

"To Save the People from Themselves"

In this expansive history, Robert J. Steinfeld offers a thorough reinterpretation of the origins of American judicial review and the central role it quickly came to play in the American constitutional system. Beginning with Privy Council review of American colonial legislation, the book goes on to provide detailed descriptions of the character of the first American constitutions, showing that they drew heavily on traditional Anglo/American constitutional assumptions, which treated legislatures as the primary interpreters of constitutions. Steinfeld then expertly analyses the central role lawyers and judges played in transforming these assumptions, creating the practice and doctrine of American judicial review in a half dozen state cases during the 1780s. The book concludes by showing that the ideas formulated during those years shaped critical decisions taken by the Constitutional Convention of 1787, which turned the novel practice into a permanent, if still deeply controversial, feature of the American constitutional system.

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"To Save the People from Themselves"

The Emergence of American Judicial Review and the Transformation of Constitutions

ROBERT J. STEINFELD

State University of New York





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> For Jennifer and Noah and Ezra



Contents

Acknowleagments		page X1
	Introduction	I
	PART ONE: LEGISLATURES AND LEGISLATION UNDER THE FIRST AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONS	E 3 I
I.	The Largely "Legislative" Character of the ("Horizontal" and "Vertical") Constitutional Checks Placed on Colonial	
	Legislatures	33
2.	The Traditional Nature of the First Written Constitutions and the Role of Legislatures as Their Primary Expounders	72
3.	Restoring "Legislative" Review of the Laws: The New York Constitution of 1777	122
PART TWO: THE EMERGENCE OF AMERICAN JUDICIA		F W/•
	1779-1787	147
	I. THE EMERGENCE OF AMERICAN JUDICIAL REVIEW, 1779–1782	149
4.	Supplementing Traditional Legislative "Revision" with Judicia Review: The New Jersey Case of <i>Holmes</i> v. <i>Walton</i> ,	
	1779–1780	151
5.	The Debate over Judicial Review in the Virginia Court of Appeals: <i>The Case of the Prisoners</i> , 1782	175
		-/3



x

Index

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-83923-5 — 'To Save the People from Themselves' Robert J. Steinfeld Frontmatter More Information

at the Federal Convention

II. THE EMERGENCE OF AMERICAN JUDICIAL REVIEW, 1784-1787: DEVELOPING JUDICIAL REVIEW AS A CHECK ON LEGISLATURES AND ON THE PEOPLE 215 6. The Reappearance of "Vertical" Judicial Review in the Case of Rutgers v. Waddington, New York, 1784 217 7. The Successful Battle to Establish Judicial Review in New Hampshire: The Ten Pound Act Cases, 1786-1787, and Their Aftermath 260 8. Judicial Review and Legislative Supremacy in Rhode Island: The Case of Trevett v. Weeden, 1786, and Its Aftermath 299 9. The Struggle Between Traditional Constitutionalism and the Constitution of Judicial Review in North Carolina: The Case of Bayard v. Singleton, 1786–1787, and Its Aftermath 332 PART THREE: JUDICIAL REVIEW AT THE FEDERAL CONVENTION 387 10. Judicial Review and the Fate of Traditional Constitutionalism

Contents

389

427



Acknowledgments

This book has been a long time in the making. I began it after the election of 2000 with a simple question. How had the United States Supreme Court managed to acquire the power to end a presidential election in favor of one of the candidates? That question continues to be of great importance today, twenty years later following the presidential election of 2020. I knew enough about American judicial review at the time to understand that its origins were a bit murky. For the most part, American constitutions had not expressly authorized the practice. I set about trying to figure out precisely how that astonishing power had come into existence. The subject of course had been addressed before many, many times. A huge library of work devoted to the "origins of judicial review" already existed. But somehow this enormous body of scholarship had not laid the question to rest. Historians kept returning to it, it seemed. because no account had proven entirely satisfactory. This book is my effort to provide a clearer answer to the questions of how precisely American judicial review had originally been brought into being, and how, within a short period of time, it had managed to become a defining feature of the American constitutional system.

I'd like to begin by giving especial thanks to Fred Konefsky for his indefatigable help and encouragement through many, many years of work. He has read and commented upon more drafts than I care to remember. The work would not be the same without his sharp-eyed commentary. When I first became interested in the subject, he and I put together materials for a constitutional history seminar devoted to judicial review, which we taught for many years at the SUNY Buffalo Law School, enriching immeasurably my (and hopefully our students') understanding



xii

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