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Page 41

As to those philosophical gentlemen, those Citizens of the World as they call themselves, He owned he did not wish to see any of them in our public Councils. He would not trust them. The men who can shake off their attachments to their own Country can never love any other. These attachments are the wholesome prejudices which uphold all Governments. $\frac{55}{2}$

Though Morris may have been an especially vivid personification of the inconsistency, no one really found a satisfying resolution to the tension between the delegates' assumptions about human behavior generally and the expectations they imposed on themselves. The disjunction naturally provoked suspicions of hypocrisy, and the suspicions sometimes overwhelmed constraints of courtesy. On one occasion, after listening to small state delegates insist that equal representation in Congress was essential to the preservation of liberty. Alexander Hamilton lost patience. He bluntly indicted their motives (and perhaps, inadvertently, his own): "The truth is it is a contest for power, not for liberty."⁵⁶ Gunning Bedford of Delaware conceded the point but turned it against Hamilton and the large state representatives by identifying the self-interested motives behaviors denotives behaviors of motives behaviors of disinterested concern for reason, justice, and the common good were a sham:

If political Societies possess ambition[.] avarice, and all the other passions which render them formidable to each other, ought we not to view them in this light here? Will not the same motives operate in America as elsewhere? If any gentleman doubts it let him look at the votes [in the convention]. Have they not been dictated by interest, by ambition? Are not the large States evidently seeking to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the small? They think no doubt that the yhave right on their side, but interest had blinded their eyes... Will it be said that an inequality of power will not result from an inequality of votes. Give the opportunity, and ambition will not fail to abuse it.⁵⁷

This momentary outbreak of frank political realism led Bedford to threaten that the small states would "find some foreign ally of more honor and good faith, who will take them by the hand and do them justice."⁵⁸ But such candor strayed too far beyond the bounds of civility. Expressing his sorrow at "the language of the honorable gentleman from Delaware," Rufus King "was grieved that such a thought had entered his heart. He was more grieved that such an expression had dropped from his lips."⁵⁹ And the next week a chastened and somewhat becalmed Bedford backed off. While protesting that he "had been misunderstood," Bedford, a lawyer, also asked the delegates to remember "the habits of his profession in which warmth was natural & sometimes necessary."⁶⁰

There is nothing unusual, of course, in such threats and retractions, or in politicians first clinging to and then angrily or opportunistically rupturing the pretense of disinterestedness. Such inconsistencies are standard fare in political debate. But the dissonance had a peculiar significance in the context of the Philadelphia convention because it was a specific manifestation of the funda-

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fashion represented "possibly the final hope for **liberty** on earth." 64 Their sense of their singular

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dishevelled hair was covered with the cap of liberty. She was seated in an antique chair

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ON MAY 17, 1954, THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT ISSUED THE landmark ruling in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka that laws mandating racial segregation in public schools were unconstitutional. Some civil rights activists reacted with caution to the decision, most conspicuously the man who had led the legal challenge against Jim Crow education, Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Nonetheless, many supporters of the civil rights cause saw the ruling as a decisive breakthrough. Charles S. Johnson, president of the black Fisk University, articulated the excited sense of expectation that the ruling would break down social barriers not only in schools but in all areas of public life: "If segregation is unconstitutional in educational institutions, it is no less so unconstitutional in other aspects of our national life." (1) The New York Amsterdam News was even more emphatic, declaring that "The Supreme Court decision is the greatest victory for the Negro people since the Emancipation Proclamation." (2)

Despite the initial optimism of civil rights campaigners, the process of school desegregation was beset by obstruction and delay. Although the era of massive resistance was relatively short-lived, white southerners subsequently succeeded through less confrontational tactics in restricting the implementation of the Brown decision. The defiance of federal authority by segregationists ignited a broad conservative reaction against the judicial activism of the Supreme Court, while Brown also inspired a southern white backlash against Washington that persists to the present day. My purpose is to assess how white southerners mobilized in opposition to school desegregation and then to turn to the longer-term impact of conservative political

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Marbury v. Madison and the Establishment of Judicial Autonomy¹

WILLIAM E. NELSON

My topic is *Marbury v. Madison*,² the 1803 Supreme Court case that we understand to be the progenitor of judicial review—the doctrine allowing courts to hold acts of Congress unconstitutional. My claim is that *Marbury* was actually about something larger. It was about maintaining a balance between two concepts, democracy—the idea expressed by Lincoln in the Gettysburg Address of government of the people, by the people, and for the people;³ and the rule of law—the idea expressed by John Adams in the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 that ours is a government of laws and not of men.⁴

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