanying declarations of historians and political and social scientists, which
17 supplement the existing trial record in this matter, the history of state and federal
18 regulation of firearms and other weapons—from the regulation of dangerous or
19 unusual weapons in pre-founding England, through the founding of the United
20 States and the antebellum and postbellum periods, and continuing into the 20th
21 century—reveals a well-established tradition of government regulation of particular
22 weapons deemed to pose a significant public danger, provided that other weapons
23 remained available for effective self-defense. As one historian has observed,
24 alongside the right to keep and bear arms, “state and local governments maintained
25 broad police powers to regulate dangerous weapons,” so long as their regulations
26 did not “utterly destroy” the right to keep and bear arms or “fail to allow for armed
27 self-defense.” Patrick J. Charles, *Armed in America: A History of Gun Rights*
28 *from Colonial Militias to Concealed Carry* 155 (2018). The numerous restrictions

1 on certain types of firearms and other weapons enacted around the time that the
2 Second and Fourteenth Amendments were ratified—such as restrictions on Bowie
3 knives, blunt weapons, and trap guns—responded to existing technologies and
4 threats to public safety confronting governments at the time of enactment, including
5 concealable weapons that were used frequently in interpersonal assault and
6 homicide. Weapons technologies changed after ratification of the Fourteenth
7 Amendment, including the development of semiautomatic weapons that were not
8 widely available among civilians at that time, governments shifted focus to address
9 those new threats to public safety, culminating in the National Firearms Act of 1934
10 and, eventually, assault weapons restrictions like the AWCA. This history provides
11 ample analogues to the AWCA’s restrictions on certain types of firearms with
12 enumerated configurations, which impose comparable, minimal burdens on the
13 right to armed self-defense that are comparably justified because they both target
14 weapons that are were favored by criminals, not used for lawful purposes like self-
15 defense, and posed special threats to the public’s safety.

16 ***Third***, if the evidence in the record, including the additional evidence
17 submitted with this brief, is insufficient to justify the constitutionality of the
18 AWCA, additional discovery is required to develop a more comprehensive record
19 responsive to *Bruen*. Following the Ninth Circuit’s order remanding the case for
20 “further proceedings consistent with the United States Supreme Court’s decision in
21 [*Bruen*],” Dkt. 133, Defendants proposed an expedited discovery and briefing
22 schedule that would allow the parties to compile the kind of record required under
23 *Bruen* and brief dispositive motions on a reasonable timetable, *see* Dkt. 129 at 17–
24 18. The Court did not accept Defendants’ proposal. Defendants maintain that
25 formal discovery on remand is warranted in a case of this complexity and
26 importance.

27 Notwithstanding Defendants’ concerns about the prospect of entry of
28 judgment before Defendants receive a fair opportunity to develop the supplemental

1 record required by *Bruen*, the AWCA is constitutional under the Second
 2 Amendment in light of currently available historical evidence and the evidence
 3 previously adduced at trial.

4 BACKGROUND

5 I. STATUTORY OVERVIEW OF THE ASSAULT WEAPONS CONTROL ACT

6 The AWCA was enacted over 30 years ago in the wake of two devastating
 7 mass shootings in the State. In 1984, a shooter used a semiautomatic UZI and a
 8 semiautomatic Browning HI-Point rifle to kill 21 people and injury 19 others at a
 9 McDonald’s restaurant in San Ysidro, California, and in 1989, a shooter used a
 10 semiautomatic AK-47 rifle to kill 5 schoolchildren and injury 32 others at an
 11 elementary school in Stockton, California. *See* Defs.’ Trial Ex. D ¶ 68. Later that
 12 year, California enacted the AWCA to prohibit the manufacture, importation, sale,
 13 and possession of certain semiautomatic firearms identified by make and model,
 14 which were defined under the statute as “assault weapons.” Cal. Penal Code
 15 § 30510; *Silveira v. Lockyer*, 312 F.3d 1052, 1057 (9th Cir. 2002), *abrogated on*
 16 *other grounds by Heller*, 554 U.S. 570.³ In enacting the AWCA, the California
 17 Legislature found that “the proliferation and use of assault weapons poses a threat
 18 to the health, safety, and security of all citizens of this state.” Cal. Penal Code
 19 § 30505(a). The Legislature further found that an assault weapon “has such a high
 20 rate of fire and capacity for firepower that its function as a legitimate sports or
 21 recreational firearm is substantially outweighed by the danger that it can be used to
 22 kill and injure human beings.” *Id.* § 30505(a).⁴

23
 24
 25 ³ Plaintiffs in this case do not challenge the make-and-model definition of an
 26 assault weapon in California Penal Code section 30510.

27 ⁴ Individuals who owned firearms that qualified as assault weapons under the
 28 then-new provisions of the AWCA were permitted to keep them if registered. Cal.
 Penal Code § 30900(a)(1).

1 The AWCA also included a mechanism for the California Attorney General to
2 seek a judicial declaration in California Superior Court that certain additional
3 weapons identical to the assault weapons listed in the AWCA are also deemed
4 “assault weapons” subject to regulation under the AWCA. *See* former Cal. Penal
5 Code § 12276.5(a)(1)–(2); *Kasler v. Locker*, 23 Cal. 4th 472, 481–82 (2000),
6 *abrogated on other grounds by Heller*, 554 U.S. 570. Pursuant to this authority, the
7 Attorney General added additional semiautomatic rifles to the prohibited list of
8 “assault weapons,” which are also identified by make and model. *See* Cal. Code
9 Regs. tit. 11, § 5499.⁵ The Attorney General’s authority to designate additional
10 weapons as “assault weapons” ended in 2006. *See* 2006 Cal. Stat., ch. 793 (AB.
11 2728).

12 In 1994, the federal government enacted the “Public Safety and Recreational
13 Firearms Use Protection Act,” which, like the AWCA, restricted the manufacture,
14 acquisition, and possession of assault weapons defined by make and model. Pub.
15 L. No. 103-322, § 110101(a), (b). But the federal law also included an alternative
16 definition of an “assault weapon,” under which designated semiautomatic firearms
17 were prohibited if they were equipped with two or more prohibited features,
18 including a pistol grip that protruded conspicuously beneath the action, a flash
19 suppressor, or a folding or telescoping stock. Pub. L. No. 103-322, § 110101(b);
20 108 Stat. 1796 (1994).⁶ The original AWCA “was the model for [the] federal
21 statute enacted in 1994.” *Silveira*, 312 F.3d at 1057. The federal assault weapons
22

23 _____
24 ⁵ Plaintiffs in this case do not challenge the make-and-model definition of an
25 assault weapon in California Code of Regulations title 11, section 5499.

26 ⁶ The federal assault weapons ban also included restrictions on the sale and
27 possession of ammunition magazines capable of holding more than ten rounds,
28 which were defined as “large-capacity magazines.” Pub. L. No. 103-322,
§ 110103.

1 ban expired in 2004 in accordance with a sunset provision included in the law. *See*
2 Pub. L. No. 103-322, § 110105.

3 Four years before the federal assault weapons ban lapsed, California amended
4 the AWCA to add an alternative, features-based definition of an assault weapon.
5 1999 Cal. Stat., ch. 129 (S.B. 23).⁷ The Legislature adopted this alternative
6 definition to address the proliferation of “copycat” weapons that were “substantially
7 similar to weapons on the prohibited list but differ[ent] in some insignificant way,
8 perhaps only the name of the weapon, thereby defeating the intent of the ban.”
9 Defs.’ Trial Ex. F at 4. The AWCA’s features-based definition defines assault
10 weapons as those that have many of the same accessories that had been listed in the
11 federal assault weapons ban attached to them, but deems a firearm to be an assault
12 weapon if it has one or more of the qualifying features instead of two. The
13 features-based definition is set forth in California Penal Code section 30515(a).⁸

14 Under section 30515(a), a semiautomatic centerfire rifle with the following
15 accessories qualifies as an assault weapon: (1) it lacks a fixed magazine⁹ and is
16 equipped with a pistol grip that protrudes conspicuously beneath the action of the
17
18

19 _____
20 ⁷ As with the federal assault weapons ban, S.B. 23 added to the California
21 Penal Code restrictions on ammunition magazines capable of holding more than ten
22 rounds, which were also defined as “large-capacity magazines.” 1999 Cal. Stat.,
23 ch. 129, §§ 3, 3.5. Those restrictions are currently codified at California Penal
24 Code sections 32310.

25 ⁸ As with the original 1989 law, the 2000 amendments permitted individuals
26 who owned firearms that qualify as assault weapons under the new definitions of
27 the AWCA were permitted to keep them if registered. Cal. Penal Code
28 § 30900(a)(2).

⁹ A “fixed magazine” is “an ammunition feeding device contained in, or
permanently attached to, a firearm in such a manner that the device cannot be
removed without disassembly of the firearm action.” Cal. Penal Code § 30515(b).

1 rifle,¹⁰ a thumbhole stock,¹¹ a folding or telescoping stock,¹² a grenade or flare
 2 launcher, a flash suppressor,¹³ or a forward pistol grip;¹⁴ or (2) it is equipped with a
 3 fixed magazine capable of accepting more than ten rounds. Cal. Penal Code
 4 § 30515(a)(1)-(2). In addition, the statute defines semiautomatic centerfire rifles of
 5 less than 30 inches in length as assault weapons. *Id.* § 30515(a)(3).¹⁵

6
 7
 8 ¹⁰ A “pistol grip that protrudes conspicuously beneath the action of the
 9 weapon” means a “grip that allows for a pistol style grasp in which the web of the
 10 trigger hand (between the thumb and index finger) can be placed beneath or below
 11 the top of the exposed portion of the trigger while firing.” Cal. Code Regs. tit. 11, §
 12 5471(z).

13 ¹¹ A “thumbhole stock” is a “stock with a hole that allows through the stock
 14 while firing.” Cal. Code Regs. tit. 11, § 5471(11); *see* Defs.’ Trial Ex. D (Graham
 15 Decl.) ¶ 30.

16 ¹² A stock is the “part of a rifle, carbine, or shotgun to which the receiver is
 17 attached and which provides a means for holding the weapon to the shoulder.” Cal.
 18 Code Regs. tit. 11, § 5471(11). A stock may be fixed, folding, or telescoping. *Id.*
 19 The length of a fixed stock cannot be adjusted, but a telescoping stock can be
 20 “shortened or lengthened by allowing one section to telescope into another
 21 portion,” *id.* § 5471(oo), and a folding stock is hinged to allow it to be “folded next
 22 to the receiver to reduce the overall length of the firearm,” *id.* § 5471(nn).

23 ¹³ A “flash suppressor” is “any device attached to the end of the barrel [of a
 24 firearm], that is designed, intended, or functions to perceptibly reduce or redirect
 25 muzzle flash from the shooter’s field of vision.” Cal. Code Regs. tit. 11, § 5471(r).
 26 This definition includes any device labeled or identified as a “flash hider.” *Id.*

27 ¹⁴ A “forward pistol grip” is any “grip that allows for a pistol style grasp
 28 forward of the trigger.” Cal. Code Regs. tit. 11, § 5471(t). A “pistol style grasp”
 involves “the web of the trigger hand (between the thumb and index finger) [being]
 placed beneath or below the top of the exposed portion of the trigger while firing.”
Id. § 5471(z).

¹⁵ A rifle is less than 30 inches in length if measured “in the shortest possible
 configuration [in which] the weapon will function/fire,” with any adjustable stock
 collapsed prior to measurement. Cal. Code Regs. tit. 11, § 5471(x). The
 measurement is made from the end of the barrel (or permanently attached muzzle
 device) to the end of the stock that is furthest from the end of the barrel. *Id.*

1 Under section 30515(a), a semiautomatic pistol with the following accessories
 2 qualifies as an assault weapon: (1) it lacks a fixed magazine and is equipped with a
 3 threaded barrel¹⁶ (capable of accepting a flash suppressor, a forward handgrip, or a
 4 silencer¹⁷), a second handgrip, a barrel shroud,¹⁸ or the capacity to accept a
 5 detachable magazine outside of the pistol grip; or (2) it is equipped with a magazine
 6 capable of accepting more than ten rounds. Cal. Penal Code § 30515(a)(4)-(5).

7 And under section 30515(a), a semiautomatic shotgun qualifies as an assault
 8 weapon if it (1) is equipped with an adjustable stock and a pistol grip that protrudes
 9 conspicuously beneath the action of the weapon, a thumbhole stock, or a vertical
 10 handgrip; or (2) lacks a fixed magazine. Cal. Penal Code § 30515(a)(6)-(7). The
 11 AWCA does not apply to any other type of shotgun, including pump shotguns,
 12 unless it is equipped with a revolving cylinder¹⁹ that holds the shotgun's
 13 ammunition. *Id.* § 30515(a)(8).²⁰

14 _____
 15 ¹⁶ A “threaded barrel” allows certain accessories to be screwed onto the
 16 barrel of a firearm. Cal. Code Regs. tit. 11, § 5471(rr); Defs.’ Trial Ex. D (Graham
 17 Decl.) ¶ 53. The definition of “threaded barrel” includes barrels with “lugs” instead
 18 of threads, which can also be used to attach accessories to the barrel of the firearm.
 19 Cal. Code Regs. tit. 11, § 5471(z).

20 ¹⁷ A silencer is any device used for muffling, dampening, or diminishing the
 21 sound of the discharge of a firearm. *See* 18 U.S.C. § 921(a)(25) (defining
 22 “silencer” as “any device for silencing, muffling, or diminishing the report of a
 23 portable firearm”).

24 ¹⁸ A “barrel shroud” is a “heat shield” that is attached to or encircles the
 25 barrel of a firearm, “allowing the shooter to fire the weapon with one hand and
 26 grasp the firearm over the barrel with the other hand without burning the shooter’s
 27 hand.” Cal. Code Regs. tit. 11, § 5471(jj).

28 ¹⁹ A shotgun with a “revolving cylinder” is a shotgun that “holds its
 ammunition in a cylinder that acts as a chamber much like a revolver,” in which the
 “cylinder must mechanically revolve or rotate each time the weapon is fired.” Cal.
 Code Regs. tit. 11, § 5471(ii). A cylinder that must be manually rotated by the
 shooter after each shot does not qualify as a “revolving cylinder.” *Id.*

²⁰ During this litigation, the AWCA was amended to expand the features-

1 **II. PROCEDURAL HISTORY**

2 Plaintiffs commenced this action on August 15, 2019. Dkt. 1. The operative
3 First Amended Complaint advances a Second Amendment challenge to all of the
4 definitions of the term “assault weapon” in California Penal Code section
5 30515(a)(1)–(8), as well as a range of California statutes and regulations relating to
6 assault weapons. Dkt. 9 at 41–42.²¹ Plaintiffs challenged these provisions on their
7 face and as applied to them and similarly situated individuals. *Id.*

8 On December 6, 2019, Plaintiffs filed a motion for a preliminary injunction,
9 Dkt. 22, which Defendants opposed on January 23, 2020, Dkt. 33. The district
10 court held evidentiary hearings on the preliminary injunction in October 2020, after
11 which it set a trial to commence approximately three months later. The court
12 consolidated the trial on the merits with the hearing on Plaintiffs’ preliminary
13 injunction motion under Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 65(a)(2). The parties
14 engaged in expedited discovery and pretrial proceedings during the intervening
15 months, and a two-day bench trial was held in February 2021.

16
17 _____
18 based definition of an assault weapon applicable to semiautomatic centerfire
19 firearms that are not rifles, pistols or shotguns. 2020 Cal. Stat., ch. 29 (S.B. 118).
20 Under the new definitions, a semiautomatic centerfire rifle that is not a rifle, pistol,
21 or shotgun qualifies as an assault weapon if: (1) it does not have a fixed magazine
22 and is equipped with a pistol grip that protrudes conspicuously beneath the action
23 of the firearm, a thumbhole stock, a folding or telescoping stock, a grenade or flare
24 launcher, a flash suppressor, a forward pistol grip, a threaded barrel that can accept
25 a flash suppressor, forward handgrip, or silencer, a second handgrip, a barrel
26 shroud, or the capacity to accept a detachable magazine at a location outside of the
27 pistol grip, (2) a semiautomatic centerfire firearm that is not a rifle, pistol, or
28 shotgun that has a fixed magazine capable of holding more than ten rounds, or (3) a
semiautomatic centerfire firearm that is not a rifle, pistol, or shotgun that has an
overall length of less than 30 inches. Cal. Penal Code § 30515(a)(9)–(11). These
new definitions are not at issue in this litigation.

²¹ Plaintiffs do not challenge the make-and-model definition of assault
weapon. Cal. Penal Code § 30510.

1 On June 4, 2021, the district court issued a decision concluding that the
2 challenged provisions of the AWCA violate the Second Amendment and enjoining
3 their enforcement. Dkt. 115. The court reasoned that the challenged restrictions
4 are unconstitutional under a “*Heller* test” as well as “the Ninth Circuit’s two-step
5 levels-of-scrutiny test.” *Id.* at 12; *see id.* at 12–92. The district court entered a final
6 judgment on the same day. Dkt. 116. Defendants filed a notice of appeal of the
7 final judgment on June 10, 2021, Dkt. 117, and obtained a stay of the judgment on
8 June 21, 2021, 9th Cir. Dkt. 13, *Miller v. Bonta*, 9th Cir. Case No. 21-55608. The
9 Ninth Circuit stayed the appeal pending its resolution of an appeal in a related case
10 challenging provisions of the AWCA, *Rupp v. Bonta*, 9th Cir. Case No. 19-56004.
11 9th Cir. Dkt. 13.

12 After the issuance of *Bruen*, the Ninth Circuit sua sponte vacated the judgment
13 in the *Rupp* appeal and remanded the matter to the district court for further
14 proceedings consistent with *Bruen*. 9th Cir. Dkt. 71, *Rupp v. Bonta*, 9th Cir. Case
15 No. 19-56004. Thereafter, Defendants successfully moved the Ninth Circuit to
16 vacate the judgment issued in this case and to remand the matter for further
17 proceedings consistent with *Bruen*. Defs.’ Opp’n to Mot. to Lift Stay & Mot. to
18 Vacate & Remand for Further Proceedings (July 11, 2022), 9th Cir. Dkt. 22, *Miller*
19 *v. Bonta*, 9th Cir. Case No. 21-55608, at 1–2. On August 8, 2022, the Court
20 ordered the parties to submit simultaneous briefs addressing *Bruen*. The mandate
21 issued on August 23, 2022. Dkt. 133.

22 In their supplemental brief in response to the Court’s August 8 order,
23 Defendants requested that the Court set a schedule for expedited discovery followed
24 by dispositive motions. Dkt. 129 at 17–18. Defendants proposed that the parties
25 exchange opening expert reports by December 9, 2022, rebuttal expert reports by
26 January 6, 2023, complete all fact and expert discovery by February 3, 2023, and
27 file motions for summary judgment by March 3, 2023. *Id.* At the appeal mandate
28 hearing on August 29, 2022, the Court denied Defendants’ request and set a 45-day

1 deadline for the parties to file simultaneous briefs followed by simultaneous
2 responses 15 days later.²²

3 4 ARGUMENT

5 I. OVERVIEW OF *BRUEN*'S TEXT-AND-HISTORY STANDARD FOR 6 ANALYZING SECOND AMENDMENT CLAIMS

7 In *Bruen*, the Supreme Court addressed the constitutionality of New York's
8 requirement that individuals show "proper cause" as a condition of securing a
9 license to carry a firearm in public. 142 S. Ct. at 2123. Before turning to the
10 merits, the Court announced a new methodology for analyzing Second Amendment
11 claims. It recognized that lower courts had "coalesced around a 'two-step'
12 framework for analyzing Second Amendment challenges that combines history with
13 means-end scrutiny." *Id.* at 2125. At the first step of that approach, the
14 government could "justify its regulation by 'establish[ing] that the challenged law
15 regulates activity falling outside the scope of the [Second Amendment] right as
16 originally understood.'" *Id.* at 2126 (citation omitted). If that inquiry showed that
17 the regulation did not burden conduct protected by the Second Amendment, lower
18 courts would uphold the regulation without further analysis. *Id.* Otherwise, courts
19 would proceed to the second step, asking "how close[ly] the law c[ame] to the core
20 of the Second Amendment right and the severity of the law's burden on that right,"
21 and applying intermediate scrutiny unless the law severely burdened the "'core'
22 Second Amendment right" of self-defense in the home, in which case strict scrutiny

23 ²² As explained in their Brief in Response to the Court's Order of August 8,
24 2022, Dkt. 129, and reiterated herein, Defendants maintain that that this case should
25 be resolved by dispositive motion after a brief discovery period to compile the kind
26 of record required under *Bruen*. Notwithstanding Defendants' questions about the
27 current procedural posture of this case, and subject to and without waiving their
28 objections to the current remand proceedings, *see infra* at pp. 73–77, Defendants
submit this brief and the accompanying supplemental evidence in accordance with
the Court's August 29 order.

1 applied. *Id.*; *Jackson v. City & Cnty. of San Francisco*, 746 F.3d 953, 960 (9th Cir.
2 2014) (same).

3 The Supreme Court in *Bruen* declined to adopt the two-step approach. *See*
4 142 S. Ct. at 2126. The Court explained that its earlier decisions in *Heller* and
5 *McDonald v. City of Chicago*, 561 U.S. 742 (2010), “do not support applying
6 means-end scrutiny in the Second Amendment context.” *Id.* at 2126–27. It then
7 announced a new standard for analyzing Second Amendment claims that is
8 “centered on constitutional text and history.” *Id.* at 2128–29. Under this text-and-
9 history approach,

10 When the Second Amendment’s plain text covers an individual’s
11 conduct, the Constitution presumptively protects that conduct. The
12 government must then justify its regulation by demonstrating that it
13 is consistent with the Nation’s historical tradition of firearm
regulation.

14 *Id.* at 2129–30.

15
16 Applying that test to the case before it, the Court held that New York’s
17 “proper cause” requirement was inconsistent with the Second Amendment’s text
18 and history, and therefore unconstitutional. *Id.* at 2134–56. New York defined
19 “proper cause” as a showing of “special need for self-protection distinguishable
20 from that of the general community.” *Id.* at 2123. This was a “demanding”
21 standard, *id.*, and made it “virtually impossible for most New Yorkers” “to carry a
22 gun outside the home for self-defense,” *id.* at 2156 (Alito, J., concurring). The
23 Supreme Court had “little difficulty” concluding that the “plain text” of the Second
24 Amendment protected the course of conduct that the *Bruen* plaintiffs wished to
25 engaged in—“carry[ing] handguns publicly for self-defense”—reasoning that the
26 term “‘bear’ naturally encompasses public carry.” *Id.* at 2134.²³ The Court

27
28 ²³ No party in *Bruen* disputed that the “ordinary, law-abiding, adult citizens”

1 explained that because “self-defense is ‘the *central component*’ of the [Second
2 Amendment] right itself,” and because “[m]any Americans hazard greater danger
3 outside the home than in it,” it would make “little sense” to confine that right to the
4 home. *Id.* at 2135.

5 Because the plain text of the Second Amendment covered the *Bruen* plaintiffs’
6 proposed course of conduct, the burden then shifted to the government to show that
7 the prohibition was consistent with an accepted tradition of firearm regulation. 142
8 S. Ct. at 2135. The Court categorized the government’s historical evidence into
9 different historical periods: (1) medieval to early modern England, (2) the
10 American colonies and the early Republic, (3) antebellum America, (4) postbellum
11 America and Reconstruction, and (5) the late 19th and early 20th centuries. *Id.* at
12 2135–36. Given that the historical evidence is used to determine the scope of the
13 Second Amendment as it existed at the time of ratification—and remains to this
14 day—“not all history is equal,” and the Court focused on the historical evidence
15 from the period surrounding the ratification of the Second and Fourteenth
16 Amendments. *Id.* at 2136.²⁴

17 _____
18 who were plaintiffs in the case were “part of ‘the people’ whom the Second
19 Amendment protects.” *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2134. And no party disputed that the
20 handguns that the plaintiffs sought to carry in public were in “common use” for
21 self-defense and thus qualified as protected “Arms.” *Id.* (citing *Heller*, 554 U.S. at
22 627, and *Caetano v. Massachusetts*, 577 U.S. 411, 411–412 (2016)).

23 ²⁴ The Court suggested that historical evidence long predating ratification
24 may be relevant, however, if it “survived to become our Founders’ law” and is
25 consistent with the traditions during the relevant historical period. *Bruen*, 142 S.
26 Ct. at 2136. Similarly, evidence from long after ratification of the Fourteenth
27 Amendment, though less probative of the original understanding of the scope of the
28 right, may still confirm the scope of that right if consistent with the text of the
Second Amendment and the regulatory traditions at the time of ratification. *Id.* at
2137 (“[P]ost-ratification adoption or acceptance of laws that are *inconsistent* with
the original meaning of the constitutional text obviously cannot overcome or alter
that text.” (quoting *Heller v. District of Columbia*, 670, F.3d 1244, 1274 n.6 (D.C.
Cir. 2011) (Kavanaugh, J., dissenting))).

1 After conducting a lengthy survey of “the Anglo-American history of public
 2 carry,” the Court held that New York had failed to justify its proper-cause
 3 requirement. *Id.* at 2156. The Court concluded that this history showed that the
 4 Second Amendment guaranteed a right to bear “commonly used arms” in public,
 5 “subject to certain reasonable, well-defined restrictions,” which had not historically
 6 included a requirement that “law-abiding, responsible citizens . . . ‘demonstrate a
 7 special need for self-protection distinguishable from that of the general community’
 8 in order to carry arms in public.” *Id.* (citation omitted).

9 While *Bruen* announced a new standard for analyzing Second Amendment
 10 claims, it also made clear that governments may continue to adopt reasonable gun
 11 safety regulations. The Court recognized that the Second Amendment is not a
 12 “regulatory straightjacket.” *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2133. Nor does it protect a right to
 13 “keep and carry any weapon whatsoever in any manner whatsoever and for
 14 whatever purpose.” *Id.* at 2128 (quoting *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 626). Indeed, as
 15 Justice Alito explained, *Bruen*’s majority opinion did not “decide anything about
 16 the kinds of weapons that people may possess.” 142 S. Ct. at 2157 (Alito, J.,
 17 concurring).

18 Moreover, Justice Kavanaugh—joined by Chief Justice Roberts—wrote
 19 separately to underscore the “limits of the Court’s decision.” *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at
 20 2161 (Kavanaugh, J., concurring). Justice Kavanaugh also reiterated the majority’s
 21 view that the Second Amendment is not a “regulatory straightjacket,” *id.* (quoting
 22 *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2133), and *Heller*’s observation that “the Second Amendment
 23 allows a ‘variety’ of gun regulations,” *id.* at 2162 (quoting *Heller*, 554 U.S. at
 24 636).²⁵ In particular, Justice Kavanaugh emphasized that that the “presumptively
 25

26 ²⁵ These observations are consistent with the Court’s assurances that “[s]tate
 27 and local experimentation with reasonable firearms regulations will continue under
 28 the Second Amendment.” *McDonald*, 561 U.S. at 785 (plurality opinion)
 (quotation marks and citation omitted).

1 lawful measures” that *Heller* identified—including “longstanding prohibitions on
 2 the possession of firearms by felons and the mentally ill,” laws “forbidding the
 3 carrying of firearms in sensitive places,” laws “imposing conditions and
 4 qualifications on the commercial sale of arms,” and laws prohibiting the keeping
 5 and carrying of “dangerous and unusual weapons”—remained constitutional, and
 6 that this was not an “exhaustive” list. *Id.* at 2162 (quoting *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 626–
 7 27, 627 n.26).²⁶

8 Beyond these general observations, *Bruen* also provided more specific
 9 guidance about how lower courts should scrutinize Second Amendment claims
 10 under its new approach. As a threshold issue, *Bruen* directs courts to assess
 11 whether the “Second Amendment’s plain text covers an individual’s conduct,”
 12 *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2126—*i.e.*, whether the regulation at issue prevents any
 13 “people” from “keep[ing]” or “bear[ing]” “Arms” for lawful purposes, U.S. Const.
 14 amend. II. The Constitution “presumptively protects that conduct.” *Bruen*, 142 S.
 15 Ct. at 2126; *see also id.* at 2129–30 (“When the Second Amendment’s plain text
 16 covers an individual’s conduct, the Constitution presumptively protects that
 17 conduct.”); *id.* at 2134 (examining whether the “plain text of the Second
 18 Amendment” protected the *Bruen* plaintiffs’ course of conduct); *id.* at 2135
 19 (similar).

20 If a challenged restriction regulates conduct protected by the “plain text” of
 21 the Second Amendment, *Bruen* then directs the government to justify its regulation

23 ²⁶ *See also Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2157 (Alito, J., concurring) (“Our holding
 24 decides nothing about who may lawfully possess a firearm or the requirements that
 25 must be met to buy a gun. Nor does it decide anything about the kinds of weapons
 26 that people may possess. Nor have we disturbed anything that we said in *Heller* or
 27 *McDonald* . . . about restrictions that may be imposed on the possession or carrying
 28 of guns.”); *accord McDonald*, 561 U.S. at 785 (plurality opinion) (the Second
 Amendment “by no means eliminates” state and local governments’ “ability to
 devise solutions to social problems that suit local needs and values”).

1 by showing that the law is “consistent with this Nation’s historical tradition of
2 firearm regulation.” *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2126. And while the Court recognized
3 that the historical analysis conducted at the first step of the two-step approach that
4 lower courts had adopted for analyzing Second Amendment claims was “broadly
5 consistent with *Heller*,” *id.* at 2127, it clarified how that analysis should proceed in
6 important respects. In some cases, the Court explained, this historical inquiry will
7 be “fairly straightforward,” such as when a challenged law addresses a “general
8 societal problem that has persisted since the 18th century.” *Id.* at 2131. But in
9 others—particularly those where the challenged laws address “unprecedented
10 societal concerns or dramatic technological changes”—the Court recognized that
11 this historical analysis requires a “more nuanced approach.” *Id.* at 2132.

12 To justify regulations of that sort, *Bruen* held that governments are not
13 required to identify a “historical *twin*,” and need only identify a “well-established
14 and representative historical *analogue*.” 142 S. Ct. at 2133 (emphasis in original).
15 Thus, a modern-day regulation need not be a “dead ringer for historical precursors”
16 to pass constitutional muster. *Id.* Instead, in evaluating whether a “historical
17 regulation is a proper analogue for a distinctly modern firearm regulation,” *Bruen*
18 directs courts to determine whether the two regulations are ““relevantly similar.””
19 *Id.* at 2132 (quoting C. Sunstein, *On Analogical Reasoning*, 106 Harv. L. Rev, 741,
20 773 (1993)). The Court identified “two metrics” by which regulations must be
21 “relevantly similar under the Second Amendment”: “how and why the regulations
22 burden a law-abiding citizen’s right to armed self-defense.” *Id.* at 2133. The Court
23 explained that those dimensions are especially important because ““individual self-
24 defense is “the *central component*” of the Second Amendment right.”” *Id.* (quoting
25 *McDonald*, 561 U.S. at 767, and *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 599).²⁷ After *Bruen*, a modern
26

27 ²⁷ See also *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 628 (“[T]he inherent right of self-defense has
28 been central to the Second Amendment right.”).

1 regulation that restricts conduct protected by the plain text of the Second
2 Amendment is constitutional if it “impose[s] a comparable burden on the right of
3 armed self-defense” as its historical predecessors that is “comparably justified.” *Id.*

4 **II. THE AWCA SATISFIES THE TEXT-AND-HISTORY STANDARD**

5 The AWCA is constitutional at both stages of the text-and-history standard.
6 First, Plaintiffs’ facial challenge to the AWCA fails at the threshold inquiry because
7 they cannot demonstrate that the “plain text” of the AWCA covers their proposed
8 course of conduct of acquiring, possessing, and bearing weapons designated under
9 the features-based definitions of the AWCA as “assault weapons.”²⁸ The
10 challenged provisions of the AWCA prohibit the use of certain accessories that can
11 be attached to specified firearms and a particular configuration of semiautomatic
12 centerfire rifles, not the possession of those firearms per se. Cal. Penal Code
13 § 30515(a). The prohibited accessories are not integral to the functioning of any
14 firearm; and semiautomatic centerfire rifles that are at least 30 inches in length are
15 plainly operable. Thus, the AWCA’s regulation of certain accessories does not
16 prohibit the possession or use of any “bearable arms” protected by the Second
17 Amendment, *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2132 (quoting *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 582). In any
18 event, there is no evidence that firearms equipped with the prohibited accessories or
19 semiautomatic centerfire rifles of less than 30 inches in length are “commonly
20 used” for “self-defense,” *id.* at 2138, and therefore do not warrant Second
21 Amendment protection. Plaintiffs cannot demonstrate that the plain text of the
22 Second Amendment—the term “Arms”—applies to “assault weapons” regulated by
23 the AWCA.

24 Second, even if Plaintiffs are able to show that the AWCA burdens conduct
25 covered by the plain text of the Second Amendment, the AWCA is historically

26 _____
27 ²⁸ Because Plaintiffs bring a facial challenge to the AWCA, they “must show
28 that no set of circumstances exists under which [it] would be valid.” *Duncan*, 19
F.4th at 1101 (quotation marks and citation omitted).

1 justified. The AWCA’s restrictions are “relevantly similar” to historical restrictions
2 on firearms and other weapons enacted during the founding era and the period in
3 which the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified. *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2132–33.
4 Unlike the severe restriction on public carry struck down in *Bruen*, which made it
5 “virtually impossible” for most “law-abiding people to carry a gun outside the
6 home for self-defense,” *id.* at 2159 (Alito, J., concurring), the accompanying
7 declarations demonstrate the extensive history of government regulation of certain
8 weapons that posed substantial risks to the public, provided that governments did
9 not destroy the right to armed defense by leaving alternative weapons available for
10 self-defense. The AWCA is relevantly similar to laws enacted in England and the
11 right to keep and bear arms in the English Bill of Rights, restrictions on certain
12 weapons during the colonial and founding period, numerous dangerous weapons
13 laws that proliferated around the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment
14 targeting concealable weapons, and firearms laws that addressed the criminal use
15 semiautomatic and automatic weapons in the early 20th century. The AWCA
16 “impose[s] a comparable burden on the right of armed self-defense” by leaving
17 available a range of alternative weapons for effective armed defense, and the
18 burden that it imposes is slight in that it prohibits only the use of certain combat-
19 oriented accessories on certain weapons and rifles configured to be less than 30
20 inches in length. And this de minimis burden on the right to armed defense is
21 “comparably justified” as the historical analogues, which regulated certain weapons
22 used in the types of violence threatening public safety at that time. *See Bruen*, 142
23 S. Ct. at 2133.

24 **A. Plaintiffs Cannot Establish that the AWCA Burdens Conduct**
25 **Protected by the Plain Text of the Second Amendment**

26 Plaintiffs cannot demonstrate that the challenged provisions of the AWCA
27 burden any conduct covered by the plain text of the Second Amendment. Under the
28 text-and-history standard for adjudicating Second Amendment claims, the party

1 challenging a restriction under the Second Amendment must first demonstrate that
2 the law regulates conduct protected by the “plain text” of the Second Amendment.
3 *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2126; *accord id.* at 2130, 2135. The Second Amendment
4 “presumptively protects that conduct” only if covered by the plain terms of the
5 amendment. *Id.* at 2126; *see also id.* at 2129–30 (“When the Second Amendment’s
6 plain text covers an individual’s conduct, the Constitution presumptively protects
7 that conduct.”). To establish that the plain text applies, a plaintiff must demonstrate
8 that each of the “textual elements” of the Second Amendment’s operative clause
9 covers the proposed course of conduct. *Id.* at 2134 (quoting *Heller*, 554 U.S. at
10 592); *see also Nat’l Ass’n for Gun Rights, Inc. v. City of San Jose*, No. 22-cv-501-
11 BLF, __ F. Supp. 3d __, 2022 WL 3083715, at *8 (N.D. Cal. Aug. 3, 2022) (“If the
12 conduct at issue is covered by the text of the Second Amendment, the burden then
13 *shifts* to the government to show why the regulation is consistent with the Nation’s
14 historical tradition of firearm regulation” (emphasis added)). *Bruen* makes clear
15 that a party challenging a law under the Second Amendment (and not the
16 government) bears this threshold, textual burden. *See Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2134
17 (noting that the government “d[id] not dispute” that the plain text of the Second
18 Amendment covered the plaintiffs’ proposed conduct).

19 The Supreme Court’s assignment of this burden to plaintiffs is consistent with
20 how the Supreme Court “protect[s] other constitutional rights.” *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct.
21 at 2130. As explained in *Bruen*, in free speech cases under the First Amendment,
22 “to which *Heller* repeatedly compared the right to keep and bear arms,” the
23 government bears the burden of justifying its actions only “[w]hen the Government
24 restricts speech.” *Id.* at 2130 (quotation marks and citation omitted). Plaintiffs who
25 assert free speech claims are “oblig[ed]” to “demonstrate that the First Amendment
26 even applies” to the “assertedly expressive conduct” in which they wish to engage.
27 *Clark v. Cmty. for Creative Non-Violence*, 468 U.S. 288, 293 n.5 (1984). And
28 when scrutinizing free exercise claims, the Court first asks whether the plaintiff has

1 shown that the government “has burdened his sincere religious practice pursuant to
2 a policy that is not ‘neutral’ or ‘generally applicable.’” *Kennedy v. Bremerton Sch.*
3 *Dist.*, 142 S. Ct. 2407, 2421–22 (2021). “Should a plaintiff make a showing like
4 that,” the burden then shifts to the government to justify its action. *Id.* at 2422.
5 And in assessing whether an election law burdens other constitutional rights, the
6 Court first asks whether the regulation imposes a “‘severe’” burden on that right or,
7 instead, only a “‘reasonable, non-discriminatory restriction[.]’” *Burdick v. Takushi*,
8 504 U.S. 428, 434 (1992); *see also Zablocki v. Redhail*, 434 U.S. 374, 386 (1978)
9 (“[R]easonable regulations that do not significantly interfere with decisions to enter
10 into the marital relationship may legitimately be imposed.”). *Bruen* holds that this
11 approach applies in the Second Amendment context. Here, Plaintiffs cannot satisfy
12 their threshold, textual burden.

13 In any Second Amendment case, the plaintiff has the burden of establishing
14 that the challenged law regulates protected “Arms.” U.S. Const. amend. II.
15 Whether a particular instrument, device, or weapon is protected by the Second
16 Amendment’s plain text involves an examination of whether it is a “bearable arm[.]”
17 at all, *Bruen* 142 S. Ct. at 2132, and, if so, whether it is “commonly used” for self-
18 defense purposes, *id.* at 2134.²⁹

19
20
21 ²⁹ The common use inquiry occurs at the textual stage of the text-and-history
22 standard. In *Bruen*, the Court situated the “common use” inquiry in the textual
23 stage of its analysis, rather than the historical stage at which the government bears
24 the burden. *Id.* at 2134. Before turning to whether the plain text of the Second
25 Amendment covered the plaintiff’s proposed course of conduct of carrying (*i.e.*,
26 “bearing”) handguns in public for self-defense, the Court confirmed that the
27 plaintiffs were “part of ‘the People’ whom the Second Amendment protects and
28 that “handguns are weapons ‘in common use’ today for self-defense.” *Id.* (citing
Heller, 554 U.S. at 627, and *Caetano v. Massachusetts*, 577 U.S. 411, 411–12
(2016)).

1 **1. The Combat-Oriented Accessories and Configurations of**
 2 **Semiautomatic Centerfire Rifles Regulated by the AWCA**
 3 **Are Not “Arms” Protected by the Second Amendment**

4 The AWCA prohibits the use of combat-oriented accessories on particular
 5 weapons. *See* Cal. Penal Code § 30515. Plaintiffs challenge these feature-based
 6 definitions of an “assault weapon.” Under these definitions, a firearm qualifies as
 7 an assault weapon only if it is equipped with certain accessories or is configured in
 8 a certain way. But the AWCA does not prohibit anyone from acquiring or
 9 possessing any semiautomatic centerfire rifle, pistol, or shotgun without these
 10 accessories or configurations.³⁰ *See* Busse Decl. ¶ 24; *see, e.g.*, Pls.’ Trial Ex. 11
 11 (Kraut Decl.) ¶¶ 5–6 (describing a demonstration with a California-compliant AR-
 12 platform rifle); Pls.’ Trial Ex. 7 (Brown Decl.) ¶ 23 (testifying that Benelli sells a
 13 California-compliant version of the M1014 shotgun); Curcuruto Dep. at 97:12–
 14 98:3, 103:10–104:8.

15 None of the combat-oriented accessories regulated by the AWCA are,
 16 themselves, weapons that qualify as bearable arms protected by the Second
 17 Amendment. And the minimum-length requirement in Penal Code section
 18 30515(a)(3) effectively regulates the use of a short barrel or an adjustable stock (or
 19 both) with a rifle, Busse Decl. ¶ 21, neither of which is a bearable arm or essential
 20 to the operation of a rifle. As the Supreme Court has explained, the Second
 21 Amendment protects ““instruments that constitute *bearable arms*”” that “facilitate
 22 armed self-defense.” *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2132 (quoting *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 582).
 23 For example, courts have held that silencers themselves are not protected, bearable
 24 arms. *See United States v. Cox*, 906 F.3d 1170, 1186 (10th Cir. 2018) (holding that
 25 silencers are not protected by the Second Amendment because “[a] silencer is a

26 ³⁰ The firearms listed in California Penal Code section 30510 “typically have
 27 one or more features that are listed” in Penal Code section 30515. Defs.’ Trial Ex.
 28 D (Graham Decl.) ¶ 47.

1 firearm accessory; it’s not a weapon in itself (nor is it ‘armour of defense’)” and
 2 thus “can’t be a ‘bearable arm’ protected by the Second Amendment”); *United*
 3 *States v. Hasson*, No. GJH-19-96, 2019 WL 4573424 (D. Md. Sept. 20, 2019)
 4 (same), *aff’d*, 26 F.4th 610 (4th Cir. 2022).³¹ Just as a silencer is not a protected
 5 arm, *Cox*, 906 F.3d 1170, a flash suppressor, a pistol grip, an adjustable stock, a
 6 fixed magazine capable of holding more than ten rounds, a threaded barrel, and a
 7 barrel of a certain length cannot themselves be used as a weapon, unless affixed to a
 8 firearm, and thus are not bearable arms protected by the Second Amendment.

9 Moreover, none of the accessories or configurations listed in section 30515(a)
 10 is necessary to operate any of the underlying firearms as intended, and they are not
 11 necessary to use a firearm effectively for self-defense or other sporting purpose,
 12 such as hunting. Busse Decl. ¶¶ 12–24. Indeed, Plaintiffs’ own witnesses have
 13 characterized the AWCA as regulating “cosmetic” features,³² suggesting that the
 14 prohibited accessories and configurations are not central, let alone essential, to the
 15 operation of any of the firearms listed in the AWCA (semiautomatic centerfire
 16 rifles, semiautomatic pistols, and shotguns). To qualify for Second Amendment
 17 protection, a regulated item, device, or part must be integral to the functioning a
 18 firearm, such as ammunition or a trigger mechanism. *See Fyock v. Sunnyvale*, 779
 19 F.3d 991, 997 (9th Cir. 2015) (“[T]here must also be some corollary, albeit not
 20 unfettered, right to possess the magazines *necessary to render those firearms*

21
 22 ³¹ Although these cases were decided prior to *Bruen*, *Bruen* did not abrogate
 23 their reasoning about what instruments qualify as protected arms. *See Bruen*, 142
 24 S. Ct. at 2157 (Alito, J., concurring) (noting that *Bruen* did not “decide anything
 about the kinds of weapons [or accessories] that people may possess”).

25 ³² Plaintiffs’ firearms witness explained that a semiautomatic centerfire rifle
 26 with “none of the ‘evil looking’ cosmetic features addressed by the [AWCA]”
 27 would not be deemed an assault rifle. Pls.’ Trial Ex. 1 ¶ 35 (Kapelsohn Decl.) ¶ 35.
 28 And the witness noted that “even without these features, virtually any detachable-
 magazine, semiautomatic rifle firing the .223/5.56mm cartridge will have the same
 ballistics and same capabilities as the AR-15.” *Id.*

1 *operable.*” (emphasis added) (quoting *Jackson v. City & Cnty. of San Francisco*,
 2 746 F.3d 953, 967 (9th Cir. 2014)); *see also Cox*, 906 F.3d at 1196 (Hartz, J.,
 3 concurring) (noting that the Tenth Circuit’s holding that silencers are not protected
 4 arms did not extend to “items that are not themselves bearable arms *but are*
 5 *necessary to the operation of a firearm* (think ammunition)” (emphasis added)); *cf.*
 6 *Duncan*, 19 F.4th at 1108 (“In sum, we decline to read *Heller*’s rejection of an
 7 outright ban on the most popular self-defense weapon as meaning that governments
 8 may not impose a much narrower ban on *an accessory that is a feature of some*
 9 *weapons* and that has no usefulness in self-defense.” (emphasis added)). But
 10 Plaintiffs cannot show that the items regulated under the AWCA—pistol grips,
 11 flash suppressors, and adjustable stocks—are necessary to operate a firearm. *See*
 12 Busse Decl. ¶ 12; Kapelsohn Dep. at 90 (magazines holding more than 10 rounds
 13 are not necessary to operate an AR-15); *id.* at 124 (testifying that pistol grips are
 14 not necessary to operate an AR-platform rifle); *id.* at 133 (explaining that a fixed
 15 stock is neither folding nor telescoping and that fixed stocks are available for the
 16 AR-15 and other semiautomatic rifles). Because the accessories identified in the
 17 features-based definitions of an assault weapon under the AWCA are not
 18 themselves bearable “arms” within the scope of the Second Amendment, Plaintiffs’
 19 challenge to the AWCA based on those definitions necessarily fails.

20 2. Firearms that Feature the Accessories and Configurations 21 Prohibited under the AWCA Are Not in Common Use for 22 Self-Defense

22 Even if the Court views the AWCA as regulating firearms rather than
 23 particular accessories or configurations of those firearms, the regulated weapons are
 24 not protected “Arms” because they are not “in common use” for self-defense. In
 25 *Bruen*, *McDonald*, and *Heller*, the Supreme Court held out “individual self-
 26 defense” as “‘the *central component*’ of the Second Amendment right.” *Bruen*, 142
 27 S. Ct. at 2133 (quoting *McDonald*, 561 U.S. at 767, in turn quoting *Heller*, 554 U.S.
 28 at 599). And while the Court in those three cases invalidated strict laws that

1 effectively precluded most law-abiding citizens from possessing or carrying all
 2 handguns—“the quintessential self-defense weapon,” *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2143
 3 (quoting *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 629)—the Court made clear that “the right secured by
 4 the Second Amendment is not unlimited” and does not extend to “a right to keep
 5 and carry any weapon whatsoever in any manner whatsoever and for whatever
 6 purpose,” *id.* at 2128 (quoting *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 626). On the contrary, the
 7 Second Amendment protects only those weapons that are “‘in common use at the
 8 time’ for lawful purposes like self defense.” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 624 (emphasis
 9 added) (quoting *United States v. Miller*, 307 U.S. 174, 179 (1939)); *see also Bruen*,
 10 142 S. Ct. at 2135 (referencing whether the subject “weapons [are] ‘in common
 11 use’ today for self-defense” (quoting *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 627)). This “important
 12 limitation on the right to keep and carry arms,” recognized in *Heller*, remains a
 13 critical limitation on the Second Amendment following *Bruen*. *See id.* at 2162
 14 (Kavanaugh, J., concurring).

15 Here, even assuming that they are “bearable arms,” firearms equipped with the
 16 accessories or that come in the configuration regulated by the AWCA are not
 17 “commonly used” for self-defense.

18 **a. The Second Amendment Protects Only Those**
 19 **Firearms that are Commonly Used for Self-Defense**

20 According to the plain terms of the Supreme Court’s Second Amendment
 21 precedents, the test for Second Amendment protection of a particular weapon is
 22 common *use*, not common *ownership*. In the prior proceedings, this Court
 23 distinguished between “firearms commonly *owned* by law-abiding citizens for
 24 lawful purposes and unusual arms adapted to unlawful uses as well as arms solely
 25 useful for military purposes.” *Miller v. Bonta*, 542 F. Supp. 3d 1009, 1023 (S.D.
 26 Cal. 2021) (emphasis added), *vacated by* 2022 WL 3095986 (9th Cir. Aug. 1,
 27 2022). But common ownership is not enough. The phrase “in common use” as
 28 used in *Heller* and *McDonald* does not simply refer to a weapon’s prevalence in

1 society, or the quantities manufactured or sold. In addition to the prevalence of the
2 weapon in society—which remains relevant, because in order to be commonly used,
3 the weapon must also be commonly possessed—courts must consider the suitability
4 of the weapon and the actual use of the weapon for self-defense. *See Duncan*, 19
5 F.4th at 1127 (Berzon, J., concurring) (“Notably, however, *Heller* focused not just
6 on the prevalence of a weapon, but on the primary use or purpose of that weapon.”);
7 *see also Heller*, 554 U.S. at 629 (explaining the “reasons that a citizen may prefer a
8 handgun for home defense,” including that handguns are easier to store in a location
9 that is readily accessible in an emergency, are easier to lift and aim than a long gun,
10 and can be used with a single hand while the other hand dials the police).

11 A more holistic “common use” test that accounts for suitability and actual use,
12 as opposed to mere ownership, is consistent with *Heller*. Assessing “common use”
13 based on mere prevalence in society would be circular. *See Duncan*, 19 F.4th at
14 1126 (Berzon, J., concurring); *Kolbe*, 849 F.3d at 141–42 (noting that “the *Heller*
15 majority said nothing to confirm that it was sponsoring the popularity test”);
16 *Worman v. Healey*, 922 F.3d 26, 35 n.5 (1st Cir. 2019) (noting that “measuring
17 ‘common use’ by the sheer number of weapons lawfully owned is somewhat
18 illogical” (citing *Friedman v. City of Highland Park*, 784 F.3d 406, 409 (7th Cir.
19 2015))).³³ Under a mere popularity test, if the federal restriction on automatic

20 ³³ This Court previously stated that the Supreme Court implied that 200,000
21 stun guns were sufficient to show “common ownership and receive constitutional
22 protection,” *Miller*, 542 F. Supp. 3d at 1023 (citing *Caetano*, 577 U.S. at 420
23 (Alito, J., concurring)), but that figure cannot be sufficient. There are more than
24 700,000 machine guns registered in the United States. *See* ATF, Firearms
25 Commerce in the United States, Annual Statistical Update 2021, at 16 (2021),
26 <https://bit.ly/3y3krmI>. Since enactment of the National Firearms Act (“NFA”) of
27 1934, machine guns have been heavily regulated by the federal government,
28 imposing special taxes on the making or transfer of firearms regulated under the
NFA and requiring any machine guns in lawful possession to be registered with the
U.S. Secretary of the Treasury in the National Firearm Registration and Transfer
Record registry. 26 U.S.C. § 5841; <https://bit.ly/3CdReXd>. Even though there are

1 weapons were repealed, and just one populous state did not prohibit their sale, and
 2 some (unspecified) amount of those weapons were sold, fully automatic M-16 rifles
 3 could qualify for Second Amendment protection such that governments could no
 4 longer ban them. Such an outcome would flatly contradict the Supreme Court’s
 5 observation that the M-16 “may be banned” and that a contrary view, in which fully
 6 automatic machine guns are protected by the Second Amendment, would be
 7 “startling.” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 624, 627.³⁴ Or if firearm manufacturers decide to
 8 bundle AR-15 rifles not with 30-round large-capacity magazines, but with 100-
 9 round drum magazines, and those rifles sell at sufficient numbers such that 100-
 10 round drum magazines become commonly owned, such magazines would receive
 11 Second Amendment protection merely because a certain number of them are
 12 owned. The same could be said about the accessories that can be attached to
 13 firearms that qualify them as assault weapons under the AWCA, which may come
 14 bundled with the underlying firearm when sold to consumers, or semiautomatic
 15 centerfire rifles of less than 30 inches, which manufacturers may choose to market
 16 and sell.³⁵ Such a standard would effectively give firearm manufacturers the power

17 more registered machine guns than the number of stun guns discussed in Justice
 18 Alito’s concurrence in *Caetano*, the Supreme Court has indicated that machine guns
 19 are not protected by the Second Amendment because they are not “in common
 20 use.” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 627. Accordingly, the numbers alone are not driving the
 21 Court’s determinations that certain weapons are or are not protected by the Second
 22 Amendment.

22 ³⁴ This Court’s prior characterization of the *Heller* test as allowing
 23 prohibitions of weapons “solely useful for military purposes,” *Miller*, 542 F. Supp.
 24 3d at 1021, would not prevent this result because any weapon can conceivably be
 25 used for self-defense, even an automatic weapon.

25 ³⁵ See, e.g., Elwood Shelton, *Best AR-15 Options for Any Budget and Buyer’s*
 26 *Guide* (2022), Gun Digest, June 10, 2022, <https://bit.ly/3SFQAJm> (noting AR-
 27 platform rifles sold with flash suppressors and other accessories); Eric Hung,
 28 *Featureless AR-15 Rifles [California Build Guide]*, PewPewTactical.com, Apr. 13,
 2022, <https://bit.ly/3STICgl> (describing isolated features that render AR-platform
 rifles assault weapons under the AWCA).

1 to decide what weapons receive constitutional protection. *See Kolbe*, 849 F.3d at
 2 141 (under a popularity test, manufacturers would need only “flood[] . . . the market
 3 prior to any governmental prohibition in order to ensure it constitutional
 4 protection”).

5 As explained below, in terms of prevalence, suitability for self-defense, and
 6 actual use for that purpose, Plaintiffs cannot show that the accessories and
 7 configurations regulated by the AWCA are in common use for self-defense.

8 **b. Firearms Featuring the Regulated Accessories and**
 9 **Configurations Are Not Commonly Owned**

10 With respect to prevalence, Plaintiffs cannot show that the accessories and
 11 configurations regulated by the AWCA are commonly possessed by law-abiding
 12 citizens. Indeed, even the AR-15 platform rifle—which is permissible under the
 13 AWCA so long as it lacks the combat-oriented accessories regulated by the AWCA,
 14 or is capable of firing only rimfire ammunition³⁶—is not commonly owned.
 15 Industry data concerning the number of AR-platform rifles manufactured in or
 16 imported into the United States, *see* Pls.’ Trial Ex. 4 (Curcuruto Decl.) ¶ 8, does not
 17 establish how many law-abiding individuals in the United States *own* such
 18 weapons.³⁷ Such sales figures do “not necessarily show that [particular weapons]
 19 are in fact commonly possessed by law-abiding citizens for lawful purposes.”

20 ³⁶ Rimfire ammunition fires smaller bullets at slower speeds than centerfire
 21 ammunition. Busse Decl. ¶ 11.

22 ³⁷ Plaintiffs’ comparison of the number of AR-platform rifles manufactured
 23 or imported with the number of Ford F-series trucks sold in the United States is
 24 inapt. *See* Pls.’ Trial Ex. 4 (Curcuruto Decl.) ¶ 8; *Miller*, 542 F. Supp. 3d at 1022–
 25 23. F-Series trucks are manufactured by a single company and cost substantially
 26 more than an AR-platform rifle, *see* Pls.’ Trial Ex. 4 ¶ 9, and unlike owners of an
 27 F-Series truck, owners of AR-platform rifles own many of them on average, *see*
 28 Pls.’ Trial Ex. 4-4 at 6 (owners of “modern sporting rifles” own 3.1 on average);
 Suppl. Klarevas Decl. ¶ 15 (explaining how, according to industry estimates, 90%
 of all “modern sporting rifles” in the United States are owned by individuals who
 own more than one such rifle).

1 *Fyock*, 779 F.3d at 998. And those figures strongly suggest that AR-platform rifles
2 are not common in comparison to other types of firearms; according to Plaintiffs’
3 own data, AR-platform rifles make up just 4.6% of all firearms in civilian
4 possession. *See* Pls.’ Trial Ex. 4 ¶ 15. This figure is dwarfed by the number of
5 handguns—the “quintessential self-defense weapon,” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 629—in
6 the United States, which total approximately 50% of the civilian stock of firearms
7 in the United States. *See* Suppl. Klarevas Decl. ¶ 17. “Modern sporting rifles,” like
8 AR-platform rifles, only began to sell in significant numbers in the late 2000s, and
9 particularly after the 2012 Newtown mass shooting. Busse Decl. ¶ 11.

10 Moreover, AR-15s are not commonly owned among the smaller subset of
11 Americans who own any sort of gun. *See* Suppl. Klarevas Decl. ¶15 (discussing
12 survey data indicating that approximately 80 million Americans own at least one
13 firearm and reviewing estimates of the number of gun owners who own an AR-15
14 or other “modern sporting rifle”). Available data indicate that AR-15s—whether
15 with or without accessories regulated by the AWCA—are owned by a relatively
16 small fraction of gun owners (less than 10%) and they comprise a small stock of all
17 firearms in circulation (approximately 5%). *See id.*³⁸ These figures are based on
18 industry estimates of the availability of “modern sporting rifles,” a self-styled
19 category of rifle that includes AR- and AK-platforms, but these estimates are over-
20 inclusive in estimating the number of weapons in civilian ownership that would
21 qualify as assault weapons under the AWCA—the estimates include sales to law
22 enforcement agencies and include “modern sporting rifles” without any of the

23
24 ³⁸ Based on these figures, it appears that only 3.1% of all American adults
25 own a “modern sporting rifle” (7.9 million/258 million). *See* Suppl. Klarevas Decl.
26 ¶ 15 (determining that approximately 7.9 million Americans own a “modern
27 sporting rifle”); *see also* U.S. Census, U.S. Adult Population Grew Faster than
28 Nation’s Total Population from 2010 to 2020 (estimating the 2020 U.S. adult
population to be approximately 258 million), <https://bit.ly/3CP1kj6>.

1 accessories or configurations regulated under the AWCA. *See id.* ¶ 15 n.12. Based
2 on industry data, only approximately 7.9 million gun owners own a “modern
3 sporting rifle,” which is less than 10% of all civilian gun owners in the United
4 States. *Id.* ¶ 15.³⁹ And AR-15 ownership is heavily concentrated within that
5 population: on average, civilians who own “modern sporting rifles” like the AR-15
6 own 3.1 such rifles, with only 35 percent owning a single such rifle. Suppl.
7 Klarevas Decl. ¶ 15.

8 Accordingly, notwithstanding the AR-15’s purported popularity, AR-platform
9 rifles are not commonly owned in the United States, even among law-abiding gun
10 owners. And there is scant evidence that that other rifles, pistols, or shotguns to
11 which the regulated accessories can be attached—like AK-47 rifles, UZI assault
12 pistols, and “Streetsweeper” shotguns—are commonly owned. Indeed, in an earlier
13 proceeding, the Court noted that “there is very little evidence regarding the
14 commonality of AK-47 type rifles, or semiautomatic shotguns, or ‘assault pistols.’”
15 *Miller*, 542 F. Supp. 3d at 1029. Notwithstanding any evidence of “common use,”
16 the Court viewed them as “presumptively lawful to own” only after assigning “the
17 burden in the first instance” to the government to prove that “they are uncommon
18 and dangerous.” *Id.* As discussed, however, *Bruen* does not assign this threshold
19 burden to the government. *See supra* at pp. 20–22. In the absence of any evidence
20 from *Plaintiffs* that a weapon is commonly possessed—let alone that they are in
21 common use—it is not entitled to a presumption of constitutional protection under
22 the Second Amendment. And of course, if AR-15s and other “modern sporting
23 rifles” are not commonly owned, such weapons with the accessories and
24 configurations regulated under the AWCA cannot be commonly owned.

25 _____
26 ³⁹ This figure is over-inclusive, as not all “modern sporting rifles” are assault
27 weapons. For example, Californians may possess AR-platform rifles that are
28 defined by the NSSF as “modern sporting rifles” so long as they lack any of the
prohibited features or fire only rimfire ammunition. Suppl. Klarevas Decl. ¶ 15.

1 **c. Firearms Featuring the Regulated Accessories and**
 2 **Configurations Are Not Suitable for Self-Defense**

3 Not only are firearms that come equipped with the regulated accessories or in
 4 the regulated configuration not in “common use,” they are not in “common use” for
 5 *self-defense* because they are not suitable for that purpose. Each of the regulated
 6 accessories and the regulated configuration serve specific combat-oriented
 7 functions and are not needed or suitable for self-defense. Weapons equipped with
 8 these tactical accessories or configurations are more suitable for offensive purposes,
 9 such as military use in combat. *Kolbe*, 849 F.3d at 136 (holding that “the banned
 10 assault weapons” are most useful in military service); *Friedman v. City of Highland*
 11 *Park*, 68 F. Supp. 3d 895, 908 (N.D. Ill. 2014) (noting that submachine guns are
 12 “the analog for a civilian assault pistol” and “facilitate the assault and capture of a
 13 military objective” (citation omitted)). This is because the particular features and
 14 configurations regulated by the challenged definitions of the AWCA serve specific
 15 combat-oriented purposes and are not well suited or adapted to self-defense.

- 16 • Pistol grips typically appeared (unsurprisingly) on pistols, but also were
 17 used on machine guns, like the Maxim and the Thompson, and some
 18 shotguns in the 20th century. *See* Pls.’ Trial Ex. 2 (Hlebinsky Decl.
 19 ¶ 17). Pistol grips, when used with semiautomatic or automatic rifles,
 20 can enable a shooter to maintain aim and accuracy during rapid fire by
 21 reducing muzzle rise and can facilitate the quick reloading of a
 22 detachable magazine while maintaining aim with the trigger hand. *See*
 23 *Busse* Decl. ¶¶ 13, 18.⁴⁰ A pistol grip on a rifle, as opposed to a more
 24 traditional straight grip, is indicative of a combat-oriented weapon. *Id.*
 25 ¶ 13 (noting use of pistol grips with some firearms to “control and aim
 26 the rifle during periods of rapid fire such as situations encountered
 27 during military firefights”).

26 _____
 27 ⁴⁰ Defs.’ Trial Ex. D (Graham Decl.) ¶¶ 28–30, 38; Youngman Dep. at
 28 134:17–21; Kapelsohn Dep. at 125–26, 130.

- 1 • A forward pistol grip on any firearm can help insulate the non-trigger
2 hand from the heat generated during rapid fire. Busse Decl. ¶ 18.⁴¹ A
3 barrel shroud on a semiautomatic pistol serves a similar “combat-
4 functional purpose.” Busse Decl. ¶ 23.⁴²
- 5 • Adjustable stocks and rifles shorter than 30 inches in length make rifles
6 more portable, and potentially concealable, and can enable a shooter to
7 conduct room-to-room tactical maneuvers and maintain an element of
8 surprise. Busse Decl. ¶ 15.⁴³
- 9 • Flash suppressors emerged during World War II with the “jungle
10 carbine” and were adapted to AR-platform rifles (invented in the
11 1950s).⁴⁴ Flash suppressors can enable a shooter to maintain accuracy
12 during rapid fire in low-light settings and can help counteract muzzle
13 rise during rapid fire.⁴⁵ Flash suppressors can also help a shooter avoid
14 detection in low-light conditions, Busse Decl. ¶ 17; flash suppressors
15 affixed to “[m]odern military rifles and some civilian rifles” are “useful
16 in combat to decrease the possibility of counterfire,” Vincent J.M.
17 DiMaio, *Gunshot Wounds: Practical Aspects of Firearms Ballistics, and
18 Forensic Techniques* 69 (3d ed. 2015).
- 19 • Threaded barrels enable a shooter to quickly affix to a pistol a flash
20 suppressor, forward pistol grip, or a silencer, each of which enhances
21 the combat utility and concealability of the weapon. Busse Decl. ¶ 22.⁴⁶

22 ⁴¹ Defs.’ Trial Ex. D (Graham Decl.) ¶ 54.

23 ⁴² Defs.’ Trial Ex. J (H.R. Rep. No. 103-489, Public Safety and Recreational
24 Firearms Use Protection Act (“H.R. Rep. No. 103-489”)) at 19; Kapelsohn Dep. at
25 171:12–17 (agreeing that a barrel shroud could be an important tactical feature of a
26 firearm).

27 ⁴³ Defs.’ Trial Ex. D (Graham Decl.) ¶¶ 32, 43, 59; Youngman Dep. at
28 141:21–143:7; Defs. Trial Ex. M (Mersereau Decl.) ¶ 10.

⁴⁴ Pls.’ Trial Ex. 2 (Hlebinsky Decl.) ¶ 23.

⁴⁵ Youngman Dep. at 139:5–9; Defs.’ Trial Ex. H (ATF Rifle Importability
Report) at 7; Defs.’ Trial Ex. D (Graham Decl.) ¶ 37; Kapelsohn Dep. at 147–48.

⁴⁶ Defs.’ Trial Ex. H (ATF Rifle Importability Report) at 6–7; *see also* Kyle
Mizokami, *The Marines Are Issuing Silencers to Troops Around the World*, *Popular
Mechanics*, Jan. 1, 2021 (noting that the U.S. Marine Corps is issuing silencers to

- 1 • Grenade launchers serve obvious combat functions, and flare launchers
2 do not serve any legitimate civilian, self-defense need on a rifle. Busse
3 Decl. ¶ 16.⁴⁷
- 4 • The lack of a fixed magazine, which is a pre-requisite for a
5 semiautomatic centerfire rifle to qualify as an assault weapon, enables
6 the shooter to use detachable magazines, which “provide[] the soldier
7 with a fairly large ammunition supply and the ability to rapidly reload”⁴⁸
8 and render[] a semiautomatic weapon “capable of killing or wounding
9 more people in a shorter amount of time.”⁴⁹ See also Busse Decl. ¶ 20.
10 Similarly, fixed magazines holding more than ten rounds enable a
11 shooter to fire more rounds repeatedly without reloading, potentially
12 even 100 rounds, and “are indicative of military firearms.”⁵⁰ See also
13 Busse Decl. ¶ 20. And a rotating cylinder that feeds shells into a
14 shotgun mechanically after each shot is also a combat-oriented weapon,
15 as it enables a shooter to fire more shots without reloading.
- 16 • Rifles that are less than 30 inches in length are more portable and
17 concealable, enabling surprise attacks. See Busse Decl. ¶ 21. Rifles can
18 be configured to measure less than 30 inches by using an adjustable
19 (telescoping or folding) stock or a short barrel (or both). *Id.* The
20 federal government has long regulated short-barreled rifles,⁵¹ and the

21 infantry units to “reduce the visual and noise signature of carbines and designated
22 marksman rifles, allowing troops to fight more effectively,” and to “reduc[] muzzle
23 flash”), available at <https://bit.ly/3M36bQx>.

24 ⁴⁷ Defs.’ Trial Ex. H at 7; Defs.’ Trial Ex. D ¶¶ 34–35.

25 ⁴⁸ Defs.’ Trial Ex. H (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms, Report and
26 Recommendation on the Importability of Certain Semiautomatic Rifles (1989)
27 (“ATF Rifle Importability Report”) at 6; Defs.’ Trial Ex. Z (ATF Rifle Suitability
28 Report) at 21–22.

⁴⁹ Defs.’ Trial Ex. F (S.B. 880 Report, 2015-2016 Reg. Sess., Assembly
Comm. on Public Safety (June 14, 2016)) at 6.

⁵⁰ Defs.’ Trial Ex. Z (ATF, Department of the Treasury Study on the Sporting
Suitability of Modified Semiautomatic Assault Rifles (1998)) at 9. And even fixed
magazines can be rapidly switched out for fresh magazines if the rifle is assembled
or modified in a way that allows for rapid separation and reconnection of the upper
and lower receivers. Defs.’ Trial Ex. D (Graham Decl.) ¶ 42.

⁵¹ See *Miller*, 307 U.S. at 175 n.1 (discussing the NFA’s regulation of short-

1 AWCA’s restrictions on the use of adjustable stocks and short barrels is
2 consistent with those longstanding regulations. *See id.*

3 When these combat-oriented features are attached to semiautomatic weapons,
4 the resulting configuration is much more lethal and is only suitable for military
5 purposes. Indeed, these weapons are identical to fully automatic or select-fire
6 weapons in every respect except for the capacity for automatic fire. But this is not a
7 material distinction, given the extraordinarily high rate-of-fire of semiautomatic
8 weapons—fire that is rendered more lethal and effective when used in conjunction
9 with combat-oriented features like flash suppressors and pistol grips.

10 Semiautomatic and automatic weapons were developed for military applications in
11 the late nineteenth century, Spitzer Decl. ¶¶ 3–4, and the modern AR-platform rifle
12 is a “civilian version of the military’s M-16 rifle,” *Staples v. United States*, 511

13 U.S. 600, 612 (1994).⁵² They have exceedingly high rates of fire, with
14 semiautomatic firearms being capable of “fir[ing] almost as rapidly as automatics.”
15 *Heller v. District of Columbia (Heller II)*, 670 F.3d 1244, 1263 (D.C. Cir. 2011).

16 And semiautomatic weapons that feature the regulated accessories or come in the
17 regulated configuration are “virtually indistinguishable in practical effect from
18 machineguns” and “can be fired at rates of 300 to 500 rounds per minute.” Defs.’
19 Trial Ex. J (H.R. Rep. No. 103-489) at 18. As Plaintiffs’ own witness testified,
20 most shooters can fire between five and seven rounds per second with a
21 semiautomatic weapon for “quite a while,” Kapelsohn Dep. at 81:21–82:4; Oct. 19,

22
23 _____

24 barreled shotguns and rifles).

25 ⁵² *See also* Defs.’ Trial Ex. D (Graham Decl.) ¶ 44; Defs.’ Trial Ex. H (ATF
26 Rifle Importability Report) at 6 (noting that the “military features and
27 characteristics (other than select fire)” of “modern military assault rifles” are
28 “carried over to semiautomatic versions of the original military rifle”); Youngman
29 Dep. at 54:4–6; Kapelsohn Dep. at 82:24–83:13.

1 2020 Hearing Tr. at 23, which translates to 300 to 420 rounds per minute.⁵³ In
 2 addition, a semiautomatic weapons rate of fire can be boosted dramatically with
 3 simple modifications, like “bump stocks” or “multiburst trigger activators,” *Rupp*,
 4 401 F. Supp. 3d at 988, or “binary triggers” that can fire a round with each pull *and*
 5 *release* of the trigger, Roth Decl. ¶ 48, to mimic fully automatic fire.⁵⁴ The
 6 practical difference between the rates-of-fire of an automatic and semiautomatic “is
 7 a distinction without a difference.” *Rupp v. Becerra*, 401 F. Supp. 3d 978, 987
 8 (C.D. Cal. 2019). Even the military trains soldiers to generally fire select-fire
 9 sidearms, such as M4 carbine rifles, in semiautomatic mode to enhance accuracy in
 10 rapid fire combat situations and to conserve ammunition and maintain control.
 11 Defs.’ Trial Ex. L (Excerpt of United States Army, *Rifle Marksmanship M16/M4 -*
 12 *Series Weapons* (2008)) at 7–12; Youngman Dep. at 51:6–13 (agreeing that fully
 13 automatic weapons are less accurate generally than semiautomatic weapons when
 14 fired rapidly).

15 Courts have recognized that a weapon’s similarity to a weapon commonly
 16 used in the military is a permissible basis for prohibiting that weapon for civilian
 17 use. In *Heller*, the Court made clear that “M-16 rifles and the like”—“weapons that
 18 are most useful in military service”—“may be banned.” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 627.⁵⁵

19 _____
 20 ⁵³ This rate of fire is comparable to the Gatling gun, which could fire up to
 21 200 rounds per minute, and the Maxim machine gun, which could fire between 200
 22 to 400 rounds per minute and changed the nature of warfare during World War I.
 See Spitzer Decl. ¶ 3.

23 ⁵⁴ Semiautomatic weapons capable of fully automatic fire have been
 24 appearing more frequently in crime, with the widespread use of “auto sears.” See
 25 Alain Stephens & Keegan Hamilton, *The Return of the Machine Gun*, The Trace,
 26 Mar. 24, 2022, <https://bit.ly/3E6FzMB>; Julia Rothman & Shaina Feinberg, *This \$20*
Device Turns a Handgun into an Automatic Weapon, N.Y. Times, July 1, 2022,
<https://nyti.ms/3y6LFZG>.

27 ⁵⁵ The *Heller* Court made this observation in raising a potential objection to
 28 “limit[ing] the right to keep and carry arms” to weapons “in common use at the

1 Courts have extended *Heller*'s observation that fully automatic weapons may be
2 banned to weapons featuring the regulated accessories and configurations,
3 reasoning that these latter firearms are "like" automatic firearms. *See Kolbe*, 849
4 F.3d at 136 ("Because the banned assault weapons and large-capacity magazines
5 are 'like' 'M-16 rifles'—'weapons that are most useful in military service'—they
6 are among those arms that the Second Amendment does not shield" (citing *Heller*,
7 554 U.S. at 627)); *Rupp v. Becerra*, 401 F. Supp. 3d 978, 988 (C.D. Cal. 2019)
8 ("[T]he Court concludes that semiautomatic rifles within the AWCA's scope are
9 virtually indistinguishable from M-16s . . ."). Indeed, before *Bruen*, an en banc
10 panel of the Ninth Circuit commented that this analogy to military use has
11 "significant merit" when applied to large-capacity magazines, because such
12 magazines are likely "most useful in military service" due to their limited "lawful,
13 civilian benefits" and "significant benefits in a military setting." *Duncan*, 19 F.4th
14 at 1102. Again, *Bruen* did not abrogate *Heller*'s view that weapons most useful in
15 military service, like the M-16, may be banned, or undermine the conclusion that
16 this line of reasoning applies to the use of large-capacity magazines in
17 semiautomatic firearms. *See supra* at p. 17 n.26. What matters is whether the
18 "arms" in question are commonly used by civilians for self-defense, not whether
19 they are suitable for militia or military.

20 Citing the 1939 case *United States v. Miller*, 307 U.S. 174 (1939), this Court
21 has suggested that Second Amendment protection extends to "weapons that may
22 also be useful in warfare." *Miller*, 542 F. Supp. 3d at 1020 (citing *Miller*, 307 U.S.
23 at 178). But *Heller* and now *Bruen* undermine this view of the Second

24 _____
25 time"—that it would result in "the Second Amendment right [being] completely
26 detached from the prefatory clause" and its reference to a well-regulated militia.
27 *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 627. The Court then proceeded to reject that argument,
28 concluding that the scope of the operative right "cannot change" merely because
"the degree of fit between the prefatory clause and the protected right" has been
"limited" over time. *Id.*

1 Amendment. Although the Second Amendment’s prefatory clause references a
2 “well-regulated Militia,” U.S. Const. amend. II, *Heller* made clear that the operative
3 clause protects a right to armed self-defense, notwithstanding the language used in
4 *Miller* discussing whether the short-barreled shotgun in that case “is any part of the
5 ordinary military equipment or that its use could contribute to the common
6 defense.” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 622 (quoting *Miller*, 307 U.S. at 178).⁵⁶ The *Heller*
7 Court explained that this phrase must be read in conjunction with *Miller*’s
8 subsequent observation that members of the militia “were expected to appear
9 bearing arms supplied by themselves and of the kind in common use at the time.”
10 *Id.* at 625 (quoting *Miller*, 307 U.S. at 179). Those weapons were “arms ‘in
11 common use at the time’ for lawful purposes like self-defense.” *Id.* Because short-
12 barreled shotguns were “not typically possessed by law-abiding citizens for lawful
13 purposes,” they were held to not be protected by the Second Amendment—not
14 because they were not useful in military or militia service. *Id.* “*Heller* understood
15 *Miller*” to allow states “to decide when civilians can possess military-grade
16 firearms, so as to have them available when the militia is called to duty.”
17 *Friedman*, 784 F.3d at 410.

18 In addition, early American commentaries on the scope of the right to keep
19 and bear arms previously examined by the *Heller* Court further confirm that the
20 Second Amendment protects arms in “common use” for self-defense and not militia
21 use. In the early 1800s, St. George Tucker “conceived of the Blackstonian arms
22 right as necessary for self-defense.” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 606. Similarly, in 1825,
23 William Rawle’s “influential treatise” that the Second Amendment “differentiated
24 between the people’s right to bear arms and their service in the militia.” *Id.* at 607.

25
26 _____
27 ⁵⁶ The *Heller* Court cautioned against over-reading *United States v. Miller*, as
28 “the case did not even purport to be a thorough examination of the Second
Amendment.” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 623.

1 The English right “had nothing to do with militia service.” *Id.* at 608. These
2 commentaries “interpreted the Amendment as [the Court] do[es].” *Id.* at 605.

3 *Bruen* repeatedly confirms that self-defense (and not militia or military
4 service) is the “central component” of the right protected by the Second
5 Amendment. *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2133 (quoting *McDonald v. City of Chicago*, 561
6 U.S. 742, 767 (2010)); *see also id.* at 2125 (noting that *Heller* and *McDonald* “held
7 that the Second and Fourteenth Amendments protect an individual right to keep and
8 bear arms for self-defense”); *id.* at 2128 (same). Despite citing *United States v.*
9 *Miller*, *see Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2128, the Supreme Court did not discuss *Miller*’s
10 reference to arms that have “some reasonable relationship to the preservation or
11 efficiency of a well regulated militia,” *Miller*, 307 U.S. at 178. Nor did the Court
12 premise the right to public carry on any need to bear arms for militia service.

13 Because the accessories or firearms configurations regulated under the AWCA
14 are not suitable for self-defense, and are designed for combat applications, they are
15 not “in common use” for self-defense. Those items therefore do not receive Second
16 Amendment protection.

17 **d. There Is No Evidence that Firearms Featuring the**
18 **Regulated Accessories or Configurations Are**
Commonly Used or Needed for Self-Defense

19 Plaintiffs cannot show that weapons that come equipped with the regulated
20 accessories or in the regulated configuration are commonly *used* in self-defense.
21 Like *Heller* and *McDonald* before it, *Bruen* repeatedly indicated that to qualify as a
22 protected “arm,” a weapon must, like handguns, be commonly *used* for lawful self-
23 defense—not simply manufactured, produced, sold, or owned. *See Bruen*, 142 S.
24 Ct. at 2138 (referring to “commonly *used* firearms for self-defense” (emphasis
25 added)); *id.* at 2142 n.12 (finding that pocket pistols were “commonly *used* at least
26 by the founding” (emphasis added)); *id.* at 2143 (noting that certain belt and hip
27 pistols “were commonly *used* for lawful purposes in the 1600s” (emphasis added));
28 *id.* at 2156 (describing the “right to bear commonly *used* arms in public subject”

1 (emphasis added)); *id.* (noting that American governments would not have broadly
2 prohibited the “public carry of commonly *used* firearms for personal defense”
3 (emphasis added); *accord Heller*, 554 U.S. at 636 (holding that the government
4 could not impose an “absolute prohibition of handguns held *and used* for self-
5 defense” (emphasis added)).

6 During the previous proceeding, Plaintiffs did not submit any studies
7 demonstrating how frequently weapons featuring the regulated accessories or that
8 come in the regulated configurations are used in self-defense. Instead, one of
9 Plaintiffs’ witnesses presented seven news stories concerning the defensive use of
10 an AR-platform rifle. *See* Pls.’ Tr. Ex. 1 (Kapelsohn Decl.), Exs. 1–7. Those seven
11 stories are insufficient to demonstrate that the weapons used in those stories are
12 commonly used for self-defense.⁵⁷ And they say nothing about the frequency of
13 using pistols and shotguns that come equipped with the regulated accessories, like
14 the Uzi pistol, in actual self-defense incidents, or the need for any of those
15 accessories to engage in effective self-defense. Instead, according to information
16 reported by the Heritage Foundation on defensive gun-uses,⁵⁸ it appears that the use
17 of rifles in actual self-defense situations is quite rare—likely approximately 2–4
18 percent of all defensive gun uses reported by the Heritage Foundation involved any
19 type of rifle. Suppl. Allen Decl. ¶ 10. The number of incidents involving
20 semiautomatic rifles is likely lower, and there is no indication that the weapons

21 _____
22 ⁵⁷ While an AR-platform rifle might have been used in these seven defensive
23 incidents, the record evidence shows that such weapons have been used in 22% of
24 public mass shootings from 1982–2019, Defs.’ Trial Ex. A ¶ 30, and they were used
25 in seven of the ten deadliest mass shootings, Defs.’ Trial Ex. E ¶ 10 tbl. 1. The use
26 of AR-platform rifles has continued unabated since the prior proceedings in this
27 case, including in two double-digit-fatality mass shootings that occurred in 2022—
28 in Buffalo, NY (10 deaths) and Uvalde, TX (21 deaths). *See* Suppl. Klarevas Decl.
¶ 9 & tbl. 1.

⁵⁸ Heritage Foundation, *Defensive Gun Uses in the U.S.* (updated Sept. 16,
2022), <https://herit.ag/3SLwe1g>.

1 used in those incidents were equipped with any of the accessories or configured in a
 2 way that would subject them to the AWCA. In stark contrast to the use of rifles in
 3 just 2-4% of defensive gun uses, handguns—the “quintessential self-defense
 4 weapon,” *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 629— were reportedly used in 41-90 percent of the
 5 incidents in the database, Suppl. Allen Decl. ¶ 10.

6 In the absence of evidence that assault weapons or their combat-oriented
 7 accessories or configurations are commonly used for self-defense, the Court cannot
 8 conclude that they are “in common *use*” for self-defense. The weapons regulated
 9 by the AWCA are therefore not covered by the plain text of the Second
 10 Amendment, and the analysis may end here.

11 **B. The AWCA’s Restrictions on Assault Weapons Are Consistent**
 12 **with the Nation’s Traditions of Firearms and Other Weapons**
 13 **Regulations**

14 Under the text-and-history standard, the government must justify a firearms
 15 regulation if the regulation burdens conduct protected by the plain text of the
 16 Second Amendment. Even if Plaintiffs could meet their burden, the AWCA’s
 17 restrictions on combat-oriented accessories or configurations are consistent with the
 18 Nation’s tradition of regulating “dangerous [or] unusual weapons.” *Bruen*, 142 S.
 19 Ct. at 2128 (quoting *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 627).⁵⁹ As discussed in the accompanying
 20 declarations of expert witnesses, governments have retained substantial latitude in
 21 enacting restrictions on certain weapons deemed to be susceptible to criminal
 22 misuse and to pose significant dangers to the public—from trap guns to certain
 23 knives, blunt object, and pistols—provided that law-abiding citizens retained access
 24 to other arms for effective self-defense. Governments have regulated weapons in
 25 this way throughout our Nation’s history, including around the time that the Second
 26 and Fourteenth Amendments were ratified. As former U.S. Solicitor General Paul

27 ⁵⁹ While *Heller* and *McDonald* refer to prohibitions on “dangerous and
 28 unusual weapons,” Blackstone refers to the crime of carrying “dangerous *or* unusual
 weapons.” *Kolbe*, 849 F.3d at 131 n.9 (quoting 4 Blackstone 148–49 (1769)).

1 Clement acknowledged during the *Heller* oral argument, the Second Amendment
 2 “always coexisted with reasonable regulations of firearms.” Adam Winkler,
 3 *Gunfight 221* (2011).

4
 5 **1. The Second Amendment Does Not Limit the States’ Police
 Powers to Address Public Safety Threats as They Arise**

6 The Second Amendment is not absolute. Since the founding and even earlier,
 7 governments have exercised broad police powers to limit access to and use of
 8 certain types of weapons deemed to be especially dangerous. As historian Saul
 9 Cornell explains, the “dominant understanding of the Second Amendment and its
 10 state constitutional analogues at the time of their adoption in the Founding period
 11 forged an indissoluble link between the right to keep and bear arms with the goal of
 12 preserving the peace.” Cornell Decl. ¶ 9. Government regulation is permitted,
 13 even though the text of the Second Amendment provides an “unqualified
 14 command” that the right to keep and bear arms “shall not be infringed.” *Bruen*, 142
 15 S. Ct. at 2126 (quoting *Konigsberg v. State Bar of Cal.*, 366 U.S. 36, 49 n.10
 16 (1961)). *Bruen*’s quotation from *Konigsberg* makes clear that even unqualified
 17 commands concerning the inviolability of constitutional rights, such as the
 18 provision that the freedoms of speech and association must not be “abridg[ed],”
 19 U.S. Const. amend. I, should not be given “a literal reading.” *Konigsberg*, 366 U.S.
 20 at 49. The Court indicated that such an absolutist view of the First Amendment
 21 “cannot be reconciled” with the host of exceptions to that right, including “the law
 22 relating to libel, slander, misrepresentation, obscenity, perjury, false advertising,
 23 solicitation of crime, complicity by encouragement, conspiracy, and the like,” and
 24 that such absolutism should also not apply to “the equally unqualified command of
 25 the Second Amendment.” *Id.* at 49 n.10. As with the First Amendment, the Second
 26 Amendment is not to be read literally. “The provisions of the Constitution are not
 27 mathematical formulas,” but rather are “organic living institutions transplanted
 28

1 from English soil” and their significance is determined “by considering their origin
 2 and the line of their growth.” *Id.* (quotation marks and citation omitted).

3 Unlike the First Amendment, the courts have only just begun to explore the
 4 historical origins of the right to keep and bear arms and to define its precise scope
 5 and exceptions. *See Heller*, 554 U.S. at 625–26 (noting that it should not be
 6 surprising that it took the Court so long to decide a Second Amendment case, given
 7 that the Court first decided a First Amendment case in 1931). The history of the
 8 Second Amendment demonstrates that governments enjoyed robust police powers
 9 to regulate weapons—including who may possess them, where they may be
 10 possessed, and what weapons may be possessed and used. Historical regulations on
 11 the right to keep and bear arms show that the AWCA’s restrictions on *certain*
 12 accessories of *certain* weapons and a *particular* configuration of one weapon is
 13 consistent with the scope of that right as it was historically defined (and fixed in
 14 time):

15 For most Americans, the right to own weapons for self-defense and other
 16 purposes, was, like other rights, limited by governmental police power,
 17 and therefore was subject to reasonable regulation, including limiting
 18 what types of weapons could be owned

19 Patrick Charles, *supra*, at 312.

20 **2. Historical Regulations of Dangerous or Unusual Weapons**
Are Ubiquitous in American History, Including the
Relevant Periods Surrounding the Ratification of the
Second and Fourteenth Amendments

21 **a. Defendants Need Only Show that the AWCA Is**
“Relevantly Similar” to the Historical Tradition of
Regulating Dangerous or Unusual Weapons

22 As discussed above, *Bruen* does not require Defendants to identify a
 23 “historical twin” or “dead ringer” for the challenged AWCA restrictions. 142 S. Ct.
 24 at 2133 (emphasis omitted). That is because the law addresses “unprecedented
 25 societal concerns” and “dramatic technological changes.” *Id.* at 2132. As
 26 discussed in the declarations of Professors Roth and Spitzer, the firearms
 27
 28

1 technologies regulated under the AWCA did not exist when the Second or
2 Fourteenth Amendments were ratified, and the AWCA addresses threats to public
3 safety that had not yet emerged at that time, including mass shootings and violence
4 against law enforcement using firearms. *See* Roth Decl. ¶¶ 11–12 (discussing the
5 technical limitations of muzzle-loading firearms and the infrequent use of firearms
6 in homicide during the founding); Spitzer Decl. ¶¶ 18–30 (discussing differences in
7 19th century and the 20th century firearms technologies). As Judge Easterbrook
8 explained in *Friedman*,

9 The features prohibited by [the assault weapons] ordinance were not
10 common in 1791. Most guns available then could not fire more than one
11 shot without being reloaded; revolvers with rotating cylinders weren't
12 widely available until the early 19th century. Semi-automatic guns and
13 large-capacity magazines are more recent developments. Barrel shrouds,
14 which make guns easier to operate even if they overheat, are also new;
15 slow-loading guns available in 1791 did not overheat. And muzzle
16 breaks, which prevent a gun's barrel from rising in recoil, are an early
17 20th century innovation.

18 *Friedman*, 784 F.3d at 410.

19 Indeed, innovative research into the relative lethality of weapons underscores
20 just how “dramatic” the technological innovation has been with respect to firearms
21 since the ratification of the Second and Fourteenth Amendments. *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct.
22 at 2132. Colonel Trevor N. Dupuy, a senior U.S. Army officer during World War
23 II, devised an index for the military of the relative “theoretical lethality” of various
24 weapons, which measures the number of people who could be killed in one hour by
25 a particular weapon. *See* Darrell A.H. Miller & Jennifer Tucker, *Common, Use,*
26 *Lineage, and Lethality*, 55 U.C. Davis L. Rev. 2495, 2508 (2022). For example,
27 according to Colonel Dupuy's research, firearms available at the time of the
28 founding—flintlock muzzleloaders capable of firing spherical musket balls—had a
29 Theoretical Lethality Index (“TLI”) of 43. *Id.* at 2508. Between 1850 and 1860,

1 “firearms became more common and more deadly,” such that the firearms that
2 predominated during the Civil War, like rifles capable of firing Minie ball conoidal
3 bullets, had a TLI of 102. *Id.*⁶⁰ After the ratification of the Fourteenth
4 Amendment, there was a “quantum jump in lethality” with the development and
5 deployment of the mounted Maxim machine gun (1883) and the bolt-action
6 Springfield rifle equipped with ammunition magazines (1903). *Id.* at 2507. The
7 TLI of the Springfield Model 1903 rifle was 495, compared to the Civil War-era
8 rifles’ TLI of 102, and the TLI of the World War I machine gun was a staggering
9 3,463. *Id.* at 2508. Though Colonel Dupuy’s research did not report a specific TLI
10 for the M-16 rifle or its semiautomatic variant, the AR-15, the TLI of such weapons
11 would be “exponentially more lethal than the flintlock musket of the Founder’s era”
12 or the rifles used in the mid-1800s if modern semiautomatic weapons are situated
13 “anywhere near the Maxim machine gun.” *Id.* at 2508 n.73. And as noted above,
14 *see supra* at pp. 35–36, the rate of fire of modern semiautomatic weapons is
15 comparable to fully automatic weapons, including the World War I-era Maxim
16 machine gun that Dupuy studied. *See* Spitzer Decl. ¶ 3.

17 And the AR-platform itself, which first appeared in 1955 with the AR-10, was
18 an unprecedented design: “[T]he experience of first viewing and handling the
19 AR-10’s grey alloy metalwork and foam-filled plastic furniture seemed so utterly
20 without precedent that for many it simply suspended the critical faculties, leaving
21 nowhere to begin any comparison with ordinary wood-and-steel rifles.” R. Blake
22 Stevens & Edward C. Ezell, *The Black Rifle: M16 Retrospective* 24 (1994). The
23 unprecedented design of the AR-platform inhibited its acceptance in the civilian
24

25 ⁶⁰ The Minie ball significantly increased the lethality of firearms compared to
26 the founding-era musket ball because it “traveled at a higher velocity and struck the
27 body with greater force, shattering bone into small fragments and causing extensive
28 soft tissue damage.” M. Manring et al., *Treatment of War Wounds: A Historical
Review*, 486 *Clinical Orthopaedics & Related Research* 2168, 2175 (2009).

1 market, and they did not begin to sell in significant numbers until the late 2000s.

2 *See* Busse Decl. ¶ 11.

3 Moreover, the primary threat to public safety that the AWCA seeks to
4 address—namely, mass shootings—is an “unprecedented societal concern,” *Bruen*,
5 142 S. Ct. at 2132, that did not emerge until well into the twentieth century. From
6 the colonial period into the early 20th century, mass murder occurred in the United
7 States, but typically as a group activity, because technological limitations impaired
8 the ability of a single person to commit mass murder. Roth Decl. ¶ 35. Mass
9 shootings by individual gunmen are a modern phenomenon. Spitzer Decl. ¶ 1; Roth
10 Decl. ¶ 48 (describing how the problem of mass shootings “is a modern
11 phenomenon” and that “[t]he danger [semiautomatic weapons] pose is intrinsically
12 different from past weaponry”). While mass murder has existed throughout the
13 history of the country, mass-casualty incidents could only be orchestrated by
14 *groups* of individuals due to technological limitations. Roth Decl. ¶ 38. But the
15 “character of mass murder began to change” in the late 19th and early 20th
16 centuries, with the development of new technologies, including semiautomatic and
17 fully automatic firearms, like the Tommy Gun. *Id.* These new weapons enabled
18 individuals to wreak havoc on communities. In testifying before the U.S. Congress
19 on an early draft of what became the National Firearm Act of 1934, which initially
20 proposed restricting both fully automatic and semiautomatic firearms, Attorney
21 General Homer Cummings expressed concern about the spread of these “deadly
22 weapons” and their use by criminals “warring against society.” Spitzer Decl. ¶ 8;
23 *see also id.* ¶ 4 (describing transition of automatic weapons from military use to
24 civilian circulation and their use in highly publicized killings, such as the St.
25 Valentine’s Day massacre in 1929). Simply put, semiautomatic and automatic
26 weapons were materially different from firearms technology widely available at the
27 founding or during the 1860s, and they contributed to the rise in gun violence in the
28 1900s and the mass shootings confronting American communities today.

1 The data bear this out. When semiautomatic weapons, including weapons
2 with military accessories regulated under the AWCA, are used in mass shootings,
3 more people are killed and injured on average. Defs.’ Trial Ex. A (Allen Decl.)
4 ¶¶ 32–34; Defs.’ Trial Ex. E (Klarevas Decl.) ¶ 17 & tbl. 2; Suppl. Donohue Decl.
5 ¶ 19; Roth Decl. ¶ 48 & fig. 1 (explaining findings from mass shootings listed in the
6 Violence Project showing substantially greater numbers of victims on average when
7 semiautomatic rifles are used, and even greater numbers of victims that mass
8 shootings involving automatic weapons). Taking extremely high-fatality shootings
9 involving ten or more victims killed, no such incidents reportedly occurred in the
10 country’s history until after World War II. Klarevas Suppl. Decl. ¶¶ 11, tbl. 1,
11 fig. 1. And when they did begin to occur in 1949, they occurred relatively
12 infrequently, with a cluster of incidents in the early 1980s, followed by a lull while
13 the federal assault weapon ban was in effect, and then followed by a spike in the
14 average rate of occurrence—since the expiration of the federal assault weapons ban
15 in 2004, there have been 20 double-digit-fatality mass shootings out of the 30
16 identified throughout American history. *See* Suppl. Klarevas Decl. ¶ The number
17 of double-digit mass shootings increased dramatically in the period before and after
18 the federal assault weapons law. *Id.* ¶¶ 11–13.

19 Because the AWCA addresses dramatic advances in firearms technology and
20 unprecedented social problems, a “more nuanced” analogical approach is required
21 here. *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2132. To determine whether the AWCA’s restrictions on
22 certain accessories and a particular configuration of semiautomatic centerfire rifles
23 are constitutional, the court must “reason[] by analogy” and determine whether the
24 AWCA is ““relevantly similar”” to its historical predecessors. *Id.* That, in turn,
25 requires an analysis of whether the AWCA and its historical predecessors impose
26
27
28

1 “comparable burden[s] on the right to armed self defense” and whether the modern
2 and historic laws are “comparably justified.” *Id.* at 2133.⁶¹

3 Here, the Supreme Court has already recognized that governments have had
4 the power to regulate “dangerous [or] unusual weapons” since at least the time of
5 Blackstone. *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 627 (citing 4 Blackstone 148–49 (1769)). These
6 restrictions are “‘relevantly similar’” that the AWCA across both dimensions that
7 *Bruen* directs are the “central considerations when engaging in an analogical
8 inquiry.” *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2132–33 (quotation marks and emphasis omitted).
9 Like prior restrictions on dangerous or unusual weapons, the AWCA prohibits the
10 possession, acquisition, and use of only a small number devices, while allowing
11 law-abiding residents to access and use a wide variety of modern firearms. And
12 from pre-founding England to the early 20th century, governments in England and
13 the United States restricted access to weapons that were especially likely to be used
14 for criminal purposes and those that were especially dangerous to the general
15 population. These restrictions include prohibitions of certain, specified weapons in
16 pre-founding England, the colonial era and the early national period surrounding

17 _____
18 ⁶¹ This case is thus fundamentally distinguishable from *Heller*, which
19 involved a “flat ban” on the possession of handguns in the home. *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct.
20 at 2131. The “perceived social problem” addressed by the District of Columbia’s
21 law—namely, “firearm violence in densely populated communities”—existed at
22 the time of the ratification of the Second Amendment. *Id.* The historical analysis
23 in that case was “straightforward.” *Id.* Similarly, in *Bruen*, the Court required very
24 close analogues to New York’s ban on public-carry for most law-abiding citizens,
25 because “New York’s proper-cause requirement concerns the same alleged social
26 problem address in *Heller*: ‘handgun violence,’ primarily in ‘urban area[s].’” *Id.*
27 In those cases, the Court required a “*distinctly similar* historical regulation,” and the
28 fact that “earlier generations addressed the [same] societal problem” “through
materially different means,” *id.* at 2131—in the case of *Bruen*, by regulating the
carrying of certain weapons with “evil intent or malice” instead of prohibiting
public carry in all cases, *id.* at 2141—those historical approaches “could be
evidence that a modern regulation is unconstitutional,” *id.* at 2131 (emphasis
added).

1 the ratification of the Second Amendment, and ante- and postbellum America
2 surrounding the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. These laws evidence a
3 pattern of regulation that continued into the twentieth century, when governments
4 first confronted the dangers of semiautomatic weapons and their use by criminals,
5 resulting in the regulation of automatic and semiautomatic weapons and firearms
6 that utilize ammunition feeding devices in the 1920s and 1930s. Those laws, in
7 turn, were early precursors to effects to regulate assault weapons, after they began
8 to be used in mass shootings in the 1980s and 1990s. And across each time period,
9 governments adopted these restrictions *not* when new firearms technologies were
10 first conceived or invented, but instead only once new firearms technologies began
11 to circulate widely in society and spill over into criminal use, presenting public
12 safety concerns that governments attempt to address through their police powers.
13 Spitzer Decl. ¶ 15.

14 As we explain below, this history shows that governments have been able to
15 adopt laws like the AWCA consistent with the Second Amendment—restricting
16 particular weapons posing a danger to society and that were especially likely to be
17 used by criminals, so long as the restriction did not destroy the right to armed self-
18 defense by leaving available other weapons for constitutionally protected uses. *See*
19 John Forrest Dillon, *The Right to Keep and Bear Arms for Public and Private*
20 *Defence*, 1 Cent. L. J. 259, 285 (1874) (“It would seem to follow that while society
21 may regulate this right . . . so as to promote the safety and good of its members, yet
22 any law which should attempt to take it away, or materially abridge it, would be the
23 grossest and odious form of tyranny.”); *id.* at 287 (“On the one hand . . . society
24 cannot justly require the individual to surrender and lay aside the means of self-
25 protection in seasons of personal danger On the other hand, the peace of
26 society and the safety of peaceable citizens plead loudly for protection against the
27 evils which result from permitting other citizens to go armed with dangerous
28

1 weapons, and the utmost that the law can hope to do is to strike some sort of
2 balance between these apparently conflicting rights.”).⁶²

3 **b. Medieval and Pre-Founding English History**

4 The Second Amendment codified a pre-existing right “inherited from our
5 English ancestors,” *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2127 (quoting *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 599), and
6 thus restrictions on that right recognized under English law prior to the founding of
7 the United States are relevant in understanding the scope of the inherited right.
8 Article VII of the English Bill of Rights of 1689, “the ‘predecessor to our Second
9 Amendment,’” *id.* at 2141 (quoting *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 593), guaranteed the
10 “Protestants . . . may have Arms for their Defence suitable to their Conditions, *and*
11 *as allowed by Law*,” *id.* (quoting 1 Wm. & Mary ch. 2, § 7) (emphasis added).
12 Among other things, the plain text of the English Bill of Rights incorporated the
13 ability of government to “allow[]” (and disallow) individuals from having certain
14 “Arms” for their defense. *See id.*

15 This right was recognized by Blackstone as the “fifth and last auxiliary right.”
16 1 Blackstone ch. 1 (1769). According to Blackstone, the auxiliary rights were
17 “subordinate rights” “declared, ascertained and protected by the dead letter of the
18 laws” and “barriers to protect and maintain inviolate the three great and primary
19 rights, of personal security, personal liberty, and private property.” *Id.* The fifth
20 auxiliary right of English subjects was “that of having arms for their defence,
21 suitable to their condition and degree, and *such as are allowed by law*.” *Id.*
22 (emphasis added).⁶³ Blackstone went on to explain that this right was “a public

23
24 ⁶² Additional historical research may uncover additional laws or traditions of
25 regulation that are analogous to the AWCA. *See infra* pp. 76–77 (explaining why
26 additional research is necessary before this court can render judgment). But in light
27 of the ubiquity of dangerous weapons laws during the 18th and 19th centuries,
28 modern assault weapon restrictions are “analogous enough to pass constitutional
muster.” *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2118.

⁶³ Blackstone’s use of the word “such” refers to the types of arms that

1 allowance, under *due restrictions*, of the natural right of resistance and self-
2 preservation, when the sanctions of society and laws are found insufficient to
3 restrain the violence of oppression.” *Id.* (emphasis added). Accordingly,
4 Blackstone recognized that the right to keep and bear arms was subject to “due
5 restrictions.” *See Young v. Hawaii*, 992 F.3d 765, 793 (9th Cir. 2021) (en banc)
6 (noting that the English Bill of Rights “recognized that even the right of self-
7 defense could be curtailed by government action ‘as allowed by law’”), *abrogated*
8 *on other grounds by Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. 2111.

9 Consistent with this conception of an auxiliary right that could be qualified by
10 concerns over threats to public safety and order, for hundreds of years English
11 monarchs had the power to identify certain arms that subjects could not possess or
12 carry. *See Peruta v. Cnty. of San Diego*, 824 F.3d 919, 930–31 (9th Cir. 2016) (en
13 banc) (reviewing English prohibitions on the carrying of certain arms in the 16th
14 and 17th centuries), *abrogated on other grounds by Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. 211. For
15 example, in 1541, under Henry VIII, Parliament enacted a statute prohibiting the
16 “use or ke[eping] in his or their houses or elsewhere any Crosbowe handgun
17 hagbutt or demy hake.” 33 Hen. 8, ch. 6 § 1 at 832 (1541).⁶⁴ Henry VIII was
18 concerned about safety issues associated with the particular prohibited weapons; the
19 prohibition targeted “little short handguns” and “little haquebuts,” which were a
20 source of “great peril and continual feare and danger of the kings loving subjects.”
21 Patrick Charles, *supra*, at 62 (quotation marks and citation omitted).

22 Notwithstanding these dangers, Henry VIII’s prohibition exempted lords living
23 within twelve miles of the Scottish border, allowing those lords to keep and bear
24 those weapons to defend the border. *See* 33 Hen. VIII, ch. 6 § 18 at 835. But in
25 recognition of the dangers posed by these weapons, and as a way to promote peace
26 subjects were free to have.

27 ⁶⁴ Hagbutts and demy-hakes referred to arquebuses. *See Somerset Record*
28 *Society*, Vol. XX, at 332 (1904).

1 between England and Scotland, James I repealed this limited exception and
 2 prohibited all subjects from possessing those listed weapons, in 1607. 4 Jac. I, ch. 1
 3 (1606).⁶⁵ As explained by Granville Sharp, a “particularly important source” on the
 4 English Bill of Rights, whose account was discussed in *Heller*:

5 [The] latter expression, ‘*as allowed by law*,’ respects the limitations in
 6 the above-mentioned act of 33 Hen. VIII, c. 6, which restrain the use of
 7 *some particular sort of arms*, meaning only such arms as were liable to
 8 *be concealed*, or otherwise favour the designs of murderers

8 *Peruta*, 824 F.3d at 932.

9 Accordingly, the pre-existing right inherited from England and incorporated
 10 into the Second Amendment expressly permitted government regulation of
 11 particular weapons that threaten public safety and order, as demonstrated by the
 12 restrictions on crossbows and short pistols in the 16th and 17th centuries.

13 **c. Colonial and Early National History: Laws Enacted**
 14 **Around the Time of the Ratification of the Second**
 15 **Amendment**

16 During the colonial period and through the founding, around the time of the
 17 ratification of the Bill of Rights, colonial and state governments imposed
 18 regulations on firearms hardware and accessories and other weapons deemed to
 19 pose threats to public safety. Indeed, “[g]un safety regulation was commonplace in
 20 the American colonies from their earliest days.” Winkler, *supra*, at 115.

21 Governments in the early years of our nation faced significant threats to public
 22 safety, and “[w]hen public safety demanded that gun owners do something”—
 23 including actions that would impair their ability to have arms at the ready for self-

24 ⁶⁵ And before Henry VIII prohibited the possession of crossbows and
 25 handguns, Richard II prohibited the possession of the launcegay, a 10–12-foot-long
 26 lightweight lance. *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2140 (citing 7 Rich. 2, ch. 13 (1383), and
 27 20 Rich. 2, ch. 1 (1396)). Launcegays “were generally worn or carried only when
 28 one intended to engage in lawful combat or . . . to breach the peace.” *Id.* Because
 assault weapons, unlike handguns, are also most suitable for military use, *see supra*
 at pp. 32–35, the restrictions on launcegays remains relevant.

1 defense—“the government was recognized to have the authority to make them do
2 it.” *Id.* In the colonial era, governments imposed several types of restrictions on
3 the ability to keep firearms and firearm accessories inside the home, by regulating
4 dangerous conditions, uses, or configurations. In doing so, these governments did
5 not believe they were eliminating the ability of colonists to defend themselves with
6 arms. *See* Winkler, *supra*, at 113.

7 First, during the colonial period and at the founding, governments heavily
8 regulated guns and gunpowder, both to ensure the readiness of the militia, and to
9 protect the public from harm. In particular, governments regulated the storage of
10 gunpowder inside the home. Laws required gunpowder to be stored on the top
11 floor of a building and permitted government officials to remove it when necessary
12 to prevent explosions and to transfer the powder to the public magazine. *See*
13 Cornell Decl. ¶¶ 35–37. Under these gun powder storage laws, individuals were
14 not free to stockpile as much gunpowder as they may have wished—or felt
15 necessary for self-protection—nor could they keep the gunpowder in the home in
16 any manner that they wished.⁶⁶

17 “When public safety demanded it, the founding fathers were willing to go
18 even further,” by prohibiting individuals from keeping loaded firearms inside the
19 home.” Winkler, *supra*, at 117. In 1783, Massachusetts enacted a law prohibiting
20 storing a loaded weapon in the home, “a firearms safety law that recognized that the
21 unintended discharge of firearms posed a serious threat to life and limb.” Cornell
22 Decl. ¶ 36. Given how “time-consuming the loading of a gun was in those days,”
23 this restriction “imposed a significant burden on one’s ability to have a functional
24 firearm available for self-defense inside the home,” and yet “there is no record of
25

26 ⁶⁶ Maine also enacted a law in 1821, authorizing town officials to enter any
27 building to search for gun powder. Cornell Decl. ¶ 40 (citing 1821 Me. Laws 98,
28 An Act for the Prevention of Damage by Fire, and the Safe Keeping of Gun
Powder, chap. 25, § 5).

1 anyone’s complaining that this law infringed the people’s right to keep and bear
2 arms.” Winkler, *supra*, at 117. Even though this law was enacted to prevent
3 accidental explosions and fires, rather than intentional harm with a loaded firearm,
4 “the lesson remains the same: pressing safety concerns led Bostonians to effectively
5 ban loaded weapons from any building in the city.” *Id.*

6 Second, during the colonial period, states began to enact restrictions on “trap
7 guns,” laws that proliferated in the 19th century. *See* Spitzer Decl. ¶¶ 50–53, App.
8 1 (listing years of enactment of trap gun laws); *id.*, App. 8 (providing text of trap
9 gun restrictions). A trap gun was a firearm that was configured in a way to fire
10 remotely (without the user operating the firearm), typically by rigging the firearm to
11 be fired by a string or wire when tripped. Spitzer Decl. ¶ 50. Trap guns were used
12 to hunt wildlife and to protect personal or commercial property. *Id.* In 1771, New
13 Jersey was the first colony to prohibit trap guns, noting that they represented “a
14 most dangerous Method of setting Guns [that] has too much prevailed in this
15 Province.” *Id.* (quoting 1763-1775 N.J. Laws 346, An Act for the Preservation of
16 Deer and Other Game, and to Prevent Trespassing with Guns, ch. 539, § 10.). Just
17 as Massachusetts prohibited the storage of loaded guns inside the home to prevent
18 accidental harm, trap gun laws regulated the manner in which firearms could be
19 kept and configured to protect the public from harm. Restrictions on trap guns that
20 originated during the colonial period were enacted due to the threat posed to
21 innocent life. *Id.*

22 Third, colonial governments enacted various prohibitions on the “carrying of
23 dangerous [or] unusual weapons,” “a fact [that the Court] already acknowledged in
24 *Heller*.” *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2143; *see also* Spitzer Decl., Ex. E. Some of those
25 restrictions specified particular weapons that could not be carried. For example,
26 New Jersey (1686) enacted restrictions on the carrying of concealable weapons in
27 public, prohibiting any person “privately to wear any pocket pistol, skeins,
28 stilettoes, daggers or dirks, or other unusual or unlawful weapons.” *See* Spitzer

1 Decl., Ex. E (citing *The Grants, Concessions, And Original Constitutions of The*
 2 *Province of New Jersey* (1881)); *see also Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2143 (discussing the
 3 1686 New Jersey restrictions on the carrying of “dangerous or unlawful weapons”).
 4 These restrictions on “dangerous or unusual” weapons were adopted because the
 5 weapons induced “great fear and quarrels.” Spitzer Decl. ¶ 49. Notably, this law
 6 “did not apply to all pistols, let alone all firearms,” *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2143,
 7 leaving other arms available to carry for self-defense. And shortly after ratification
 8 of the Second Amendment in 1791, states enacted restrictions on the carrying of
 9 concealable weapons. Virginia, for instance, enacted a law in 1794 that prohibited
 10 the carrying of certain concealable weapons. Spitzer Decl., Ex. B. Some of these
 11 dangerous weapons laws restricted certain weapons by name, including
 12 “bludgeons” (the earliest enacted in 1799) and “clubs” (seven laws enacted in the
 13 1600s–1700s). Spitzer Decl. ¶¶ 41, 43; *see also id.*, Ex. E.⁶⁷

14 Fourth, the *Conductor Generalis*—a founding-era guide for justices of the
 15 peace, sheriffs, and constables that relied heavily on the 1791 treatise of William
 16 Hawkins on English law—provided that an “affray” was a public offense and that
 17 there may be an affray “where there is no actual violence,” such as “where a man
 18
 19

20 ⁶⁷ The anti-club laws enacted in the 18th century and earlier focused on the
 21 carrying of clubs by certain groups of prohibited persons, *see* 1798 Ky. Acts 106;
 22 1799 Miss. Laws 113, A Law for the Regulation of Slaves; *The Colonial Laws of*
 23 *New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution, Including the Charters to the*
 24 *Duke of York, the Commissions and Instructions to Colonial Governors, the Dukes*
 25 *Laws, the Laws of the Dongan and Leisler Assemblies, the Charters of Albany and*
 26 *New York and the Acts of the Colonial Legislatures from 1691 to 1775* at 687
 27 (1894), or in gatherings of groups of people in public, *see* An Act to Prevent Routs,
 28 Riots, and Tumultuous Assemblies, and the Evil Consequences Thereof, reprinted
 in *Cumberland Gazette* (Portland, Me.), Nov. 17, 1786, at 1; 1750 Mass. Acts 544,
 An Act for Preventing and Suppressing of Riots, Routs And Unlawful Assemblies,
 chap. 17, § 1.

1 arms himself with dangerous and unusual weapons, in such a manner as will
2 naturally cause a terror to the people.”⁶⁸

3 These colonial- and founding- era enactments demonstrated that the right to
4 keep and bear arms was tempered by the government’s ability to regulate dangerous
5 or unusual weapons to promote public-safety interests. And the governments
6 enacting these laws did not see themselves as eliminating the ability of individuals
7 to use arms for self-defense, even if they made it marginally more difficult or less
8 efficient in doing so.

9 **d. Antebellum and Postbellum History: Laws Enacted**
10 **Around the Time of the Ratification of the Fourteenth**
11 **Amendment**

12 During the antebellum and postbellum period, around the time that the
13 Fourteenth Amendment was ratified, numerous states restricted particular weapons
14 deemed to be particularly dangerous or susceptible to criminal misuse. As
15 homicide rates increased in the South in the early 1800s, states began restricting the
16 carrying of certain concealable weapons. *See* Roth Decl. ¶ 21; Spitzer Decl. ¶ 30;
17 Rivas Decl. ¶ 12–25. Throughout the 1800s, states enacted a range of laws
18 restricting the carrying of blunt weapons: 12 states restricted “bludgeons”; 14
19 states restricted “billies”; seven states restricted “clubs”⁶⁹; 43 states restricted

20 ⁶⁸ The Conductor Generalis: Or, the Office, Duty, and Authority of Justices
21 of the Peace, High-Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, Coroners, Constables, Gaolers, Jury-
22 Men, and Overseers of the Poor, and also The Office of Clerks of Assize, and of the
23 Peace, &c. Albany, 1794, at 26.

24 ⁶⁹ These 19th century laws generally prohibited slaves from carrying clubs,
25 *see* Slaves, in Laws of the Arkansas Territory 521 (J. Steele & J. M’Campbell, Eds.,
26 1835); 1804 Ind. Acts 108, A Law Entitled a Law Respecting Slaves, § 4; 1798 Ky.
27 Acts 106; 1804 Miss. Laws 90, An Act Respecting Slaves, § 4; Collection of All
28 Such Acts of the General Assembly of Virginia, of a Public and Permanent Nature,
as Are Now in Force; with a New and Complete Index. To Which are Prefixed the
Declaration of Rights, and Constitution, or Form of Government Page 187, Image
195 (1803), or prohibited the throwing of clubs at trains or railroad, *see* 1855 Ind.
Acts 153, An Act To Provide For The Punishment Of Persons Interfering With

1 “slungshots”; six states restricted “sandbags”; and 12 states broadly restricted any
 2 concealed weapon. *See* Spitzer Decl., Ex. C. Many of these laws were enacted
 3 shortly before and after the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. *Id.*

4 In addition to prohibiting concealable, blunt weapons—which are dangerous
 5 weapons used mainly for criminal mischief—49 states (all except for New
 6 Hampshire) enacted restrictions on Bowie knives and other “fighting knives” in the
 7 19th century, including around the time that the Fourteenth Amendment was
 8 ratified. *See* Spitzer Decl. ¶ 36; *id.*, Ex. C. Most of these restrictions targeted the
 9 carrying of such knives, though Iowa banned their possession, along with the
 10 possession of other “dangerous or deadly weapon[s],” in 1887. *See id.*, Ex. E at 24.
 11 The Bowie knife arose to prominence in the 1830s, as a distinctive long-bladed,
 12 single-edged knife with a hand guard. Spitzer Decl. ¶ 36. These knives were
 13 associated with brawling and other interpersonal violence. As a grand jury in 1834
 14 observed, people young and old armed themselves with fighting knives “under the
 15 specious pretence of protecting themselves against insult, when in fact being so
 16 armed they frequently insult others with impunity . . . [and] we so often hear of the
 17 stabbing shooting & murdering [of] so many of our citizens.” *Id.* (citation omitted).
 18 The Bowie knife became notorious in the 1830s, with “most of the American public
 19 [being] well aware of the Bowie knife.” *Id.* ¶ 37. And this negative reputation
 20 fueled greater demand for the weapon. *Id.* In *Aymette v. State*, 21 Tenn. 154
 21 (1840), the Tennessee Supreme Court upheld a conviction for carrying a concealed
 22 Bowie knife, noting that the weapons proscribed under the applicable statute,
 23 including the Bowie knife, “are usually employed in private broils, and which are
 24 efficient only in the hands of the robber and the assassin.” *Id.* at 158. The court
 25 _____
 26 Trains or Railroads, chap. 79, § 1; the Revised Statutes of Indiana: Containing,
 27 Also, the United States and Indiana Constitutions and an Appendix of Historical
 28 Documents (1881); 1905 Ind. Acts 677.

1 also indicated that the state had “a right to prohibit the wearing or keeping [of]
2 weapons dangerous to the peace and safety of the citizens, and which are not usual
3 in civilized warfare, or would not contribute to the common defence.” *Id.* at 159.⁷⁰

4 The proliferation of dangerous weapons laws was not limited to blunt weapons
5 and fighting knives. Many state laws enacted during this time also included
6 revolvers and pistols in their lists of proscribed weapons. *See* Roth Decl. ¶ 21
7 (discussing restrictions on the carrying of certain concealable weapons in Kentucky,
8 Louisiana, Indiana, Georgia, and Virginia between 1813 and 1838). These laws
9 aimed to curb the use of concealable weapons that exacerbated rising homicide
10 rates in the South and its borderlands. *Id.* Later, in the 1870s, Arkansas and
11 Tennessee adopted restrictions on the public carrying of pistols, along with
12 regulations on dealers selling pistols. Rivas Decl. ¶ 14. These attempts to regulate
13 pistols were invalidated by the state courts for being overly broad in prohibiting the
14 keeping and carrying of all pistols in public. *See Andrews v. State*, 50 Tenn. 165
15 (1871); *Wilson v. State*, 33 Ark. 557 (1878). In *Andrews*, the Tennessee Supreme
16 Court struck down a law prohibiting the carrying of any pistol “publicly or
17 privately, without regard to time or place, or circumstances.” 50 Tenn. at 187. In
18 response, in 1871, Tennessee amended the statute to exempt the carrying of “an
19 army pistol, or such as are commonly carried and used in the United States army” if
20 the weapon was carried “only in his hands.” *State v. Wilburn*, 66 Tenn. 57, 61
21 (1872). This exception applied to military officers, police, and persons on a
22 journey. *Id.* The purpose of Tennessee’s law was “to preserve the peace and to
23 prevent homicide.” *Id.* The Tennessee Supreme Court upheld the revised law as
24

25 _____
26 ⁷⁰ The *Heller* Court viewed *Aymette*’s reading of the Second Amendment as
27 “odd” and inconsistent with the right recognized in *Heller*. *Heller*, 554 U.S. at 613.
28 Nevertheless, *Aymette* articulates Tennessee’s reasons for prohibiting the carrying
of Bowie knives and other dangerous weapons.

1 “clearly constitutional” under the state constitution, which expressly empowered
2 the legislature “to regulate the wearing of arms, with a view to prevent crime.” *Id.*

3 Similarly, after the Arkansas Supreme Court invalidated the state’s carry
4 restrictions on pistols, dirks, butcher or bowie knives, swords or spears in a cane,
5 brass or metal knuckles, or razors on the ground that the prohibition on the public
6 carry of pistols was too broad—it prohibited any “citizen from wearing or carrying
7 a war arm,” which the court viewed as an “unwarranted restriction upon his
8 constitutional right to keep and bear arms.” *Andrews*, 50 Tenn. at 187. In response,
9 consistent with Tennessee’s approach, Arkansas amended the statute to permit the
10 carry of army and navy pistols carried only in the hand. Acts of the General
11 Assembly of Arkansas, No. 96 § 3 (1881); *see Rivas Decl.* ¶ 16.⁷¹ Tennessee’s and
12 Arkansas’ narrow exceptions for certain types of pistols reflect the states’
13 determined efforts to “curtail as much as possible the carrying of [the listed
14 dangerous] weapons in public spaces so that a person would only do so in the event
15 of a real emergency.” *Rivas Decl.* ¶ 16.

16 The Tennessee and Arkansas experiences demonstrate that the states retained
17 broad police powers to regulate the use of certain enumerated concealable weapons,
18 based on public safety concerns, while carving out exceptions for larger military
19 weapons. *See Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2147 n.20 (noting that the “Arkansas Supreme
20 Court would later adopt Tennessee’s approach, which tolerated the prohibition of
21 all public carry of handguns except for military-style revolvers”). Though the
22

23 ⁷¹ *Nunn v. State*, 1 Ga. 243 (1846), invalidated a Georgia law that broadly
24 prohibited the wearing or carrying of pistols, without distinguishing between open
25 and concealed carry. *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2147. According to *Nunn*, the state could
26 not prohibit both open and concealed carry of pistols consistent with the Second
27 Amendment. *Id.* But critically, *Nunn* “was never intended to hold that men,
28 women, and children had some inherent right to keep and carry arms or weapons of
every description.” *Hertz v. Bennett*, 294 Ga. 62, 68 (2013) (emphasis added)
(quotation marks and citation omitted).

1 Supreme Court has since clarified that the Second Amendment protects the right to
2 keep and bear arms “in common use” for self-defense (rather than military use),
3 these cases illustrate that governments could prohibit certain weapons so long as
4 constitutionally protected weapons remained available.

5 While antebellum state-court decisions “evidence[d] a consensus view that
6 States could not altogether prohibit the public carry of ‘arms’ protected by the
7 Second Amendment or state analogues,” *Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2147, these decisions
8 demonstrate that states retained broad police powers, notwithstanding the Second
9 Amendment and its state analogues, to regulate particular weapons. As explained
10 in one of the most important early American firearms cases, *State v. Reid*, 1 Ala.
11 612 (1840), the Second Amendment left “with the Legislature the authority to adopt
12 such regulations of police, as may be dictated by the safety of the people and the
13 advancement of public morals.” *Id.* at 616. The dangerous weapons laws that
14 proliferated before and after the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment provide
15 substantial historical support for the AWCA’s restrictions on certain combat-
16 oriented firearms accessories, which leave a range of other firearms and weapons
17 available for lawful self-defense and thus do not destroy the right protected by the
18 Second Amendment. *See infra* pp. 43–73.

19 When the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified, the people at that time
20 understood the critical role that the state police powers would play in protecting the
21 public from harm. For example, state constitutions adopted during Reconstruction
22 expressly linked the right to keep and bear arms to the state’s authority to regulate
23 arms: “Every person shall have the right to keep and bear arms, in the lawful
24 defence of himself or the government, under such regulations as the Legislature
25 may prescribe.” Cornell Decl. ¶ 35 (quoting Tex. Const. of 1868, art. I, § 13); *see*
26 *also id.* at 22 n.73 (describing similar constitutional provisions in the Idaho
27 Constitution of 1896 and the Utah Constitution of 1896).

28

1 During the Reconstruction, positive law was not the only means through
2 which governments regulated dangerous weapons. During this period, the federal
3 government regulated access to particularly dangerous weapons, including
4 repeating rifles that began to circulate in the postbellum period. *See Vorenberg*
5 Decl. ¶¶ 7–10, 103. Following the Civil War, Henry and Winchester lever-action
6 repeating rifles were the most lethal, large-capacity firearms of their day. *Id.* ¶¶ 18,
7 19. These rifles enabled a shooter to fire numerous rounds repeatedly without
8 reloading, though the shooter had to manipulate a lever prior to each successive
9 shot. *Id.* ¶ 18. These weapons came to be associated with the military and law
10 enforcement, not individual self-defense, and their circulation remained low, with
11 few documented instances of possession by civilians. *Id.* ¶¶ 21–25, 47, 91–92.
12 Despite their potency as a weapon of war, the military showed reluctance to
13 adopting Henry and Winchester rifles on account of the extraordinary danger posed
14 to the rifles’ users as well as their targets. *Id.* ¶¶ 21–22, 54, 59–60.

15 The end of the Civil War introduced a period of military occupation of
16 formerly Confederate states in which state-run militias (a couple of which armed
17 themselves with Winchester rifles, *id.* ¶¶ 37, 76) worked in partnership with the
18 U.S. military to control potential insurrectionists who threatened to undermine the
19 civil rights of Black Americans or in any way jeopardize pro-Union citizens and
20 institutions, *id.* ¶¶ [35–43]. State militias, the U.S. army, and even the president (as
21 commander-in-chief of the army) worked to prevent access to firearms by
22 insurrectionary groups, such as through executive orders to surrender their arms,
23 using private intelligence to identify and confiscate arms shipments. *Id.* ¶¶ 44–45.
24 And after the U.S.’s humiliating defeat at the Battle of Little Big Horn by troops of
25 Plains Indians armed with Winchesters, *id.* ¶¶ 56–57 (possibly stolen from
26 emigrants and settlers headed west, *id.* ¶ 55), the U.S. army banned trade of
27 repeating rifles to Native Americans, while law enforcement targeted for arrest
28 traders who violated this policy, *id.* ¶ 59. Thus, even where no state statute

1 expressly banned possession of high-capacity firearms, state officials acted to
2 restrict their ownership and use through other means that were tailored to the
3 particular dangers these weapons posed when in the hands of adversaries such as
4 Native Americans and pro-Redemption Southerners. This de facto regulation of
5 repeating rifles effectively controlled the use and circulation of these weapons, *see*
6 *id.* ¶ 8, reducing any need for legislative responses to the threats that they posed to
7 public safety and post-war efforts to unify the country, *see* Spitzer Decl. ¶ 15
8 (explaining that government regulation of firearm technologies only occurs when
9 the technologies circulate sufficiently in society and spill over into criminal and
10 other harmful uses). This regulation also coincided with other legislative efforts to
11 restrict the carrying of certain concealable weapons that were uniquely susceptible
12 to criminal use, did not have legitimate self-defense uses, and posed a significant
13 threat to public safety at that time.

14 Laws restricting particular concealable weapons in the 1800s were enacted
15 during a period that corresponded with dramatic societal changes following the
16 Civil War and the development of new firearms technologies. *See* Roth Decl. ¶ 21
17 (describing rise in homicide rates nationwide in the 1840s and 1850s, which
18 “spiked even higher” during the Civil War and postbellum period). The society that
19 ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, during this period of intense social and
20 technological change, was different than the generation that ratified the Second
21 Amendment. *See* Cornell Decl. ¶ 36. The nature of government regulation of
22 firearms and other weapons during that time is particularly relevant to
23 understanding the scope of the right incorporated through the Fourteenth
24 Amendment. As noted in *Bruen*, the Second Amendment was made applicable to
25 the states not in 1791, but in 1868, with the ratification of the Fourteenth
26 Amendment. *Bruen*, 143 S. Ct. at 2138.

27 The Court in *Bruen* did not have occasion to resolve whether courts should
28 “primarily rely on the prevailing understanding of an individual right when the

1 Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868” because, with respect to the law
 2 challenged in *Bruen*, “the public understanding of the right to keep and bear arms in
 3 both 1791 and 1868 was, for all relevant purposes, the same with respect to public
 4 carry.” *Id.* Nevertheless, the Court did survey numerous statutes and cases from
 5 the antebellum and postbellum periods in assessing the scope of the right. And at
 6 least one federal circuit court has focused on the public understanding of the right
 7 as it existed in 1868. *See Ezell v. City of Chicago*, 651 F.3d 684, 704 (7th Cir.
 8 2011) (“*McDonald* confirms that when state- or local-government action is
 9 challenged, the focus of the original-meaning inquiry is carried forward in time; the
 10 Second Amendment’s scope as a limitation on the States depends on how the right
 11 was understood *when the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified.*” (emphasis added).
 12 Here, as in *Bruen*, the restrictions on dangerous weapons were enacted throughout
 13 American history, and robust government regulation of arms was incorporated into
 14 the pre-existing right inherited from pre-founding England. But the antebellum and
 15 postbellum period has particular importance because the Fourteenth Amendment
 16 was ratified around that time and the framers of that amendment were confronting
 17 new challenges and public needs.

18 e. Twentieth Century History

19 Although *Bruen* re-focuses the historical analysis on the periods surrounding
 20 the ratification of the Second and Fourteenth Amendments, laws enacted during the
 21 early 20th century are also instructive and provide additional support for the
 22 constitutionality of the AWCA. In *Bruen*, the Court discounted the probative value
 23 of public carry laws from the 20th century because they “contradict[ed] earlier
 24 evidence” from periods closer to the ratification of the amendments, 142 S. Ct. at
 25 2153 n.28, but here numerous early 20th century laws are consistent with the earlier
 26 historical analogues. In the early 20th century, state governments began regulating
 27 automatic and semiautomatic firearms and firearms capable of receiving
 28 ammunition from an ammunition feeding device when those weapons began to be

1 used in gun violence by organized crime. *See* Spitzer Decl. ¶ 4 (describing the St.
2 Valentine’s Day Massacre). These restrictions presaged the assault weapon
3 restrictions, like the AWCA, enacted in the late 20th century when assault weapons
4 began to be used frequently in mass shootings.

5 In the prior proceeding in this case, Defendants cited several state restrictions
6 on semiautomatic weapons capable of firing a certain number of rounds repeatedly
7 without reloading: Michigan, Rhode Island, and Ohio enacted restrictions on
8 semiautomatic weapons capable of firing sixteen, twelve, and eighteen shots,
9 respectively, without reloading. Defs.’ Trial Ex. S (Mich. Public Acts, 1927 – No.
10 372); Defs.’ Trial Ex. T (R.I. Public Acts, 1927 – Ch. 1052); Defs.’ Trial Ex. U
11 (Ohio General Code, 1933 – § 12819 3). Additionally, in 1932, Congress enacted a
12 twelve-shot restriction on semiautomatic weapons in the District of Columbia.
13 Defs.’ Trial Ex. V (Pub. L. No. 275, 1932 – 72d Cong., Sess. I, chs. 465, 466).
14 Notably, the National Rifle Association endorsed the District of Columbia
15 semiautomatic firing capacity law, stating that “it is our desire [that] this legislation
16 be enacted for the District of Columbia, in which case it can then be used as a guide
17 throughout the states of the Union.” S. Rep. No. 72-575, at 5–6 (1932); *see also*
18 Spitzer Decl. ¶ 6.

19 Since that prior proceeding, continuing historical research has uncovered
20 additional early 20th-century laws regulating automatic and semiautomatic
21 weapons, including restrictions on firearms capable of firing a certain number of
22 rounds or capable of receiving ammunition from an ammunition feeding device.
23 *See* Spitzer Decl. ¶¶ 12–14; *id.*, Ex. D. Thirteen states enacted restrictions on
24 semiautomatic or fully automatic firearms capable of firing a certain number of
25 rounds without reloading; eight states regulated fully automatic weapons, defined as
26 a firearm capable of firing a certain number of rounds without reloading or
27 accepting an ammunition feeding device; and four states restricted all guns that
28 could receive any type of ammunition feeding mechanism or round feeding device

1 and fire them continuously in a fully automatic manner, including a 1927 California
2 law. *See* Spitzer Decl. ¶¶ 13–14; 1927 Cal. Stat. 938. Although these were state
3 laws, there were attempts to nationalize these restrictions. In 1928, the National
4 Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, adopted a model law
5 prohibiting the possession of “any firearm which shoots more than twelve shots
6 semi-automatically without reloading.”⁷² And finally, in 1934, Congress passed the
7 National Firearms Act, significantly restricting fully automatic weapons. An earlier
8 draft of the legislation included restrictions on semiautomatic weapons, and in
9 testifying before Congress on that version of the bill, former U.S. Attorney General
10 Homer Cummings testified that the goal of the bill was to undermine the ability of
11 “people in the underworld today armed with deadly weapons.” Spitzer Decl. ¶ 8.
12 In the end, the National Firearms Act restricted only fully automatic weapons. *Id.*
13 ¶ 9.

14 These early 20th century firearm regulations followed the same regulatory
15 pattern of state and federal restrictions on assault weapons in the late 20th century
16 after the rise in mass shootings. *See* Robert J. Spitzer, *Gun Law History in the*
17 *United States and Second Amendment Rights*, 80 *Law & Contemporary*
18 *Problems* 55 (2017) at 69 (noting that assault weapons regulations were “presaged
19 by the successful, and at the time obviously uncontroversial, regulation of semi-
20 automatic weapons in the 1920s and 1930s”). These laws were also similar to the
21 regulatory approaches to addressing the prevalence of concealable weapons in
22 crime and homicide before the 20th century and even before the founding. *See*
23 *supra* at pp. 43–73.

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26 _____
27 ⁷² Report of Firearms Committee, 38th Conference Handbook of the National
28 Conference on Uniform State Laws and Proceedings of the Annual Meeting 422–23
(1928).

1 **3. The Historical Firearm Restrictions Are Relevantly Similar**
 2 **to the AWCA**

3 The AWCA’s modern restrictions on assault weapons are relevantly similar to
 4 the historical analogues. *Bruen* explained that a modern law is relevantly similar to
 5 a historical analogue if they are comparable in two respects: “how and why the
 6 regulations burden a law-abiding citizen’s right to armed self-defense.” *Bruen*, 142
 7 S. Ct. at 2133. The AWCA imposes a burden comparable to the historical
 8 analogues discussed above, and it is comparably justified in promoting public-
 9 safety goals.

10 **a. Comparable Burden**

11 The AWCA imposes a comparable burden on the right to armed self-defense
 12 as the historical analogues, because it restricts only highly “dangerous” or
 13 “unusual” items, *Heller*, 554 —combat-oriented accessories and a particular
 14 configuration of semiautomatic rifles that makes them especially unusual—leaving
 15 law-abiding citizens access to a range of other firearms to exercise their right to
 16 armed self-defense. Unlike burdens on free speech, which would be onerous if
 17 certain types of expression were outlawed, the Second Amendment does not protect
 18 a right to any particular arm, but instead protects a more general right to armed self-
 19 defense. *See Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2118; *see also Heller*, 554 U.S. at 603. The
 20 AWCA does not impose a significant burden on the right to armed self-defense
 21 because “individuals remain free to choose any weapon that is *not* restricted by the
 22 AWCA or another state law.” *Rupp*, 401 F. Supp. 3d at 989 (citation and quotation
 23 marks omitted); *see also Worman*, 922 F.3d at 37 (holding that assault-weapon law
 24 “does not heavily burden the core right of self-defense in the home” because it
 25 “does not ban all semiautomatic weapons and magazines” and instead “proscribes
 26 only . . . semiautomatic assault weapons that have certain combat-style features”).⁷³

27 _____
 28 ⁷³ The reasoning of the pre-*Bruen* cases selecting intermediate scrutiny as the

1 The availability of non-assault weapons, including California-compliant AR-
2 platform rifles, “most long guns plus pistols and revolvers,” “gives householders
3 adequate means of defense.” *Friedman*, 784 F.3d at 411. The minimal burdens of
4 the AWCA on the right to armed defense are comparable to, or even less than, than
5 the burdens imposed on that right by the historical analogues for three different
6 reasons.

7 *First*, the dangerous weapons laws enacted throughout American history did
8 not prohibit the carrying of all weapons for self-defense. Rather, they targeted
9 certain weapons uniquely susceptible to criminal use and associated with rising
10 homicide rates at the time. *See supra* at pp. 50–73. They also ensured that
11 individuals retained access to firearms to use for constitutionally protected
12 purposes. Tennessee and Arkansas, for example, banned the public carrying of a
13 range of knives, blunt weapons, and pistols, with an exception for large army and
14 navy pistols so long as they were carried openly in the hand, reducing the burden on
15 the right. *See Rivas Decl.* ¶ 19.

16 *Second*, the prohibitions on trap guns enacted since the founding regulated
17 only the manner in which firearms could be configured, such as attaching a trip
18 wire to a rifle, and did not prevent gun owners from using those firearms for self-
19 defense. Like the trap gun laws, the AWCA prohibits gun owners from configuring
20 their weapons in certain ways, but still permits them to possess and use the
21 underlying weapons without the prohibited features. *See supra* at pp. 23–25.

22 *Third*, the gunpowder and firearm storage laws enacted during the colonial and
23 founding periods imposed a burden on the ability of individuals to use firearms for
24 self-defense, by limiting the amount of gunpowder that may be kept in the home
25 and where it may be kept. *See supra* at pp. 52–54. Massachusetts went even

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27 appropriate level of scrutiny to evaluate assault weapons bans remains relevant in
28 assessing the degree to which the AWCA burdens the right to armed defense for
purposes of conducting the historical analysis called for by *Bruen*.

1 further by prohibiting the possession of loaded firearms inside the home. *See supra*
2 at pp. 53–54. Nevertheless, no one viewed these laws as preventing gun owners
3 from keeping and bearing arms for self-defense. The AWCA is less burdensome
4 than these laws, because it does not limit the amount of ammunition that may be
5 kept or the manner in which firearms may be stored in the home.

6 This minimal burden imposed by the AWCA and its historical analogues—
7 restricting only the most dangerous accessories or configurations—stands in stark
8 contrast to the burden imposed by the laws at issue in *Heller*, *McDonald*, and
9 *Bruen*, which were found to effectively destroy the right to armed self-defense
10 inside and outside the home. The historical laws distinguished in *Bruen* were not
11 comparably burdensome because those laws permitted public carry in certain
12 circumstances, whereas the law in *Bruen* did not. *See Bruen*, 142 S. Ct. at 2150
13 (“None of the[antebellum] historical limitations on the right to bear arms approach
14 New York’s proper-cause requirement because none operated to prevent law-
15 abiding citizens with ordinary self-defense needs from carrying arms in public for
16 that purpose.”).

17 Nor does it matter that many of the historical laws relied upon in this case
18 regulated the carrying of certain weapons, instead of prohibiting their possession
19 altogether. Indeed, *Heller* makes clear that laws prohibiting the *possession* of
20 especially dangerous weapons (like machine guns) is “fairly supported by the
21 historical tradition of prohibiting the *carrying* of ‘dangerous [or] unusual
22 weapons.’” 554 U.S. at 627 (emphasis added). Moreover, many states did prohibit
23 possession of those weapons, or imposed sales taxes that made it very difficult to
24 acquire them. *See Spitzer Decl.* ¶ 39; *Rivas Decl.* ¶¶ 14, 17. And there are
25 historically grounded explanations for why states regulated weapons differently in
26 the past. Since 1791—and even since 1868—American society has become
27 increasingly urbanized and has seen its population swell, demographic changes that
28 have diminished social trust and required more restrictive laws to protect the public.

1 See Patrick Charles, *supra*, at 141 (“Needless to say, as the population of the United
2 States continued to grow, the small communal aspect of many American towns,
3 localities, and cities began to disintegrate, and would have required state and local
4 governments to adopt more tangible forms of restricting armed carriage.”); Cornell
5 Decl. ¶ 25 (“[T]here was no comparable societal ill to the modern gun violence
6 problem for Americans to solve in the era of the Second Amendment. A
7 combination of factors, including the nature of firearms technology and the realities
8 of living life in small, face-to-face, and mostly homogenous rural communities that
9 typified many parts of early America, militated against the development of such a
10 problem.”). Nothing in *Bruen* suggests that the historical analogues must have
11 selected the same mode of regulation (e.g., possession ban or carry restriction), so
12 long as the burdens on the right to armed self-defense are comparable. See *Bruen*,
13 142 S. Ct. at 2132 (“[C]ases implicating unprecedented societal concerns or
14 dramatic technological changes . . . require a more nuanced approach.”).

15 In any event, laws that regulate the carrying of certain dangerous weapons not
16 suitable for self-defense are sufficiently analogous to laws prohibiting the
17 possession of those weapons, as both impose a slight burden on the right to armed
18 self-defense. What matters is the dangerous attributes and criminal uses of the
19 restricted weapons, and the fact that the AWCA does not impact a range of
20 alternative arms that may be used for effective self-defense diminishes the burden
21 on the Second Amendment right. Prohibitions on the carrying of certain dangerous
22 weapons impose a comparable burden on the right to armed self-defense to
23 prohibitions on the possession of those weapons.

24 **b. Comparable Justification**

25 In addition to imposing a comparable, minimal burden on the right to armed-
26 self-defense, the AWCA has a comparable justification to the historical analogues:
27 protecting the public from gun violence and mass injury. More specifically, like its
28 historical predecessors, the AWCA regulates components or configurations of

1 weapons that are especially dangerous to the public’s safety and especially likely to
2 be used for criminal purposes.

3 The first assault weapons ban in the Nation—the original AWCA—was
4 enacted following a mass shooting in Stockton, California in 1989, in which a
5 shooter used a semiautomatic AK-47 to kill five children and wound 32 others,
6 Spitzer Decl. ¶ 1, and the law was amended in 2000 to add the features-based
7 definition of an assault weapon challenged in this case, Cal. Penal Code § 30515(a).
8 Both before and after, empirical evidence shows that assault weapons are used
9 frequently in various kinds of mass shootings, consistently resulting in more deaths
10 and injuries when compared to mass shootings not involving assault weapons. *See*
11 Defs.’ Trial Ex. A (Allen Decl.) ¶¶ 32–34; Defs.’ Trial Ex. E (Klarevas Decl.) ¶ 17
12 & tbl. 2; Suppl. Donohue Decl. ¶ 21. Assault weapons were used in seven of the 10
13 deadliest mass shootings in the United States since 1980. Defs.’ Trial Ex. E
14 (Klarevas Decl.) ¶ 10, tbl. 1. Accounting for all mass shootings in the United States
15 until 2022, 53% of all double-digit-fatality mass shootings (involving 10 or more
16 fatalities not including the shooter) involved the use of assault weapons (16/30), but
17 73% of such shootings in the past two decades involved assault weapons (12/16).
18 *See* Klarevas Decl., tbl. 1. And 78% of mass shootings involving 20 fatalities or
19 more throughout U.S. history involved assault weapons (with 100% of such
20 incidents involving magazines capable of holding more than 10 rounds). *Id.* ¶ 14.

21 Evidence also indicates that assault weapons and other semiautomatic
22 weapons equipped with large-capacity magazines account for 22 to 36 percent of
23 crime guns, and are used in a significant share of firearm mass murders (57%).
24 Defs.’ Trial Ex. Y at 1; Defs.’ Trial Ex. E (Klarevas Decl.) ¶ 16. Assault weapons
25 are also used disproportionately in gun violence against law enforcement personnel
26 (13–16% of guns used in the murder of police were assault weapons). Defs.’ Trial
27 Ex. Y at 1, 7. These figures far outpace the representation of assault weapons
28 among all firearms in circulation (approximately 5%). Suppl. Klarevas Decl. ¶ 15.

1 Moreover, assault weapons cause extensive injuries due to the cavitation effect of
 2 small caliber-high velocity rounds fired from AR-platform rifles. Defs.’ Trial Ex. B
 3 (Colwell Decl.) ¶¶ 9, 12; Defs.’ Trial Ex. AB at 181–82.

4 The evidence also shows that assault weapon restrictions like the AWCA are
 5 effective in reducing the frequency and lethality of mass shootings. States that
 6 enacted assault weapon restrictions like the AWCA experience fewer mass
 7 shootings and, when they occur, fewer deaths and injuries in those shootings.
 8 Defs.’ Trial Ex. E (Klarevas Decl.) ¶ 27 (states that enacted assault weapon
 9 restrictions experienced a 46% decrease in the incidence rate of mass shootings and
 10 a 57% reduction in the fatality rate). This is consistent with the Nation’s experience
 11 before, during, and after the federal assault weapons ban—mass shootings and
 12 fatalities in mass shootings declined during the decade in which the federal ban was
 13 in effect, and spiked once the ban was lifted in 2004. Defs.’ Trial Ex. E (Klarevas
 14 Decl.) ¶ 27 & tbl. 4; *see also* Suppl. Donohue Decl. ¶ 22 & fig. 2. And according to
 15 a 2017 New York Times survey of 32 current or former academics in criminology,
 16 public health, and law, the measures deemed “most effective in dealing with the
 17 mass shooting epidemic” in the United States was a restriction like the AWCA, and
 18 “[t]he evidence in support of a ban has grown tragically stronger since then.”⁷⁴

19 These justifications—protecting people from gun violence, and targeting
 20 weapons likely to be used for criminal purposes—accord with the justifications of
 21 firearms restrictions through Anglo-American history in at least three ways. *First*,
 22 the dangerous weapons laws enacted throughout American history addressed
 23 myriad firearms and other weapons that contributed to interpersonal violence and
 24 rising homicide rates. They were justified by a similar goal of preventing violence
 25 in society by targeting on those weapons that are especially likely to be used for

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 27 ⁷⁴ Philip J. Cook, *Regulating Assault Weapons and Large-Capacity*
 28 *Magazines for Ammunition*, 328 J. Am. Med. Ass’n 1191, 1192 (2022),
<https://bit.ly/3eaZZcE>.

1 criminal purposes but are rarely used for lawful purposes like self-defense. *See*,
 2 *e.g.*, Spitzer Decl. ¶¶ 26, 46; Rivas Decl. ¶ 12; Donohue Decl. ¶¶ 26–27 (discussing
 3 threats of political violence). As with these dangerous weapons laws, the AWCA
 4 promotes public safety interests in reducing the incidence and lethality of mass
 5 shootings and violence against law enforcement.⁷⁵ Indeed, assault weapons have
 6 been used frequently in mass shootings involving 10 or more fatalities—mass
 7 casualty incidents that only started occurring in the mid-20th century—and 78% of
 8 mass shootings involving 20 or more fatalities (excluding the shooter). *See* Suppl.
 9 Klarevas Decl., tbl. 1. At the same time—like Bowie Knives, or concealable
 10 weapons—the accessories and configurations regulated by the AWCA are
 11 especially likely to be used by criminals for illicit purposes—namely, mass
 12 shootings—while there is hardly any evidence that they are used for self-defense
 13 purposes. *See supra* at pp. 40–41.

14 *Second*, the AWCA is justified in a manner comparable to colonial and
 15 founding era safe storage laws, which—like the AWCA—were adopted in response
 16 to “pressing safety concerns,” which “led [founding-era Americans] to effectively
 17 ban loaded weapons from any building in [Boston]” and to tightly regulate the
 18 storage of gunpowder—which was essential to operate a musket—inside the home.
 19 Adam Winkler, *supra*, at 117.

20 *And third*, historical laws traced to England and the founding era prohibiting
 21 the carrying of dangerous or unusual arms to the “terror of the people” promote
 22 similar goals as the AWCA does—namely, protecting the public’s sense of security
 23 and safety. *See* Joseph Blocher & Reva B. Siegel, *When Guns Threaten the Public*
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25 ⁷⁵ *See, e.g.*, Defs.’ Trial Ex. E (Klarevas Decl.) ¶¶ 23–24, 27 & tbl. 2 (finding
 26 that assault weapon restrictions reduced the incidence and lethality of mass
 27 shootings); Defs.’ Trial Ex. C (Donohue Decl.) ¶ 119 (explaining how the federal
 28 assault weapons ban was effective in reducing the use of assault weapons in gun
 crime).

1 *Sphere: A New Account of Public Safety Regulation Under Heller*, 116 Nw. U. L.
 2 Rev. 139, 181 (2021) (noting that in addition to the victims of gun violence who are
 3 shot or killed, millions are “harmed by the *threat* of violence,” including children
 4 “who must endure active-shooter drills (which themselves can be terrifying
 5 events)”). Government efforts to reduce the availability of particular weapons that
 6 are prominently associated with the current epidemic of mass shootings further
 7 similar public-safety interests as historical laws governing affrays. The government
 8 has an “interest not only in preventing physical injuries, but also in promoting the
 9 kind of security necessary for individuals, families, and communities to flourish.”
 10 *Id.* at 198; *see also Friedman*, 784 F.3d at 412 (noting the benefit of the assault
 11 weapon restrictions in “increas[ing] the public’s sense of safety”).

12 The AWCA’s restrictions on certain combat-oriented accessories being used
 13 on certain firearms, or a particular configuration of semiautomatic centerfire
 14 rifles—weapons that feature prominently in mass shootings—is justified by similar
 15 public safety interests that have historically been understood to justify the exercise
 16 of police powers in regulating the possession, use, and storage of firearms and other
 17 dangerous weapons and accessories.

18 **III. DEFENDANTS OBJECT TO THE EXPEDITED BRIEFING SCHEDULE OF THE** 19 **INSTANT REMAND PROCEEDINGS**

20 The current briefing schedule and procedural posture prejudices Defendants
 21 and deprives them of an adequate opportunity to prepare a record that *Bruen*
 22 requires and address potential counterarguments. The Ninth Circuit remanded this
 23 matter for “further proceedings consistent with the United States Supreme Court’s
 24 decision in [*Bruen*],” Dkt. 133. Where, as here, the challenged law addresses
 25 “unprecedented societal concerns or dramatic technological changes,” *Bruen*
 26 recognized that its text-and-history analysis requires a “more nuanced approach.”
 27 *Id.* at 2132; *and see supra* pp. 38–39. The expedited nature of the proceedings on
 28 remand threaten to impair Defendants’ ability to develop a complete historical

1 record, given the breadth and complexity of the historical analysis that *Bruen* now
2 requires. If the existing record (including the evidence submitted in support of this
3 brief) is insufficient to justify the constitutionality of the AWCA, Defendants
4 respectfully renew their request to conduct formal expert discovery to develop a
5 more comprehensive record responsive to *Bruen*.

6 Following remand, in response to this Court’s direction to submit a brief
7 “addressing” *Bruen* within 20 days, Order dated Aug. 8, 2022 (Dkt. 125),
8 Defendants outlined a proposal for further proceedings involving a three-month
9 period of expert discovery, followed by summary judgment motions to be briefed in
10 early 2023. Dkt. 129 at 17–18. This proposal would have provided time for
11 Defendants’ experts—as well as Plaintiffs’—to conduct original research and
12 analysis to address *Bruen*’s text-and-history standard, prepare expert reports, and
13 undergo depositions.⁷⁶ To support this request, Defendants submitted a declaration
14 from research historian Zachary Schrag explaining the complexities of the general
15 process of conducting historical research that would be undertaken by Defendants’
16 experts. Dkt. 129-1 (Schrag Decl.); *see also Fouts v. Bonta*, 561 F. Supp. 3d 941,
17 950 (S.D. Cal. 2021), vacated by *Fouts v. Bonta*, (9th Cir. Sept. 22, 2022)
18 (“[H]istory is the work of historians rather than judges.”). The proposed three-
19 month discovery period was reasonable in length and would not have caused undue
20 delay.

21 The Court did not accept Defendants’ proposal, instead ordering the
22 preparation of simultaneous supplemental briefs on an aggressive timetable.

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24 ⁷⁶ Although the original complaint was filed in 2019, limited discovery was
25 permitted during December 2020 and January 2021. Following a three-day
26 evidentiary hearing on Plaintiffs’ motion for a preliminary injunction in October
27 2020, the Court set a bench trial for January 2021 (later continued to February
28 2021). All expert depositions in this case took place within this brief two-month
period, and such limited discovery did not address the historical methodology
required under *Bruen*.

1 Although there is no pending motion requesting a merits ruling, it is possible that
2 the Court may determine to issue a final ruling on the merits following these
3 supplemental briefs. If this briefing results in a grant of judgment sua sponte, the
4 lack of formal discovery will have deprived all parties of a “full and fair
5 opportunity to ventilate the issues” involved in the post-*Bruen* analysis. *Greene v.*
6 *Solano Cnty. Jail*, 513 F.3d 982, 990 (9th Cir. 2008); *see also Commodity Futures*
7 *Trading Comm’n v. Bd. Of Trade of City of Chi.*, 657 F.2d 124, 128 (7th Cir. 1981).

8 To be sure, a district court may issue summary judgment on its own motion
9 only under “certain limited circumstances.” *Portsmouth Square Inc. v. S’holders*
10 *Protective Comm.*, 770 F.2d 866, 869 (9th Cir. 1985). These circumstances,
11 include, at a minimum, no less advance notice than the parties would be entitled on
12 a Rule 56 motion (including Local Rule 7.e.1, generally requiring 28 days’ notice
13 of motions). *See Norse v. City of Santa Cruz*, 629 F.3d 966, 972 (9th Cir. 2010).
14 But “[r]easonable notice” encompasses more than strict compliance with the
15 summary judgment notice period; it also “implies adequate time to develop the
16 facts on which the litigant will depend to oppose summary judgment.” *Portsmouth*
17 *Square*, 770 F.2d at 869; *Buckingham v. United States*, 998 F.2d 735, 742 (9th Cir.
18 1993) (A litigant must be given “reasonable notice” that “the sufficiency of his or
19 her claim will be in issue”—which requires “adequate time to develop the facts on
20 which the litigant will depend to oppose summary judgment.”). This includes time
21 to take formal discovery and develop expert evidence. *See Portland Retail*
22 *Druggists Ass’n v. Kaiser Found. Health Plan*, 662 F.2d 641, 645–46 (9th Cir.
23 1981) (holding parties received reasonable notice where trial court allowed three-
24 month discovery period prior to ruling on dispositive motion). As the advisory
25 committee to the 1970 amendments to the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure noted,
26 “[a] prohibition against discovery of information held by expert witnesses produces
27 in acute form the very evils that discovery has been created to prevent.” Fed. R.
28 Civ. P. 26(d)(4), advisory committee’s notes to 1970 amendment (explaining that

1 barring expert discovery frustrates its goals of “narrowing issues” and facilitating
2 “effective rebuttal”).

3 Despite working diligently since this case was remanded, there remain areas of
4 inquiry relevant to *Bruen*’s text-and-history standard that Defendants have not yet
5 able to explore fully, including a deeper canvass of historical state and municipal
6 laws and additional primary-source research to further understand and contextualize
7 the Nation’s traditions of firearms regulation and the regulation of other weapons.
8 In order to discern the nation’s historical traditions, Defendants consulted the
9 available text of historical state and local laws. But there are many other primary
10 source materials that contextualize those laws and how they were understood and
11 enforced, such as official reports, manuscripts, newspaper articles, and archival
12 records. *See* Dkt. 129-1 (Schrag Decl.) ¶¶ 14, 23. A historical analysis of primary
13 source materials can also identify historical traditions of restricting the availability
14 and use of dangerous weapons through non-statutory means, such control by the
15 U.S. military, state militias, and local law enforcement on possessing and
16 transporting Winchester repeating rifles during Reconstruction. *See* Vorenberg
17 Decl. ¶ 8. In time allotted to prepare this supplemental brief, Defendants have been
18 able to consult a limited number of primary sources to develop evidence, but this
19 work could be expanded across time periods and to include other types of
20 dangerous weapons. And given limited time, Defendants’ experts have conducted
21 research using widely available electronic databases, *see* Vorenberg Decl., ¶¶ 13–
22 15 (“Research Materials and Methodology” section), or by leveraging primary
23 sources identified in prior historical research, *see, e.g.*, Spitzer Decl., ¶ 21
24 (discussion of Flayderman Bowie knife research). Of course, not all primary source
25 materials are digitized, and even those that are can prove difficult to search.
26 Dkt. 129-1 (Schrag Decl.) ¶¶ 18–22. With additional time, Defendants’ experts
27 would be able to expand the scope of their research to include additional archival
28 and unpublished sources. Dkt. 129-1 (Schrag Decl.) ¶¶ 23–28.

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Dated: October 13, 2022

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