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DECLARATION  
OF  
INDEPENDENCE.

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED  
STATES OF AMERICA.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such forms, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient

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causes; and, accordingly, all experience has shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasion on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise; the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction, foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states.

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world.

For imposing taxes on us without our consent.

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury.

For transporting us, beyond the seas, to be tried for pretended offences.

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument, for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies.

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the powers of our government.

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny already began, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely

parallel in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us ; and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms ; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we

do the rest of mankind—enemies in war—in peace friends.

WE, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in general congress assembled, appealing to the supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, Do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states —That they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved ; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things, which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Signed by order and in behalf of the Congress.

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.

Attested, CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*

*New Hampshire.*

Josiah Bartlett  
William Whipple  
Matthew Thornton

*Rhode Island.*

Stephen Hopkins  
William Ellery

*Connecticut.*

Roger Sherman  
Samuel Huntington

*Massachusetts Bay.*

John Hancock  
Samuel Adams  
John Adams  
Robert Treat Paine  
Eldridge Gerry

*Maryland.*

Samuel Chase  
William Paca  
William Williams

Oliver Wolcott  
*New York.*

William Floyd  
 Philip Livingston  
 Francis Lewis  
 Lewis Morris

*New Jersey.*

Richard Stockton  
 John Witherspoon  
 Francis Hopkinson  
 John Hart  
 Abraham Clark

*Pennsylvania.*

Robert Morris  
 Benjamin Rush  
 Benjamin Franklin  
 John Morton  
 George Clymer  
 James Smith  
 George Taylor  
 James Wilson  
 George Ross

*Delaware.*

Thomas McKean  
 Cæsar Rodney

Thomas Stone  
 Charles Carroll of Carrollton  
*Virginia.*

George Wythe  
 Richard Henry Lee  
 Thomas Jefferson  
 Benjamin Harrison  
 Thomas Nelson jr.  
 Francis Lightfoot Lee  
 Carter Braxton

*North Carolina*

William Hooper  
 Joseph Hewes  
 John Penn

*South Carolina.*

Edward Rutledge  
 Thomas Heyward jr.  
 Thomas Lynch jr.  
 Arthur Middleton

*Georgia.*

Button Gwinnet  
 Lyman Hall  
 George Walton





**THE CONSTITUTION**  
**OF THE**  
**UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.**

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**WE**, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America. [*See 1 Wheat. 324. 4 Wheat. 403.*]

**ARTICLE I.**  
**OF THE LEGISLATURE.**

**SECTION I.** All legislative powers, herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

**Sect. II. 1.** The House of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

**2.** No person shall be a representative, who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States,

and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned, among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and, until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three. [*See 5 Wheat.* 317.]

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The house of representatives shall choose their speaker, and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sect. III. 1. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. [*See 6 Wheat.* 390.]

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year; so that one-third may be chosen every second year. And if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments, until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

4. The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

5. The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

6. The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside. And no person shall be convicted, without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall

not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to law.

Sec. IV. 1. The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall, by law appoint a different day.

Sec. V. 1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorised to compel the attendance of the absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member. [*See 1 Hall's Am. Law Jour.* 459.]

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of members of either house, on any question, shall, at the

desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place, than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Sec. VI. 1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to, and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house, during his continuance in office.

Sec. VII. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill, which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with

his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary, (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and, before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sec. VIII. Congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises, shall

be uniform throughout the United States; [*See 5 Wheat.* 317.]

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes; [*See 9 Wheat.* 1. 2 *Hall's Am. L. Jour.* 255, 272. 17 *Johns.* 488.]

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States; [*See 4 Wheat.* 122, 192, 209. 2 *Wheat.* 269. 20 *Johns.* 693.]

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries; [*See 3 Wheat. App. n. 2, p. 13.* 7 *Wheat.* 356.]

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the laws of nations; [*5 Wheat.* 184, 153, 76. 3 *Wheat.* 336.]

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water; [*8 Cranch,* 110, 154.]



12. To raise and support armies ; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

13. To provide and maintain a navy ; [See 1 *Mason*, 79, 81. 4 *Binn.* 487.]

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions ; [5 *Wheat.* 1. 19 *Johns.* 7.]

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states, respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by congress ; [3 *S. and R.* 169. 5 *Wheat.* 1. 19 *Johns.* 7.]

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the United States ; and to exercise like authority over all places, purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings ;—and [See 2 *Mason*, 60. 5 *Wheat* 317, 324. 6 *Wheat.* 440. *Jour. of Jurisp.* 47, 56. 17 *Johns.* 225.]

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper, for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this

constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof. [4 *Wheat.* 413. 6 *Wheat.* 204.]

Sec. IX. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless, when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, shall be passed. [See 3 *Dallas*, 386, 396. 6 *Binn.* 271.]

4. No capitation or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken. [See 5 *Wheat.* 317. 3 *Dall.* 171.]

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

6. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office

of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Sec. X. 1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts ; or grant any title of nobility. [See 8 *Wheat.* 84, 92, 256, n. 464. 5 *Wheat.* 420. 4 *Wheat.* 518, 122, 209. 6 *Wheat.* 131. 16 *Johns.* 233. 13 *Mass.* 16. 7 *Johns. Ch. R.* 297. 2 *Cowen*, 626.]

2. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws ; and the nett produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States ; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of congress. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger, as will not admit of delay.

## ARTICLE II.

### OF THE PRESIDENT.

Sec. I. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America.

He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows :

2. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in congress ; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot, for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of the persons voted for, and the number of votes for each ; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for president ; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said house shall, in a like manner, choose the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation

from each state having one vote: A quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members of two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more, who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the vice-president. [*This clause altogether altered and supplied by the XIIth amendment.*]

4. Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United states. [*So also as to the vice-president. See XIIth amendment, post.*]

6. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president; and congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

7. The president shall at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

Sec. II. 1. The president shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states; when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other offices of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be estab-

lished by law. But congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior offices as they think proper in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sec. III. He shall, from time to time, give to congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures, as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and, in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors, and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States. [1 *Cranch*, 137.]

Sec. IV. The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanours.

## ARTICLE III.

### OF THE JUDICIARY.

Sec. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both

of the supreme and inferior courts shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office. [*See 7 Johns. Ch. R. 303.*]

Sec. II. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state or the citizens thereof and foreign states, citizens or subjects. [*See 2 Dall. 297. 6 Wheat. 264, 405. 2 Mason, 472, 9 Wheat. 819.*]

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as congress shall make. [*5 S. and R. 545. 1 Binn. 138.*]

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not com-



mitted within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as congress may by law have directed.

Sec. III. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or confession in open court. [4 *Cranch, App. Note B.* 470, 126.]

2. Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

## ARTICLE IV.

### OF STATE RECORDS.

Sec. I. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other state. And congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof. [See 7 *Cranch.* 481. 3 *Wheat.* 234. 1 *Peters,* 81, 352. 6 *Wheat.* 129.]

### OF CITIZENSHIP.

Sec. II. 1 The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.\* (*See* 4 *Johns. Ch. R.* 430.)

\*Free negroes and mulattoes are not citizens within the meaning of the constitution. 1 *Litt.* 333.

## OF FUGITIVES FROM JUSTICE.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime. [*See 4 Johns. Ch. R. 106.*]

## OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.

+ 3. No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up, on the claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due. [*See 2 S. and R. 306. 3 S. and R. 4. 5 S. and R. 62.*]

## OF THE ADMISSION OF NEW STATES.

Sect. III. 1. New states may be admitted by congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state, nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of congress.

## OF TERRITORIES.

2. Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory, or other property, belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution

shall be so construed, as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

**OF STATE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.**

Sect. IV. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union, a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive, (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

**ARTICLE V.**

**OF AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.**

Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by congress: *Provided*, That no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand, eight hundred and eight, shall, in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

## ARTICLE VI.

## OF PUBLIC DEBT.

**Sect. I.** All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

## OF THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND.

**Sect. II.** This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

## OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL OATH, AND A RELIGIOUS TEST.

**Sect. III.** The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust, under the United States.

## ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this

constitution, between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

**GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President.***  
and Deputy from Virginia.

*New Hampshire.*

John Langdon,  
Nicholas Gilman.

*Massachusetts.*

Nathaniel Gorham,  
Rufus King.

*Connecticut.*

William Samuel Johnson,  
Roger Sherman.

*New York.*

Alexander Hamilton.

*New Jersey.*

William Livingston,  
David Bearly,

William Patterson,  
Jonathan Dayton,

*Pennsylvania.*

Benjamin Franklin,  
Thomas Mifflin,  
Robert Morris,  
George Clymer,  
Thomas Fitzsimmons,

Jared Ingersoll,

James Wilson,  
Gouverneur Morris.

*Attest,*

*Delaware.*

George Read,  
Gunning Bedford, Jun.

John Dickinson,  
Richard Bassett,  
Jacob Broom,

*Maryland.*

James M'Henry,  
Daniel of St. Tho. Jenifer,  
Charles Carroll.

*Virginia.*

John Blair,  
James Madison, Jun.

*North Carolina.*

William Blount,  
Richard Dobbs Spaight,  
Hugh Williamson.

*South Carolina.*

John Rutledge,  
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,  
Charles Pinckney,  
Pierce Butler.

*Georgia.*

William Few,  
Abraham Baldwin.

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Sec'ry.*

## AMENDMENTS.

The following articles proposed by congress, in addition to, and amendment of the constitution of the United States, having been ratified by the legislatures of two-thirds of the states, are become a part of the constitution.

*First Congress, First Session, March 5, 1789.*

Art. 1. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances. (See 3 *Yeates*, 520.)

Art. 2. A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Art. 3. No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Art. 4. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized. [3 *Cranch*, 448,453. 6 *Binn.* 316.]

Art. 5. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a

presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation. [18 *Johns.* 187. 3 *Yeates*, 362. 6 *Binn.* 509. 2 *Dall.* 312. 2 *Johns. Ch. R.* 164. 1 *S. and R.* 382.]

Art. 6. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Art. 7. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law. [See 8 *Wheat.* 674.]

Art. 8. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fine imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Art. 9. The enumeration in the constitution of

certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Art. 10. The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

*Third Congress, Second Session Dec. 2, 1793.*

Art. 11. The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit at law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state. (*See Wheat.* 405.)

*Eighth Congress, first Session Oct. 17, 1803.*

Art. 12. The electors shall meet in their respective states,\* and vote by ballot, for president and vice-president; one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots, the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots, the person voted for as vice-president; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed,† to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate; the president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house

\* On the first Wednesday in December, by Act of Congress, 1st March, 1792.

† Before the first Wednesday in January, by the same act.



of representatives, open all the certificates,\* and the votes shall then be counted ; the person having the greatest number of votes for president shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed. And if no person have such majority, then, from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president ; but in choosing the president the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote ; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice ; and if the house of representatives shall not choose a president, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president, shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed ; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the senate shall choose the vice-president ; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president, shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

\*On the second Wednesday in February, by the same act.

[The following article was proposed by congress to the several states for their adoption as part of the constitution, and has been ratified by the state of Pennsylvania, and some of the other states, but had not, in March, 1825, been ratified by the number of states required by the fifth article of the constitution, and is therefore, as yet, no part of the constitution of the United States.]

*Eleventh Congress, Second Session, November 27th, 1809.*

**Art. 13.** If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive, or retain any title of nobility or honour, or shall, without the consent of congress, accept and retain any present, pension, office, or emolument of any kind whatever, from any emperor, king, prince, or foreign power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them, or either of them. [*See Const. U. S. Art. 1, s. ix. p. 13.*]

# OPENING

OF THE

UNITED STATES SENATE.

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The United States senators assemble at Washington, on the first Monday in December, in each year, in their chamber, at 12 o'clock, meridian. The Vice President, towards the close of the session, usually withdraws; when a president pro tempore is chosen. This is done to meet any contingency that may happen, either from the death of the President, or the death or absence of the Vice President. At the convening of the senators, if the Vice President is absent, the president pro tempore of course takes the chair, and proceeds to open the session forthwith. The secretary calls over the names of the senators present. The certificates of election of such gentlemen as meet for the first time, or upon re-election, being read, the new senators are requested by the president to approach the chair and take the oath, which he administers in the following form:—"I, A. B., do solemnly swear, (or affirm, as the case may be,) that I will support the Constitution of the United States."

The new senators having been duly quali-

fied, and a quorum being in attendance, it is customary to adopt the following resolutions :

*Resolved*, That the secretary acquaint the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled, and that the Senate is ready to proceed to business.

*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed, to join such committee as may be appointed by the House of Representatives, to wait on the President of the United States, and inform him that quorums of the two houses have assembled, and that the two houses are ready to receive any communications he may be pleased to make.

[The standing rules of the Senate direct that the committees shall be appointed by *ballot*, but the senators, not having time to *elect* the committee to wait on the President, it is the practice for some senator to move to suspend the rule relative to *balloting*, and that the president *name* the committee, which being agreed to, he asks of what number the committee shall consist. "Two" being named, he says, "the committee will consist of two." The president of course names the mover of the resolution, and associates some other senator with him.]

*Resolved*, That each senator be supplied during the present session, with three such newspapers, printed within the United States, as he may choose ; provided the same be fur-

nished at the usual rate for the annual charge of newspapers; and provided that, if any senator shall choose to take any newspaper other than daily, he shall be supplied with as many such papers as shall not exceed the price of three daily papers.

The second day, the president takes the chair at the hour to which the Senate stands adjourned; and a quorum being present, he says, "There is a quorum of senators present; the secretary will read the minutes of yesterday." The journal is read, to the end that any mistake may be corrected that shall be made in the entries.

The House of Representatives sends the following communication by their clerk:—

Who says, "Mr. President, I am directed to inform the Senate, that a quorum of the House of Representatives has assembled: that — —, one of the representatives from the State of ———, has been duly elected Speaker thereof, and that it is now ready to proceed to business." The clerk also informs the Senate, that the House of Representatives concur in the resolution of the Senate, for the appointment of a joint committee to wait on the President of the United States, and inform him that quorums of both Houses have assembled, and that Congress is ready to receive any communications he may be pleased to make: and have

appointed A. B. C. a committee on their part. Sometimes the clerk notifies the Senate, that the House has adopted the joint resolution, and asks the concurrence of the Senate.

The joint committees report to their respective Houses, "That they waited upon the President of the United States, and informed him that quorums of the two Houses had assembled, and that they are ready to receive any communications he may be pleased to make; and that the President replied, that he would make his communication in writing to the two Houses of Congress this day, at 12 o'clock."

The private secretary of the President, after being announced at the bar of the Senate, informs that body that he has a message in writing from the President of the United States. This message the president submits to the Senate, which is read by the secretary.

The message being read, some senator moves, that — thousand copies of the message be printed for the use of the members. The president of the Senate then submits to the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting his annual report, and the annual report of the other officers of the government; of which, on motion, extra copies are usually ordered to be printed.

**“ Resolved,** That the Senate will, on tomorrow, proceed to elect a secretary of the Senate.

Agreeably to the order of the day, the Senate proceeded to the election of a secretary ; and, on *counting the ballots*, it appeared that ——— had a majority of the votes, and was duly elected.”

The secretary of the Senate, at the time of taking the oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of the United States, must take an oath or affirmation in the following form : “ I, A. B., secretary of the Senate of the United States of America, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will truly and faithfully discharge the duties of my said office to the best of my knowledge and ability.” The sergeant-at-arms is elected in the same manner, and takes the oath prescribed by law.

**“ Resolved,** That the Senate will, on tomorrow, proceed to appoint the standing committees.

Agreeably to the order of the day, the Senate proceeded by ballot to the appointment of the standing committee, in conformity with the 34th rule, as follows :”

“ In the appointment of the standing committees, the Senate will proceed by ballot, severally to appoint the *chairman of each committee*, and then, by one ballot, the other members necessary to complete the same ;

and a majority of the whole number of votes given shall be necessary to the choice of a chairman of a standing committee. All other committees shall be appointed by ballot, and a plurality of votes shall make a choice. When any subject or matter shall have been referred to a committee, any other subject or matter, of a similar nature, may, on motion, be referred to such committee.

After the election by *ballot* of a *chairman* for each committee, the following entry is made on the journal :

Ordered, that Mr. ——— be chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and so on, through all the committees.

It frequently happens that the *other* members of the committees are not chosen till the succeeding day.

I find that when the Senate had proceeded by *ballot*, and elected the chairmen of three several committees, the president of the Senate was authorized to appoint the remaining committees for that session. Thus, Sept. 6th, 1837. *Journal of the Senate.*

“The Senate proceeded, agreeably to order, to the appointment by *ballot*, of the standing committees, and *ordered* that Mr. Buchanan be chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Ordered, That Mr. Wright be chairman of the Committee on Finance.



**Ordered, That Mr. King, of Alabama, be chairman of the Committee on Commerce.**

Whereupon, on motion of Mr. Clay, by unanimous consent, *Resolved*, That so much of the 34th rule as requires the appointment of the several standing committees by *ballot*, at the present session, be suspended, and that their appointments be made by the president of the Senate."

In the course of the first week, it is usual for each House to choose a chaplain of a different denomination, to serve during the session. When the chaplains have been elected, they alternate between the Houses, and open each day's session with prayer. Each chaplain performs his duty a few minutes before the presiding officer takes the chair.

After the Journal is read, the president shall *first* call for petitions, and then for reports from standing committees; and every petition, or memorial, or other paper, shall be referred *of course*, without putting a question for that purpose, unless the reference is objected to by a member, at the time such petition, memorial, or other paper is presented. And before any petition or memorial, addressed to the Senate, shall be received and read at the table, whether the same shall be introduced by the president or a member, a brief statement of the contents of the petition

or memorial shall verbally be made by the introducer.

One day's notice at least shall be given of an intended motion for leave to bring in a bill; and all bills reported by a committee shall, after the *first* reading, be printed for the use of the Senate, but no other paper or document shall be printed for the use of the Senate without special order.

Every bill shall receive three readings previous to its being passed; and the president shall give notice at each whether it be the *first*, *second*, or *third*: which readings shall be on three different days, unless the Senate *unanimously* direct otherwise.

The Vice President, or president of the Senate pro tempore, shall have the right to name a member to perform the duties of the chair; but such substitution shall not extend beyond an adjournment.

No bill shall be committed or amended until it shall have been twice read; after which it may be referred to a committee.

All bills on a second reading shall first be considered by the Senate in the same manner as if the Senate *were in committee of the whole*, before they are taken up, and proceeded on by the Senate agreeably to the standing rules, unless otherwise ordered.

When the Senate is equally divided, the

secretary shall take the decision of the president.

In filling up blanks, the largest sum and longest time shall be *first* put.

When the reading of a paper is called for, and the same is objected to by any member, it shall be determined by a vote of the Senate, and without debate.

The unfinished business in which the Senate was engaged at the last preceding adjournment, shall have the precedence in the special orders of the day.

When the yeas and nays shall be called for by *one-fifth* of the members present, each member called upon shall, unless for special reason he be excused by the Senate, declare openly, and without debate, his assent or dissent to the question. In taking the yeas and nays, and upon a call of the House, the names of the members shall be taken alphabetically.

When the yeas and nays shall be taken upon any question, in pursuance of the above rule, no member shall be permitted, under any circumstances whatever, to vote *after* the decision is announced from the chair.

On motion made and seconded to shut the doors of the senate, on the discussion of any business which may, in the opinion of a member, require secrecy, the president shall direct the gallery to be cleared; and, during

the discussion of such motion, the doors shall remain shut.

When a question has been once made and carried in the affirmative or negative, it shall be in order for any member of the majority to move for the re-consideration thereof: but no motion for re-consideration of any vote shall be in order after a bill, resolution, message, report, amendment, or motion, upon which the vote was taken, shall have gone out of the possession of the Senate, announcing their decision: nor shall any motion for re-consideration be in order, unless made on the same day on which the vote was taken, or within the two next days of actual session thereafter.

No motion shall be debated until the same be seconded.

When a motion shall be made and seconded, it shall be reduced to writing, if desired by the president, or any member, and delivered in at the table, and read before the same shall be debated.

When a question is under debate, no motion shall be received but to adjourn, to lie on the table, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone to a day certain, to commit, or to amend; which several motions shall have precedence in the order they stand arranged: and the motion for adjournment shall always

be in order, and be decided without debate.

When a member shall be called to order by the president, or a senator, he shall sit down; and every question out of order shall be decided by the president, without debate, subject to an appeal to the Senate; and the president may call for the sense of the Senate on any question of order.

If a member be called to order by a senator for words spoken, the exceptionable words shall immediately be taken down in writing, that the president may be better enabled to judge of the matter.

The two houses appoint a joint committee on the library.

The president of the Senate *pro tempore*, and the speaker of the House of Representatives shall, during their services respectively, receive eight dollars per diem, in addition to their compensation as members of congress, for every day's attendance on their respective Houses.

The senators and representatives, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States, and of the several states, shall be bound, by *oath or affirmation, to support the Constitution*; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any of-

vice or public trust under the United States.  
*Con. art. 6, clause 3.*

The following is the form of the oath prescribed by the act of congress of 1789.

I, A. B., do solemnly swear, or affirm (as the case may be,) that I will support the Constitution of the United States.

The two Houses appoint joint committees to ascertain and report a mode of examining the votes of President and Vice President, and of notifying the persons elected. They make report to each House. The following is the usual form of the resolution: *Resolved*, That the two Houses shall assemble in the chamber of the House of Representatives on Wednesday next, (second Wednesday in February succeeding every meeting of electors,) at 12 o'clock, and the president of the Senate shall be the presiding officer: that one person be appointed a teller on the part of the Senate, and two on the part of the House of Representatives, to make a list of the votes as they shall be declared: that the result shall be delivered to the president of the Senate, who shall announce the state of the vote, and the persons elected, to the two Houses assembled, as aforesaid; which shall be deemed a declaration of the persons elected President and Vice President of the United States; and, together with a list of votes, be entered on the journal of the two Houses.

On the day and hour appointed by the two Houses for opening the returns, the clerk of the House waits upon the Senate, and notifies that body that the House of Representatives is ready to receive the Senate, and proceed to opening the certificates, and counting the votes of the electors for President and Vice President. Whereupon the senators repair to the chamber of the House of Representatives, and the president opens the certificates, and delivers them to the tellers, who read the same; and thus the number of votes is ascertained for the different candidates. A tabular list of the votes for the candidates is made out, and the votes added up, and announced.

This list of votes is reported to each House, and entered upon the journal. A joint committee is then appointed to notify the President and Vice President of their election. The President elect announces to the president of the Senate his intention to take the oath on the 4th of March, at such place as the Senate may think proper to designate. A committee is then appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the reception and inauguration of the president elect on the 4th of March, and to apprise him of the fact.

With the view of showing the mode of conducting a bill through the Senate that has been sent by the House of Representatives

for concurrence, I give the following outline. "A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. —, their clerk."

Mr. President: The House of Representatives have passed the bill entitled an act; and reads the title. The president hands it to the secretary, who gives it its *first* reading. Sometimes, a bill receives its first and second reading by *unanimous* consent. Every bill must receive its *first* and *second* reading before it can have any other action taken upon it in the Senate. The president, at the time he hands it to the secretary, says, "The first reading of a bill." The clerk usually reads it by the title. If consent has been granted, the clerk rises again to read the bill; when the president says, "The *second* reading of a bill." The secretary reads the bill again by its title. If consent has not been given to read the bill *twice* on the same day, it will come up in order for its second reading on the next day. After the bill has been read a second time, a motion is generally made to commit it to the appropriate committee.

The committee, at a proper time, report it back, either with or "without amendments," to the Senate; after which it is considered *as in committee of the whole*, the president not leaving the chair. The bill being read by the secretary, and no amendment being of



ferred, the president says, the bill has now been considered as in committee of the whole. No amendment being offered, the bill is reported to the Senate. The question will be on ordering it to a third reading. He then rises, and says, "As many as are in favour of its being ordered to a third reading, will say aye. The contrary opinion will say no." If the ayes have it, he will say, the ayes have it, or it is agreed to. The next day, or, if the Senate *unanimously consent*, the bill, the same day, receives its last reading. When the clerk rises to read the bill, the president says, "The third reading of an engrossed bill. The bill being read, he asks "shall this bill pass?" He puts the affirmative and negative question in relation to the bill, and, if it is carried, he says, "It is agreed that this bill do pass." The title of the bill is then read; when he generally, in a short way, says, "Shall *this* be the title of the bill?" and no one objecting, he says, the title is agreed to. It sometimes, however, happens that the bill, when committed, is reported to the Senate *with an amendment*. I have, therefore, thought it proper to extract a case of that kind from the journal.

Mr. Wright, from the Committee on Finance, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 529,) entitled, "an act supplementary to the

act entitled, "an act establishing a mint, and regulating the coin of the United States, reported the same *with an amendment*; which was read, Jany. 9th, 1837.

The Senate proceeded to consider, *as in committee of the whole*, the foregoing bill, together with the amendment reported thereto; and the said amendment having been agreed to, the Vice President reported the bill to the Senate, and the amendment was concurred in. The presiding officer says, "The bill is still open for amendment." If no amendment is proposed, the president then says, "The question will be on engrossing the bill as amended, and reading it a third time, which was concurred in.

Ordered, That the amendment be engrossed, and the bill be read a third time. Jany. 10.—The amendment to the bill (the foregoing) having been reported by the committee correctly engrossed, the bill was read a third time as amended; when, *Resolved*, That this bill do pass with an amendment. Ordered, That the Secretary request the concurrence of the House of Representatives therein.

Jany. 12, 1837.—A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Franklin, their clerk.

"Mr. President: The House of Represen-

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tatives concur in the amendment to the bill," (referred to above.)

Jany. 18.—The committee on enrolled bills reported that they had presented it to the President.

All the bills are signed by the president of the Senate, and Speaker of the House, before presentation to the President of the United States.

They are signed by these officers while their respective bodies *are in session*.

#### *Classifying new Senators.*

Upon the appearance of the senators from the new state of Arkansas, with the view of arranging them in their proper class, Mr. Benton, Dec. 5th, 1836, submitted the following resolution, which was adopted.

*Resolved*, That the Senate proceed to ascertain the classes in which the senators of the state of Arkansas shall be inserted, in conformity with the resolution of the 14th of May, 1789, and as the Constitution requires.

On motion, by Mr. Benton,

Ordered, That the secretary put into the ballot-box three papers of equal size, numbered 1, 2, 3. Each of the senators of the state of Arkansas shall draw out one paper. No. 1, if drawn, shall entitle the member to be placed in the class of senators whose term of service will expire the 3d day of March,

1837: No. 2, in the class whose term of service will expire on the 3d of March, 1839: and No. 3, in the class whose terms will expire the 3d of March, 1841. Whereupon, the papers above mentioned were put by the secretary into the box, and the Honourable Ambrose H. Sevier drew No. 1, and is accordingly of the class of senators whose terms of service will expire the 3d day of March, 1837; and the Honourable Mr. S. Fulton drew No. 3, and is accordingly of the class of senators whose terms of service will expire the 3d day of March, 1841.

Upon the swearing in of a new President and Vice President, it is necessary that the Senate should be in session on the 4th of March. It therefore becomes the duty of the President of the United States, to specially convene the senators; hence the following notice was issued, the 6th Jany. 1841:

The President of the United States,

To ——— Senator of the State of ———

Certain matters, touching the public good, require that the Senate of the United States should be convened on the 4th of March next; you are desired to attend at the senate-chamber, in the city of Washington, on that day, then and there to receive and to delibe-

rate on such communications as shall be made to you.

M. VAN BUREN.

WASHINGTON, Jany. 6, 1841.

Journal of the Senate, 1841. }

March the 2d. }

Vice President Johnson said, "yesterday, I intimated that I should, some time during the session of this day, feel it my duty to retire from my seat, for the purpose of giving the Senate an opportunity of selecting a presiding officer, for the convenience of organization on the 4th of March."

In conformity with the above summons, the Senate assembled in their chamber, in the city of Washington. The Vice President was duly qualified, and presided, when the President of the United States, Ex-President, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Heads of Departments, and Foreign Ministers having entered the senate chamber, whereupon the Senate proceeded with them to the eastern portico, where the President of the United States delivered his address, and took his oath of office prescribed by the Constitution of the United States.

When the Senate elects a president pro tempore, notice of the election is sent to the House of Representatives, and also to the President of the United States.

# RULES

## FOR CONDUCTING BUSINESS IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

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1. The president having taken the chair, and a quorum being present, the journal of the preceding day shall be read, to the end that any mistake may be corrected that shall be made in the entries.

2. No member shall speak to another, or otherwise interrupt the business of the Senate, or read any newspaper, while the journals or public papers are reading, or when any member is speaking in any debate.

3. Every member, when he speaks, shall address the chair, standing in his place, and when he has finished shall sit down.

4. No member shall speak more than twice, in any one debate, on the same day, without leave of the senate.

5. When two members rise at the same time, the president shall name the person to speak ; but in all cases the member who shall first rise and address the chair, shall speak first.

6. When a member shall be called to order, by the president, or a senator, he shall sit down ; and every question out of order shall be decided by the president without debate, subject to an appeal to the senate ; and the president may call for the sense of the senate on any question of order.

7. If the member be called to order by a senator, for words spoken, the exceptionable words

shall immediately be taken down in writing, that the president may be better enabled to judge of the matter.

8. No member shall absent himself from the service of the senate, without leave of the senate first obtained. And in case a less number than a quorum of the Senate shall convene, they are hereby authorised to send the serjeant-at-arms, or any other person or persons by them authorised, for any or all absent members, as the majority of such members present shall agree, at the expense of such absent members respectively, unless such excuse for non-attendance shall be made, as the senate, when a quorum is convened, shall judge sufficient; and in that case, the expense shall be paid out of the contingent fund. And this rule shall apply as well to the first convention of the senate at the legal time of meeting, as to each day of the session, after the hour has arrived to which the senate stood adjourned.

9. No motion shall be debated until the same shall be seconded.

10. When a motion shall be made and seconded, it shall be reduced to writing, if desired by the president, or any member, delivered in at the table, and read, before the same shall be debated.

11. When a question is under debate, no motion shall be received but to adjourn, to lie on the table, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone to a day certain, to commit, or to amend; which several motions shall have precedence in the order they stand arranged, and the motion for adjournment shall always be in order, and be decided without debate.

12. If the question in debate contain several points, any member may have the same divided;

but on a motion to strike out and insert, it shall not be in order to move for a division of the question ; but the rejection of a motion to strike out and insert one proposition shall not prevent a motion to strike out and insert a different proposition ; nor prevent a subsequent motion, simply to strike out ; nor shall the rejection of a motion simply to strike out prevent a subsequent motion to strike out and insert.

13. In filling up blanks, the largest sum and longest time shall be first put.

14. When the reading of a paper is called for, and the same is objected to by any member, it shall be determined by a vote of the senate, and without debate.

15. The unfinished business in which the senate was engaged at the last preceding adjournment, shall have the preference in the special orders of the day.

16. When the yeas and nays shall be called for by one-fifth of the members present, each member called upon shall, unless for special reason he be excused by the senate, declare openly, and without debate, his assent or dissent to the question. In taking the yeas and nays, and upon the call of the house, the names of the members shall be taken alphabetically.

17. When the yeas and nays shall be taken upon any question, in pursuance of the above rule, no member shall be permitted, under any circumstances whatever, to vote after the decision is announced from the chair.

18. On a motion made and seconded to shut the doors of the senate, on the discussion of any



business which may, in the opinion of a member, require secrecy, the president shall direct the gallery to be cleared; and, during the discussion of such motion, the doors shall remain shut.

19. No motion shall be deemed in order, to admit any person or persons whatsoever within the doors of the senate chamber, to present any petition, memorial, or address, or to hear any such read.

20. When a question has been once made and carried in the affirmative or negative, it shall be in order for any member of the majority to move for the re-consideration thereof: but no motion for the re-consideration of any vote shall be in order after a bill, resolution, message, report, amendment, or motion, upon which the vote was taken, shall have gone out of the possession of the Senate, announcing their decision; nor shall any motion for re-consideration be in order, unless made on the same day on which the vote was taken, or within the two next days of actual session of the Senate thereafter.

21. When the Senate are equally divided, the secretary shall take the decision of the president.

22. All questions shall be put by the president of the Senate, either in the presence or absence of the President of the United States; and the senators shall signify their assent or dissent, by answering aye or no.

23. The Vice President, or president of the Senate pro tempore, shall have the right to name a member to perform the duties of the chair; but

such substitution shall not extend beyond an adjournment.

24. After the journal is read, the president shall first call for petitions, and then for reports from standing committees; and every petition or memorial, or other paper shall be referred, of course, without putting a question for that purpose, unless the reference is objected to by a member at the time such petition, memorial, or other paper, is presented. And before any petition or memorial, addressed to the Senate shall be received and read at the table, whether the same shall be introduced by the president or a member, a brief statement of the contents of the petition or memorial shall verbally be made by the introducer.

25. One day's notice at least shall be given of an intended motion for leave to bring in a bill; and all bills reported by a committee shall, after the first reading, be printed for the use of the Senate: but no other paper or document shall be printed for the use of the Senate, without special order.

26. Every bill shall receive three readings previous to its being passed; and the president shall give notice at each, whether it be the first, second, or third; which readings shall be on three different days, unless the Senate unanimously direct otherwise. And all resolutions proposing amendments to the Constitution, or to which the approbation and signature of the President may be requisite, or which may grant money out of the contingent or any other fund, shall be treated, in all respects, in the introduction and form of

proceedings on them, in the Senate, in a similar manner with bills: and all other resolutions shall lie on the table one day for consideration, and also reports of committees.

27. No bill shall be committed or amended until it shall have been twice read, after which it may be referred to a committee.

28. All bills on a second reading, shall first be considered by the Senate in the same manner as if the Senate were in committee of the whole, before they shall be taken up and proceeded on by the Senate, agreeably to the standing rules, unless otherwise ordered. And when the Senate shall consider a treaty, bill, or resolution, as in committee of the whole, the Vice President, or president pro tempore may call a member to fill the chair, during the time the Senate shall remain in committee of the whole: and the chairman so called shall, during such time, have the powers of a president pro tempore.

29. The final question, upon the second reading of every bill, resolution, constitutional amendment, or motion, originating in the Senate, and requiring three readings previous to being passed, shall be, "Whether it shall be engrossed and read a third time?" and no amendment shall be received for discussion at the third reading of any bill, resolution, amendment, or motion, unless by unanimous consent of the members present: but it shall at all times be in order, before the final passage of any such bill, resolution, constitutional amendment, or motion, to move its commitment; and should such commitment take place, and any amendment be reported by the committee, the

said bill, resolution, constitutional amendment, or motion, shall be again read a second time, and considered as in committee of the whole, and then the aforesaid question shall be again put.

30. The special orders of the day shall not be called by the Chair before one o'clock, unless otherwise directed by the Senate.

31. The titles of bills and such parts thereof only as shall be affected by proposed amendments, shall be inserted on the journals.

32. The proceedings of the Senate, when not acting as in committee of the whole, shall be entered on the journal as concisely as possible, care being taken to detail a true and accurate account of the proceedings: but every vote of the Senate shall be entered on the journal, and a brief statement of the contents of each petition, memorial, or paper, presented to the Senate, shall also be inserted on the journal.

33. The following Standing Committees, to consist of five members each, shall be appointed at the commencement of each session, with leave to report by bill or otherwise:

A Committee on Foreign Relations.

A Committee on Finance.

A Committee on Commerce.

A Committee on Manufactures.

A Committee on Agriculture.

A Committee on Military Affairs.

A Committee on the Militia.

A Committee on Naval Affairs.

A Committee on Public Lands.

A Committee on Private Land Claims.

**A Committee on Indian Affairs.**

**A Committee of Claims.**

**A Committee on Revolutionary Claims.**

**A Committee on the Judiciary.**

**A Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.**

**A Committee on Roads and Canals.**

**A Committee on Pensions.**

**A Committee on the District of Columbia.**

**A Committee on Patents and the Patent Office.**

**A Committee on the Public Buildings, consisting of three members, to act jointly with the same committee of the House of Representatives.**

**A Committee of three members, whose duty it shall be to audit and control the contingent expenses of the Senate.**

**And a Committee, consisting of three members, whose duty it shall be to examine all bills, amendments, resolutions, or motions, before they go out of possession of the Senate, and shall deliver the same to the secretary of the Senate, who shall enter upon the journal that the same have been correctly engrossed.**

**34. In the appointment of the Standing Committees, the Senate will proceed by ballot, severally to appoint the chairman of each committee, and then, by one ballot, the other members necessary to complete the same; and a majority of the whole number of votes given, shall be necessary to the choice of a chairman of a standing committee. All other committees shall be appointed by ballot, and a plurality of votes shall make a choice. When any subject or matter shall**

have been referred to a committee, any other subject or matter of a similar nature, may, on motion, be referred to such committee.

35. When motions are made for reference of the same subject to a select committee, and to a standing committee, the question on reference to the standing committee shall be first put.

36. When nominations shall be made in writing by the President of the United States to the Senate, a future day shall be assigned, unless the Senate unanimously direct otherwise, for taking them into consideration. When the President of the United States shall meet the Senate in the senate chamber, the president of the Senate shall have a chair on the floor, be considered as the head of the Senate, and his chair shall be assigned to the President of the United States. When the Senate shall be convened by the President of the United States to any other place, the president of the Senate and senators shall attend at the place appointed. The secretary of the Senate shall also attend to take the minutes of the Senate.

37. Whenever a treaty shall be laid before the Senate for ratification, it shall be read a first time for information only; when no motion to reject, ratify, or modify the whole, or any part, shall be received. Its second reading shall be for consideration, and on a subsequent day; when it shall be taken up as in committee of the whole, and every one shall be free to move a question on any particular article, in this form: "Will the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of this article?" or to propose amendments thereto,

either by inserting or by leaving out words; in which last case, the question shall be, "Shall these words stand as part of the article?" And in every of the said cases, the concurrence of two-thirds of the senators present shall be requisite to decide affirmatively. And when through the whole, the proceedings shall be stated to the House, and questions shall be again severally put thereon for confirmation, or new ones proposed, requiring in like manner a concurrence of two-thirds, for whatever is retained or inserted; the votes so confirmed shall, by the House, or a committee thereof, be reduced into the form of a ratification, with or without modifications, as may have been decided, and shall be proposed on a subsequent day, when every one shall again be free to move amendments, either by inserting or leaving out words; in which last case, the question shall be, "Shall these words stand as part of the resolution?" And in both cases, the concurrence of two-thirds shall be requisite to carry the affirmative, as well as, on the final question, to advise and consent to the ratification in the form agreed to.

38. All confidential communications made by the President of the United States to the Senate, shall be by the members thereof kept secret; and all treaties which may be laid before the Senate shall also be kept secret, until the Senate shall, by their resolution, take off the injunction of secrecy.

39. All information or remarks, touching or concerning the character or qualifications of any

person nominated by the President to office, shall be kept secret.

40. When acting on confidential or executive business, the Senate shall be cleared of all persons except the secretary, the principal or the executive clerk, the serjeant-at-arms and door-keeper, and the assistant door-keeper.

41. The legislative proceedings, the executive proceedings, and the confidential legislative proceedings, of the Senate, shall be kept in separate and distinct books.

42. The President of the United States shall, from time to time, be furnished with an authenticated transcript of the executive records of the Senate; and all nominations approved, or definitively acted on by the Senate, shall be returned by the secretary, from day to day, as such proceedings may occur; but no further extract from the executive journal shall be furnished, except by special order; and no paper, except original treaties transmitted to the Senate by the President of the United States, or any executive officer, shall be returned or delivered from the office of the secretary, without an order of the Senate for that purpose.

43. When an amendment to be proposed to the Constitution is under consideration, the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present shall not be requisite to decide any question for amendments, or extending to the merits, being short of the final question.

44. When any question may have been decided by the Senate, in which two-thirds of the members present are necessary to carry the affirm-



ative, any member who votes on that side which prevailed in the question may be at liberty to move for a re-consideration ; and a motion for re-consideration shall be decided by a majority of votes.

45. Messages shall be sent to the House of Representatives by the secretary, who shall previously endorse the final determination of the Senate thereon.

46. Messengers are introduced in any state of business, except while a question is putting, while the yeas and nays are calling, or while the ballots are counting.

47. The following persons, and none others, shall be admitted on the floor of the Senate : members of the House of Representatives and their clerk ; the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Attorney-General, and the Postmaster-General ; the private secretary of the President, Chaplains to Congress, Judges of the United States, Foreign Ministers and their secretaries, Officers who, by name, have received, or shall hereafter receive the thanks of Congress for their gallantry and good conduct in the service of their country, or who have received medals by a vote of Congress ; the Governor, for the time being, of any State or Territory of the Union, the Ex-Governors of the several States, such gentlemen as have been Heads of Departments or members of either branch of Congress ; persons who, for the time being, belong to the respective State and Territorial Legislatures, and persons belonging to such Legislatures of foreign Governments as are

in amity with the United States; two reporters for each of the daily papers, and one reporter for each tri-weekly paper, printed and published in the city of Washington, whose names shall be communicated in writing, by the editors of those papers, to the Secretary of the Senate, and who shall confine themselves to the seats now provided for them.

48. The presiding officer of the Senate shall have the regulation of such parts of the Capitol and of its passages, as are or may be set apart for the use of the Senate and its officers.

49. The secretary of the Senate, the sergeant-at-arms and door-keeper, and the assistant door-keeper, shall be chosen on the second Monday of the first session of the 21st Congress, and on the same day of the first session of every succeeding Congress.

# JOINT RULES.

## AND ORDERS OF THE TWO HOUSES.

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1. In every case of an amendment of a bill agreed to in one house, and dissented to in the other, if either house shall request a conference, and appoint a committee for that purpose, and the other house shall also appoint a committee to confer, such committees shall, at a convenient hour, to be agreed on by their chairman, meet in the conference chamber, and state to each other verbally, or in writing, as either shall choose, the reasons of their respective houses, for and against the amendment, and confer freely thereon.

2. When a message shall be sent from the senate to the house of representatives, it shall be announced at the door of the house by the door-keeper, and shall be respectfully communicated to the chair, by the person by whom it may be sent.

3. The same ceremony shall be observed, when a message shall be sent from the house of representatives to the senate.

4. Messages shall be sent by such persons, as a sense of propriety in each house may determine to be proper.

5. While bills are on their passage between the two houses, they shall be on paper, and under the signature of the secretary or clerk of each house, respectively.

6. After a bill shall have passed both houses it shall be duly enrolled on parchment, by the clerk

of the house of representatives, or the secretary of the senate, as the bill may have originated in the one or the other house, before it shall be presented to the president of the United States.

7. When bills are enrolled, they shall be examined by a joint committee of two from the senate, and two from the house of representatives, appointed as a standing committee for that purpose, who shall carefully compare the enrolment with the engrossed bills, as passed in the two houses, and correcting any errors that may be discovered in the enrolled bills, make their report forthwith to their respective houses.

8 After examination and report, each bill shall be signed in their respective houses, first by the speaker of the house of representatives, then by the president of the senate.

9. After a bill shall have been thus signed in each house, it shall be presented by the said committee to the president of the United States, for his approbation, it being first endorsed on the back of the roll, certifying in which house the same originated: which endorsement shall be signed by the secretary or clerk (as the case may be) of the house in which the same did originate, and shall be entered on the journal of each house. The said committee shall report the day of presentation to the president, which time shall also be carefully entered on the journal of each house.

10. All orders, resolutions, and votes, which are to be presented to the president of the United States for his approbation, shall, also, in the same manner, be previously enrolled, examined, and

signed, and shall be presented in the same manner, and by the same committee, as provided in the cases of bills.

11. When the Senate and House of Representatives shall judge it proper to make a joint address to the President, it shall be presented to him in his audience chamber, by the president of the Senate, in the presence of the speaker and both houses.

12. When a bill or resolution, which shall have passed in one house, is rejected in the other, notice thereof shall be given to the house in which the same shall have passed.

13. When a bill or resolution, which has been passed in one house, shall be rejected in the other, it shall not be brought in during the same session, without a notice of ten days, and leave of two-thirds of that house in which it shall be renewed.

14. Each house shall transmit to the other all papers on which any bill or resolution shall be founded.

15. After each house shall have adhered to their disagreement, a bill or resolution shall be lost.

16. No bill that shall have passed one house, shall be sent for concurrence to the other, on either of the last three days of the session.

17. No bill or resolution, that shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall be presented to the President of the United States, for his approbation, on the last day of the session.

18. When bills which have passed one house

are ordered to be printed in the other, a greater number of copies shall not be printed than may be necessary for the use of the house making the order.

19. No spirituous liquors shall be offered for sale, or exhibited within the capitol, or on the public grounds adjacent thereto.



## STANDING RULES

AND

ORDERS FOR CONDUCTING BUSINESS IN THE  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
UNITED STATES.

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### *Touching the duty of the Speaker.*

1. He shall take the chair every day precisely at the hour to which the House shall have adjourned on the preceding day; shall immediately call the members to order; and, on the appearance of a quorum, shall cause the Journal of the preceding day to be read.

2. He shall preserve order and decorum; may speak to points of order in preference to other members, rising from his seat for that purpose; and shall decide questions of order, subject to an appeal to the House by any two members; on which appeal no member shall speak more than once, unless by leave of the House.

3. He shall rise to put a question, but may state it sitting.

4. Questions shall be distinctly put in this form, to wit: "As many as are of opinion that (as the question may be) say *Ay*;" and, after the affirmative voice is expressed, "As many as are of the contrary opinion, say *No*." If the Speaker doubt, or a division be called for, the House shall divide: those in the affirmative of the question shall first rise from their seats, and afterward those in the negative. If the Speaker still doubt, or a count be required, the Speaker shall name two members, one from each side, to tell the members in the affirmative; which being reported, he shall then name two others, one from each side, to tell those in the negative; which being also reported, he shall rise, and state the decision to the House. No division and count of the House by tellers shall be in order, but upon motion seconded by at least one-fifth of a quorum of the members.

5. When any motion or proposition is made, the question, "Will the House now consider it?" shall not be put, unless it is demanded by some member, or is deemed necessary by the Speaker.

6. The Speaker shall examine and correct the Journal before it is read. He shall have a general direction of the Hall. He shall have a right to name any member to perform the duties of the chair, but such substitution shall not extend beyond an adjournment.

7. All committees shall be appointed by the Speaker, unless otherwise specially directed by the House, in which case they shall be appointed by

ballot; and if, upon such ballot, the number required shall not be elected by a majority of the votes given, the House shall proceed to a second ballot, in which a plurality of votes shall prevail; and, in case a greater number than is required to compose or complete a committee shall have an equal number of votes, the House shall proceed to a further ballot or ballots.

8. In all other cases of ballot than for committees, a majority of the votes given shall be necessary to an election; and where there shall not be such a majority on the first ballot, the ballot shall be repeated until a majority be obtained. And in all ballotings blanks shall be rejected, and not taken into the count in the enumeration of votes, or reported by the tellers.

9. In all cases of election by the House, the Speaker shall vote; in other cases he shall not vote, unless the House be equally divided, or unless his vote, if given to the minority, will make the division equal; and, in case of such equal division, the question shall be lost.

10. In all cases where other than members of the House may be eligible to an office by the election of the House, there shall be a previous nomination.

11. In all cases of election, by the House of its officers, the vote shall be taken *viva voce*. (December 10, 1839.)

12. All acts, addresses, and joint resolutions, shall be signed by the Speaker; and all writs, warrants, and subpoenas, issued by order of the House, shall be under his hand and seal, attested by the clerk.



13. In case of any disturbance or disorderly conduct in the galleries or lobby, the Speaker (or chairman of the committee of the whole house) shall have power to order the same to be cleared.

14. No person, except members of the Senate, their secretary, Heads of Departments, Treasurer, Comptrollers, Register, Auditors, Postmaster-General, President's secretary, Chaplains to Congress, Judges of the United States, Foreign Ministers and their secretaries, Officers who, by name, have received, or shall hereafter receive, the thanks of Congress for their gallantry and good conduct, displayed in the service of their country, the Commissioners of the Navy Board, Governor, for the time being, of any State or Territory in the Union, who may attend at the seat of the General Government during the session of Congress, and who may choose to avail himself of such privilege, such gentlemen as have been Heads of Departments, or members of either branch of the Legislature, and, at the discretion of the Speaker, persons who belong to such Legislatures of foreign Governments as are in amity with the United States, shall be admitted within the hall of the House of Representatives.

15. Stenographers, wishing to take down the debates, may be admitted by the Speaker, who shall assign such places to them on the floor, or elsewhere, to effect their object, as shall not interfere with the convenience of the House.

16. No person shall be allowed the privilege of the hall, under the character of stenographer, without a written permission from the Speaker,

specifying the part of the hall assigned to him ; and no reporter or stenographer shall be admitted under the rules of the House, unless such reporter or stenographer shall state in writing, for what paper or papers he is employed to report. (March 1, 1838.)

17. The door-keeper shall execute strictly the 14th and 15th rules, relative to the privilege of the hall. (March 1, 1838.)

18. The clerk of the House shall take an oath for the true and faithful discharge of the duties of his office, to the best of his knowledge and abilities. (Rule April 13, 1789, and act June 1st, 1789.) He shall be deemed to continue in office until another be appointed. (March 1, 1791.)\*

### *Order of Business of the Session.*

19. After six days from the commencement of a second or subsequent session of any Congress, all bills, resolutions, and reports which originated in the House, and at the close of the next preceding session remained undetermined, shall be resumed and acted on in the same manner as if an adjournment had not taken place.

\* There is no law, resolution, rule, or order, directing the appointment of the clerk of the House. On the 1st of April, 1789, being the first day that a quorum of the House assembled under the new Constitution, the House immediately elected a clerk by ballot, without a previous order having been passed for that purpose ; although in the case of the Speaker, who was chosen on the same day, an order was previously adopted. A clerk has been regularly chosen at the commencement of every Congress since.

*Order of Business of the Day.*

20. As soon as the journal is read, the Speaker shall call for petitions from the members of each State, and delegates from each Territory, beginning with Maine and the Territory of Wisconsin, alternately; and if, on any day, the whole of the States and Territories shall not be called, the Speaker shall begin on the next day where he left off the previous day; provided that, after the first thirty days of the session, petitions shall not be received, except on the first day of the meeting of the House in each week.

21. No petition, memorial, resolution, or other paper praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or any state or territory, or the slave-trade between the states or territories of the United States in which it now exists, shall be received by this House, or entertained in any way whatever.

22. The petitions having been presented and disposed of, reports from committees shall be called for and disposed of; in doing which, the Speaker shall call upon each standing committee, in the order they are named in the 70th and 98th rules; and when all the standing committees have been called on, then it shall be the duty of the Speaker to call for reports from select committees; if the Speaker shall not get through the call upon the committees before the House passes to other business, he shall resume the next call where he left off. Resolutions shall then be called for in the same order, and disposed of by the same rules which apply to petitions; provided that no mem-

ber shall offer more than one resolution, or one series of resolutions, all relating to the same subject, until all the states and territories shall have been called.

23. All the states and territories shall be called for resolutions on each alternate Monday during each session of Congress; and, if necessary to secure this object on said days, all resolutions which shall give rise to debate shall lie over for discussion, under the rules of the House already established; and the whole of said days shall be appropriated to resolutions, until all the states and territories are called through.—(February 6, 1838.)

24. After one hour shall have been devoted to reports from committees, and resolutions, it shall be in order, pending the consideration or discussion thereof, to entertain a motion that the House do now proceed to dispose of the business on the Speaker's table, and to the orders of the day; which being decided in the affirmative, the Speaker shall dispose of the business on his table in the following order, viz :

- 1st. Messages and other Executive communications.
- 2d. Messages from the Senate, and amendments proposed by the Senate to bills of the House.
- 3d. Bills and resolutions from the Senate on their first and second reading, that they be referred to committees, and put under way; but if, on being read a second time, no motion be made to commit, they are to be ordered to their third

reading, unless objection be made; in which case, if not otherwise ordered by a majority of the House, they are to be laid on the table in the general file of bills on the Speaker's table, to be taken up in their turn.

4th. Engrossed bills, and bills from the Senate on their third reading.

5th. Bills of the House and from the Senate, on the Speaker's table, on their engrossment, or on being ordered to a third reading, to be taken up and considered in the order of time in which they passed to a second reading.

The messages communications, and bills, on his table, having been disposed of, the Speaker shall then proceed to call the orders of the day.

25. The business specified in the two preceding rules, shall be done at no other part of the day, except by permission of the House.

#### *Local or Private Business.*

26. Friday and Saturday in every week shall be set apart for the consideration of private bills and private business, in preference to any other, unless otherwise determined by a majority of the House.

27. On the first and fourth Friday of each month, the calendar of private bills shall be called over, and the bills to the passage of which no objection shall then be made shall be first considered and disposed of.—(January 25, 1839.)

*Of Decorum and Debate.*

28. When any member is about to speak in debate, or deliver any matter to the House, he shall rise from his seat, and respectfully address himself to "Mr. Speaker," and shall confine himself to the question under debate, and avoid personality.

29. If any member, in speaking, or otherwise, transgress the rules of the House, the Speaker shall, or any member may, call to order; in which case, the member so called to order shall immediately sit down, unless permitted to explain; and the House shall, if appealed to, decide on the case, but without debate: if there be no appeal, the decision of the Chair shall be submitted to. If the decision be in favour of the member called to order, he shall be at liberty to proceed; if otherwise, he shall not be permitted to proceed, in case any member object, without leave of the House; and, if the case require it, he shall be liable to the censure of the House.

30. If a member be called to order for words spoken in debate, the person calling him to order shall repeat the words excepted to, and they shall be taken down in writing at the clerk's table; and no member shall be held to answer, or be subject to the censure of the House, for words spoken in debate, if any other member has spoken, or other business has intervened, after the words spoken, and before exception to them shall have been taken.

31. When two or more members happen to rise

at once, the Speaker shall name the member who is first to speak.

32. No member shall speak more than once to the same question, without leave of the House, unless he be the mover, proposer, or introducer, of the matter pending; in which case he shall be permitted to speak in reply, but not until every member choosing to speak shall have spoken.

33. If a question depending be lost by adjournment of the House, and revived on the succeeding day, no member, who shall have spoken on the preceding day, shall be permitted again to speak without leave.

34. While the Speaker is putting any question, or addressing the House, none shall walk out of, or across the House; nor, in such case, or when a member is speaking, shall entertain private discourse; nor, while a member is speaking, shall pass between him and the Chair. Every member shall remain uncovered during the session of the House. No member or other person shall visit or remain by the clerk's table while the ayes and noes are calling, or ballots are counting.

35. No member shall vote on any question in the event of which he is immediately and particularly interested, or in any case where he was not within the bar of the House when the question was put. And when any member shall ask leave to vote, the Speaker shall propound to him the question—“*Were you within the bar when your name was called?*”

36. Upon a division and count of the House on

any question, no member without the bar shall be counted.

37. Every member who shall be in the House when the question is put shall give his vote, unless the House, for special reasons, shall excuse him. All motions to excuse a member from voting shall be made before the House divides, or before the call of the yeas and nays is commenced; and any member requesting to be excused from voting may make a brief verbal statement of the reasons for making such request, and the question shall then be taken without further debate.

38. When a motion is made and seconded, it shall be stated by the Speaker; or, being in writing, it shall be handed to the Chair, and read aloud by the clerk before debated.

39. Every motion shall be reduced to writing, if the Speaker or any member desire it.

40. After a motion is stated by the Speaker, or read by the clerk, it shall be deemed to be in the possession of the House, but may be withdrawn at any time before a decision or amendment.

41. When a question is under debate, no motion shall be received but to adjourn, to lie on the table, for the previous question, to postpone to a day certain, to commit or amend, to postpone indefinitely; which several motions shall have precedence in the order in which they are arranged; and no motion to postpone to a day certain, to commit, or to postpone indefinitely, being decided, shall again be allowed on the same day, and at the same stage of the bill or proposition. A motion to strike out the enacting words of a bill shall



have precedence of a motion to amend; and, if carried, shall be considered equivalent to its rejection.

42. When a resolution shall be offered, or a motion made, to refer any subject, and different committees shall be proposed, the question shall be taken in the following order:

The Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union; the Committee of the Whole House; a Standing Committee; a Select Committee.

43. A motion to adjourn, and a motion to fix the day to which the House shall adjourn, shall be always in order: these motions, and the motion to lie on the table, shall be decided without debate.

44. The hour at which every motion to adjourn is made shall be entered on the journal.—(Oct. 9th, 1837.)

45. The previous question shall be in this form: "Shall the main question be now put?" It shall only be admitted when demanded by a majority of the members present; and its effects shall be to put an end to all debate, and bring the House to a direct vote upon amendments reported by a committee, if any, upon pending amendments, and then upon the main question. On a motion for the previous question, and prior to the seconding of the same, a call of the House shall be in order; but, after a majority shall have seconded such motion, no call shall be in order prior to a decision of the main question.

46. On a previous question there shall be no debate. All incidental questions of order arising

after a motion is made for the previous question, and pending such motion, shall be decided, whether on appeal or otherwise, without debate.

47. When a question is postponed indefinitely, the same shall not be acted upon again during the session.

48. Any member may call for the division of a question, which shall be divided if it comprehend propositions in substance so distinct, that, one being taken away, a substantive proposition shall remain for the decision of the House. A motion to strike out and insert shall be deemed indivisible; but a motion to strike out being lost, shall preclude neither amendment, nor a motion to strike out and insert.

49. Motions and reports may be committed at the pleasure of the House.

50. No motion or proposition on a subject different from that under consideration, shall be admitted under colour of amendment\* (*March 13th, 1822.*) No bill or resolution shall, at any time, be amended by annexing thereto, or incorporating therewith any other bill or resolution pending before the House.† (*Sept. 15th, 1837.*)

\* This rule was originally established on the 7th of April, 1789, and was in these words: "No *new* motion or proposition shall be admitted under colour of amendment, as a *substitute* for the motion or proposition under debate." On the 13th of March, 1822, it was changed to its present form, in which the words "*new*" and "*substitute*" do not appear.

† The latter clause of this rule was adopted at the first session of the 25th Congress; and as originally reported by the committee, the following words were contained at the end of it; "*nor by any proposition containing THE SUBSTANCE, in whole or in part, of any other bill or resolution*

51. When a motion has been once made, and carried in the affirmative or negative, it shall be in order for any member of the majority to move for the re-consideration thereof on the same or the succeeding day; and such motion shall take precedence of all other questions, except a motion to adjourn.

52. When the reading of a paper is called for, and the same is objected to by any member, it shall be determined by a vote of the House.

53. The unfinished business in which the House was engaged at the last preceding adjournment shall have the preference in the orders of the day; and no motion on any other business shall be received, without special leave of the House, until the former is disposed of.

54. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate shall be necessary, shall be read to the House, and laid on the table, on a day preceding that in which the same shall be moved, unless the House shall otherwise expressly allow.

55. Petitions, memorials, and other papers, addressed to the House, shall be presented by the Speaker, or by a member in his place: a brief statement of the contents thereof shall be made verbally by the introducer: they shall not be debated on the day of their being presented, nor on any day assigned by the House for the receipt of

*pending before the House.*" These words were *stricken out* by the House before it would agree to the rule; by which it would seem to be decided that a bill or resolution might be amended by incorporating therein the *substance* of any other bill or resolution before the House.

petitions, after the first thirty days of the session, unless where the House shall direct otherwise, but shall lie on the table, to be taken up in the order in which they were presented.

56. A proposition requesting information from the President of the United States, or directing it to be furnished by the head of either of the Executive Departments, or by the Postmaster-General, or to print an extra number of any document or other matter, excepting messages of the President to both houses, at the commencement of each session of Congress, and the reports and documents connected with, or referred to, in it, shall lie on the table one day for consideration, unless otherwise ordered by the unanimous consent of the House; and all such propositions shall be taken up for consideration in the order they were presented, immediately after reports are called for from select committees; and, when adopted, the clerk shall cause the same to be delivered.

57. Any fifteen members (including the Speaker, if there be one) shall be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members.

58. Upon calls of the House, or in taking the yeas and nays on any question, the names of the members shall be called alphabetically.

59. Any member may excuse himself from serving on any committee, at the time of his appointment, if he is then a member of two other committees.

60. No member shall absent himself from the service of the House, unless he have leave, or be sick, or unable to attend.

61. Upon the call of the House, the names of

the members shall be called over by the clerk, and the absentees noted; after which, the names of the absentees shall again be called over: the doors shall then be shut, and those for whom no excuse, or insufficient excuses, are made, may, by order of those present, if fifteen in number, be taken into custody as they appear; or may be sent for and taken into custody, wherever to be found, by special messengers, to be appointed for that purpose.

62. When a member shall be discharged from custody, and admitted to his seat, the House shall determine whether such discharge shall be with or without paying fees; and, in like manner, whether a delinquent member, taken into custody by a special messenger, shall, or shall not, be liable to defray the expense of such special messenger.

63. A serjeant-at-arms shall be appointed, to hold his office during the pleasure of the House, whose duty it shall be to attend the House during its sittings; to execute the commands of the House from time to time; together with all such process, issued by authority thereof, as shall be directed to him by the Speaker.

64. The fees of the serjeant-at-arms shall be, for every arrest, the sum of two dollars; for each day's custody and releasement, one dollar; and for travelling expenses for himself or a special messenger, going and returning, one-tenth of a dollar per mile.

65. It shall be the duty of the serjeant-at-arms to keep the accounts for pay and mileage of members, to prepare checks, and, if required to do so,

to draw the money on such checks for the members, (the same being previously signed by the Speaker, and endorsed by the member,) and pay over the same to the member entitled thereto. (*April 4th*, 1838.)

66. The serjeant-at-arms shall give bond, with surety, to the United States, in a sum not less than five, nor more than ten thousand dollars, at the discretion of the Speaker, and with such surety as the Speaker may approve, faithfully to account for the money coming into his hands for the pay of members. (*April 4th*, 1838.)

67. The serjeant-at-arms shall be sworn to keep the secrets of the House.

68. A door-keeper and an assistant door-keeper shall be appointed for the service of the House. (*April 2d*, 1789.)

69. The door-keeper and assistant door-keeper shall be sworn to keep the secrets of the House.

70. The postmaster to superintend the post-office kept in the Capitol for the accommodation of the members, shall hereafter be appointed by the House.\* (*April 4th*, 1838.)

\* Immediately after the organization of the Government under the present Constitution, a room was set apart in the Capitol for the reception and distribution of letters and packets to and from members of the House, without an order for that purpose, and was called the Post Office. It was superintended by the Doorkeeper and his Assistants. On the 9th of April, 1841, a special allowance was made to the Doorkeeper to meet the expenses of this office, and he was authorized to appoint a Postmaster. The office continued on this footing till April 4, 1838, when an order was passed, as above, for the appointment of the Postmaster by the House itself.

71. Twenty-seven standing committees shall be appointed at the commencement of each session, viz :

*To consist of nine members each.*

- A Committee of Elections.
- A Committee of Ways and Means,
- A Committee of Claims.
- A Committee on Commerce.
- A Committee on the Public Lands.
- A Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.
- A Committee on the District of Columbia.
- A Committee on the Judiciary.
- A Committee on Revolutionary Claims.
- A Committee on Public Expenditures.
- A Committee on Private Land Claims.
- A Committee on Manufactures.
- A Committee on Agriculture.
- A Committee on Indian Affairs.
- A Committee on Military Affairs.
- A Committee on the Militia.
- A Committee on Naval Affairs.
- A Committee on Foreign Affairs.
- A Committee on the Territories.
- A Committee on Revolutionary Pensions.
- A Committee on Invalid Pensions.
- A Committee on Roads and Canals.

*To consist of five members each.*

- A Committee on Patents.
- A Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A Committee of Revisal and Unfinished Business.

A Committee of Accounts.

A Committee on Mileage.

72. It shall be the duty of the Committee of Elections to examine and report upon the certificates of election, or other credentials, of the members returned to serve in this House; and to take into their consideration all such petitions, and other matters, touching elections and returns, as shall or may be presented, or come into question, and be referred to them by the House.

73. It shall be the duty of the Committee of Ways and Means to take into consideration all such reports of the Treasury Department, and all such propositions relative to the revenue, as may be referred to them by the House; to inquire into the state of the public debt or the revenue, and of the expenditure; and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon [to examine into the state of the several public departments, and particularly into the laws making appropriations of moneys, and to report whether the moneys have been disbursed conformably with such laws; and also to report, from time to time, such provisions and arrangements as may be necessary to add to the economy of the departments, and the accountability of their officers.\*]

\* That portion of the duty of the Committee of Ways and Means which is printed within brackets was, originally, adopted on the 7th of January, 1802. On the 26th February, 1814, the Committee on Public Expenditures was created, and added to the list of standing committees; the du-



In preparing bills of appropriations for other objects, the Committee of Ways and Means shall not include appropriations for carrying into effect treaties made by the United States; and, where an appropriation bill shall be referred to them for their consideration, which contains appropriations for carrying a treaty into effect, and for other objects, they shall propose such amendments as shall prevent appropriations for carrying a treaty into effect being included in the same bill with appropriations for other objects.

74. It shall also be the duty of the Committee of Ways and Means, within thirty days after their appointment, at every session of Congress, commencing on the first Monday of December, to report the general appropriation bills—for the civil and diplomatic expenses of Government; for the army; for the navy; and for the Indian Department and Indian annuities; or, in failure thereof, the reasons of such failure.

75. General appropriation bills shall be in order, in preference to any other bills of a public nature, unless otherwise ordered by a majority of the House.

76. No appropriation shall be reported in such general appropriation bills, or be in order as an amendment thereto, for any expenditure not previously authorized by law, (*Sept. 14th, 1837,*) un-

ties of this latter committee are exactly those contained in that portion of the duties of the Committee of Ways and Means which are referred to in this note as within brackets; (see rule 84.) The words ought to be stricken from the specification of the duties of the Committee of Ways and Means.

less in continuation of appropriations for such public works and objects as are already in progress, and for the contingencies for carrying on the several departments of the Government. (*May 13th*, 1838.)

77. It shall be the duty of the Committee of Claims to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things touching claims and demands on the United States, as shall be presented, or shall or may come in question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report their opinion thereupon, together with such propositions for relief therein as to them shall seem expedient.

78. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Commerce to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things touching the commerce of the United States, as shall be presented, or shall or may come into question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report, from time to time, their opinion thereon.

79. It shall be the duty of the Committee on the Public Lands to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things respecting the lands of the United States, as shall be presented, or shall or may come in question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report their opinion thereon, together with such propositions for relief therein as to them shall seem expedient.

80. It shall be the duty of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things touching the Post Office and post roads, as shall

be presented, or may come in question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report their opinion thereupon, together with such propositions relative thereto as to them shall seem expedient.

81. It shall be the duty of the Committee for the District of Columbia to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things touching the said District as shall be presented, or shall come in question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report their opinion thereon, together with such propositions relative thereto as to them shall seem expedient.

82. It shall be the duty of the Committee on the Judiciary to take into consideration such petitions and matters or things touching judicial proceedings as shall be presented, or may come in question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report their opinion thereupon, together with such propositions relative thereto as to them shall seem expedient.

83. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things touching claims and demands originating in the revolutionary war, or arising therefrom, as shall be presented, or shall or may come in question, and be referred to them by the House; and to report their opinion thereupon, together with such propositions for relief therein as to them shall seem expedient.

84. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Public Expenditures to examine into the state of the several public departments, and particularly

into laws making appropriations of money, and to report whether the moneys have been disbursed conformably with such laws; and also to report, from time to time, such provisions and arrangements as may be necessary to add to the economy of the departments, and the accountability of their officers.\*

85. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Private Land Claims to take into consideration all claims to land which may be referred to them, or shall or may come in question; and to report their opinion thereupon, together with such propositions for relief therein as to them shall seem expedient.

86. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Military Affairs to take into consideration all subjects relating to the military establishment and public defence, which may be referred to them by the House, and to report their opinion thereupon; and also to report, from time to time, such measures as may contribute to economy and accountability in the said establishment.

87. It shall be the duty of the Committee on the Militia to take into consideration and report on all subjects connected with the organizing, arming, and disciplining, the militia of the United States.

\* See note to rule 73.—And further, on the 30th March, 1816, six committees on expenditures in the several departments of the Government were created and added to the list of standing committees. The duties assigned to these several committees would seem entirely the duties of the Committee on Public Expenditures. (See Rules 90 and 100.)

88. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Naval Affairs to take into consideration all matters which concern the naval establishment, and which shall be referred to them by the House, and to report their opinion thereupon; and also to report, from time to time, such measures as may contribute to economy and accountability in the said establishment.

89. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to take into consideration all matters which concern the relations of the United States with foreign nations, and which shall be referred to them by the House, and to report their opinion on the same.

90. It shall be the duty of the Committee on the Territories to examine into the legislative, civil, and criminal proceedings of the Territories, and to devise and report to the House such means as, in their opinion, may be necessary to secure the rights and privileges of residents and non-residents.

91. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions to take into consideration all such matters respecting pensions for services in the revolutionary war, other than invalid pensions, as shall be referred to them by the House.

92. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Invalid Pensions to take into consideration all such matters respecting invalid pensions as shall be referred to them by the House.

93. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Roads and Canals to take into consideration all such petitions and matters or things relating to roads and canals, and the improvement of the na-

vigation of rivers, as shall be presented, or may come in question, and be referred to them by the House, and to report thereupon; together with such propositions relative thereto as to them shall seem expedient.

94. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Patents to consider all subjects relating to patents which may be referred to them, and report their opinion thereon; together with such propositions relative thereto as may seem to them expedient.

95. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds to consider all subjects relating to the public edifices and grounds within the city of Washington which may be referred to them, and report their opinion thereon; together with such propositions relating thereto as may seem to them expedient.

96. It shall be the duty of the Committee of Revisal and Unfinished Business to examine and report what laws have expired, or are near expiring, and require to be revived or further continued; also, to examine and report, from the Journal of last session, all such matters as were then depending and undetermined.

97. It shall be the duty of the Committee of Accounts to superintend and control the expenditures of the contingent fund of the House of Representatives, and to audit and settle all accounts which may be charged thereon; and also to audit the accounts of the members for their travel to and from the seat of Government, and their attendance in the House.\*

\* So much of the rule as directs the Committee of Accounts to audit and settle the mileage and daily pay of the

98. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Mileage to ascertain and report the distance, to the Serjeant-at-arms, for which each member shall receive pay.

99. Six additional standing committees shall be appointed at the commencement of the first session in each Congress, whose duties shall continue until the first session of the ensuing Congress :

*To consist of five members each.*

1. A committee on so much of the public accounts and expenditures as relate to the Department of State ;
2. A committee on so much of the public accounts and expenditures as relate to the Treasury Department ;
3. A committee on so much of the public accounts and expenditures as relate to the Department of War ;
4. A committee on so much of the public accounts and expenditures as relate to the Department of the Navy ;
5. A committee on so much of the public accounts and expenditures as relate to the Post Office ; and,
6. A committee on so much of the public ac-

members, was adopted at the 1st session 12th Congress, (1849.) At the 1st session of the 25th Congress, (1837,) a Standing Committee on Mileage was created for the especial purpose of ascertaining and reporting the mileage for which each member shall receive pay. (See Rule 98.)

counts and expenditures as relate to the Public Buildings;

100. It shall be the duty of the said committees to examine into the state of the accounts and expenditures respectively submitted to them, and to inquire and report particularly—

Whether the expenditures of the respective departments are justified by law ;

Whether the claims from time to time satisfied and discharged by the respective departments are supported by sufficient vouchers, establishing their justness both as to their character and amount ;

Whether such claims have been discharged out of funds appropriated therefor, and whether all moneys have been disbursed in conformity with appropriation laws ; and

Whether any, and what, provisions are necessary to be adopted, to provide more perfectly for the proper application of the public moneys, and to secure the Government from demands unjust in their character, or extravagant in their amount.

And it shall be, moreover, the duty of the said committees to report from time to time whether any, and what, retrenchment can be made in the expenditures of the several departments, without detriment to the public service ; whether any, and what, abuses at any time exist in the failure to enforce the payment of moneys which may be due to the United States from public defaulters or others ; and to report, from time to time, such provisions and arrangements as may be necessary



to add to the economy of the several departments, and the accountability of their officers.\*

101. The several standing committees of the House shall have leave to report by bill or otherwise.

102. No committee shall sit during the sitting of the House, without special leave.

103. It shall be the duty of the Clerk to make, and cause to be printed, and delivered to each member at the commencement of every session of Congress, a list of the reports which it is the duty of any officer or department of the Government to make to Congress; referring to the act or resolution, and page of the volume of the laws or journal, in which it may be contained; and placing under the name of each officer the list of reports required of him to be made, and the time when the report may be expected.

104. It shall be the duty of the Clerk of the House, at the end of each session, to send a printed copy of the Journals thereof to the Executive, and to each branch of the Legislature of every State.

105. All questions of order shall be noted by the Clerk, with the decision, and put together at the end of the Journal of every session.

106. Whenever confidential communications are received from the president of the United States, the house shall be cleared of all persons, except the members, clerk, serjeant-at-arms, and door-keeper, and so continue during the reading of such communications, and (unless otherwise di-

\* See note to Rule 73.

rected by the House) during all debates and proceedings to be had thereon. And when the speaker, or any other member shall inform the House that he has communications to make, which he conceives ought to be kept secret, the House shall in like manner be cleared, till the communication be made; the House shall then determine whether the matter communicated requires secrecy or not, and take order accordingly.

107. All questions relating to the priority of business to be acted on shall be decided without debate.

### *Of Bills.*

108. Every bill shall be introduced on the report of a committee, or by motion for leave. In the latter case, at least one day's notice shall be given of the motion; and the motion shall be made, and the bill introduced, if leave is given when resolutions are called for: such motion, or the bill when introduced, may be committed.

109. Every bill shall receive three several readings in the House, previous to its passage; and bills shall be despatched in order as they were introduced, unless where the House shall direct otherwise; but no bill shall be twice read on the same day, without special order of the house.

110. The first reading of a bill shall be for information; and, if opposition be made to it, the question shall be, "Shall this bill be rejected?" If no opposition be made, or if the question to reject be negatived, the bill shall go to its second reading without a question.

111. Upon the second reading of a bill, the speaker shall state it as ready for commitment or engrossment; and if committed, then a question shall be, whether to a select or standing committee, or to a committee of the whole house: if to a committee of the whole house, the house shall determine on what day; if no motion be made to commit, the question shall be stated on its engrossment; and if it be not ordered to be engrossed on the day of its being reported, it shall be placed in the general file on the speaker's table; to be taken up in its order. But, if the bill be ordered to be engrossed, the house shall appoint the day when it shall be read the third time.

112. Not more than three bills, originating in the house, shall be committed to the same committee of the whole; and such bills shall be analogous in their nature, which analogy shall be determined by the speaker.

113. After commitment and report thereof to the house, or at any time before its passage, a bill may be recommitted.

114. All bills ordered to be engrossed shall be executed in a fair round hand.

115. No amendment by way of *rider* shall be received to any bill on its third reading.

116. When a bill shall pass, it shall be certified by the clerk, noting the day of its passage at the foot thereof.

#### *Of Committees of the Whole House.*

117. It shall be a standing order of the day, throughout the session, for the house to resolve

itself into a committee of the whole house on the state of the Union.

118. In forming a committee of the whole house, the speaker shall leave his chair, and a chairman to preside in committee, shall be appointed by the speaker.

119. Upon bills committed to a committee of the whole house, the bill shall be first read throughout by the clerk, and then again read and debated by clauses, leaving the preamble to be last considered: the body of the bill shall not be defaced or interlined; but all amendments, noting the page and line, shall be duly entered by the clerk on a separate paper, as the same shall be agreed to by the committee, and so reported to the house. After report, the bill shall again be subject to be debated and amended by clauses before a question to engross it be taken.

120. All amendments made to an original motion in committee shall be incorporated with the motion, and so reported.

121. All amendments made to a report committed to a committee of the whole house shall be noted and reported, as in the case of bills.

122. All questions, whether in committee or in the house, shall be propounded in the order in which they were moved, except that in filling up blanks, the largest sum and longest time shall be first put.

123. No motion or proposition for a tax or charge upon the people shall be discussed the day in which it is made or offered; and every such proposition shall receive its first discussion in a committee of the whole house.

124. No sum or quantum of tax or duty, voted by a committee of the whole house, shall be increased in the House until the motion or proposition for such increase shall be first discussed and voted in a committee of the whole house; and so in respect to the time of its continuance.

125. All proceedings touching appropriations of money shall be first discussed in a committee of the whole house.

126. The rules of proceedings in the House shall be observed in a committee of the whole house, so far as they may be applicable, except the rule limiting the time of speaking; but no member shall speak twice to any question, until every member choosing to speak shall have spoken.

127. No standing rule or order of the house shall be rescinded or changed without one day's notice being given of the motion therefor. Nor shall any rule be suspended, except by a vote of at least two-thirds of the members present. Nor shall the order of business, as established by the rules of the house, be postponed or changed, except by a vote of at least two-thirds of the members present.

*Resolved*, That so much of the 127th rule of the House as is in the following words, to wit: "Nor shall any rule be suspended except by a vote of at least two-thirds of the members present," be, and hereby is, so far rescinded and changed, that the House may, at any time, by a vote of a majority of the members present, suspend the rules and orders of the House for the purpose of going into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union. (*June 1st, 1840.*—See Journal 1st session 26th Congress, p. 1071.)

128. It shall be in order for the committee on enrolled bills to report at any time.

129. The rules of parliamentary practice, comprised in Jefferson's Manual, shall govern the house in all cases to which they are applicable, and in which they are not inconsistent with the standing rules and orders of the house, and the joint rules of the Senate and House of Representatives.

130. No person shall be permitted to perform divine service in the chamber occupied by the House of Representatives, unless with the consent of the speaker.

131. The rule for paying witnesses summoned to appear before this house, or either of its committees, shall be as follows: for each day a witness shall attend, the sum of two dollars; for each mile he shall travel in coming to or going from the place of examination, the sum of ten cents each way; but nothing shall be paid for travelling home when the witness has been summoned at the place of trial,

132. The clerk shall, within thirty days after the close of each session of congress, cause to be completed the printing and primary distribution, to members and delegates, of the Journal of the house, together with an accurate index to the same.—(*Order of June 18th, 1832.*)

133. There shall be retained in the library of the clerk's office, for the use of the members there, and not to be withdrawn therefrom, two copies of all the books and printed documents deposited in the library.—(*Order of December 22nd, 1826.*)

134. The clerk shall have preserved for each

member of the house, an extra copy, in good binding, of all the documents printed by order of either house at each future session of congress.—(*Order of Feb. 9th, 1831.*)

135. The clerk shall make a weekly statement of the resolutions and bills (senate bills inclusive) upon the speaker's table, accompanied with a brief reference to the orders and proceedings of the House upon each, and the date of such order and proceedings; which statement shall be printed for the use of the members.—(*Order of April 21st, 1836.*)

136. The clerk shall cause an index to be prepared to the acts passed at every session of congress, and to be printed and bound with the acts. (*July 4th, 1832.*)

137. The clerk shall take proper measures for the care and preservation of the public stable provided for the business and accommodation of the House of Representatives.—(*July 9th, 1838.*)

138. The unappropriated rooms in that part of the capitol assigned to the house, shall be subject to the order and disposal of the speaker, until the further order of the House. (*May 26, 1824.*)

139. Maps accompanying documents shall not be printed, under the general order to print, without the special direction of the House.—*March 2d, 1837; Sept. 11th, 1837.*

140. No committee shall be permitted to employ a clerk at the public expense, without first obtaining leave of the House for that purpose.—(*Dec. 14th, 1838.*)

**MANUAL**  
**OF**  
***Parliamentary Practice,***  
**FOR**  
**THE USE OF THE SENATE**  
**OF THE**  
**UNITED STATES.**



**EXTRACT FROM THE RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES.**

The rules of parliamentary practice, comprised in Jefferson's Manual, shall govern the house in all cases to which they are applicable; and in which they are not inconsistent with the standing rules and orders of the house, and the joint rules of the Senate and House of Representatives.

(Adopted Sept. 15th 1837,)

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  16. Order, respecting papers.
  17. Order, in debate.
  18. Orders of the House.
  19. Petitions.
  20. Motions.
  21. Resolutions.
  22. Bills. Reading.
  23. " Leave to bring in.
  24. " First reading.
  25. " Second reading.
  26. " Commitment.
  27. " Report of Committee.
  28. " Recommitment.
  29. " Report taken up.
  30. " Quasi Committee.
  31. " Second reading in the House,
  32. " Reading papers.
  33. " Privileged questions.

<b>SECTION</b>	<b>34.</b>	<b>Bills.</b>	<b>Previous question.</b>
	<b>35.</b>	<b>"</b>	<b>Amendments.</b>
	<b>36.</b>	<b>"</b>	<b>Division of question.</b>
	<b>37.</b>	<b>"</b>	<b>Co-existing questions.</b>
	<b>38.</b>	<b>"</b>	<b>Equivalent questions.</b>
	<b>39.</b>	<b>"</b>	<b>The question</b>
	<b>40.</b>	<b>"</b>	<b>Third reading.</b>
	<b>41.</b>	<b>"</b>	<b>Division of the House.</b>
	<b>42.</b>	<b>"</b>	<b>Title.</b>
	<b>43.</b>		<b>Reconsideration.</b>
	<b>44.</b>		<b>Bills sent to the other house.</b>
	<b>45.</b>		<b>Amendments between the Houses.</b>
	<b>46.</b>		<b>Conferences.</b>
	<b>47.</b>		<b>Messages.</b>
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	<b>50.</b>		<b>Adjournment.</b>
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	<b>52.</b>		<b>Treaties.</b>
	<b>53.</b>		<b>Impeachment.</b>

## P R E F A C E .

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The Constitution of the United States, establishing a legislature for the Union under certain forms, authorizes each branch of it 'to determine the rules of its own proceedings.' The Senate have accordingly formed some rules for its own government: but these going only to few cases, they have referred to the decision of their President, without debate and without appeal, all questions of order arising either under their own rules, or where they have provided none. This places under the discretion of the President a very extensive field of decision, and one which, irregularly exercised, would have a powerful effect on the proceedings and determinations of the House. The President must feel, weightily and seriously this confidence in his discretion; and the necessity of recurring, for its government, to some known system of rules, that he may neither leave himself free to indulge caprice or passion, nor open to the imputation of them. But to what system of rules is he to recur, as supplementary to those of the Senate? To this there can be but one answer. To the system of regulations adopted for the government of some one of the parliamentary bodies within these States, or of that which has served as a prototype to most of them. This last is the model which we have all studied, while we are little acquainted with the modifications of it in our several states. It is deposited,

too, in publications possessed by many, and open to all. Its rules are probably as wisely constructed for governing the debates of a considerative body, and obtaining its true sense, as any which can become known to us; and the acquiescence of the senate, hitherto, under the references to them, has given them the sanction of their approbation.

Considering, therefore, the law of proceedings in the senate as composed of the precepts of the constitution, the regulations of the senate, and where these are silent, of the rules of parliament, I have here endeavoured to collect and digest so much of these as is called for in ordinary practice, collating the parliamentary with the senatorial rules, both where they agree and where they vary. I have done this, as well to have them at hand for my own government as to deposit with the senate the standard by which I judge, and am willing to be judged. I could not doubt the necessity of quoting the sources of my information; among which Mr. Hatsel's most valuable book is pre-eminent; but as he has only treated some general heads, I have been obliged to recur to other authorities in support of a number of common rules of practice, to which his plan did not descend. Sometimes each authority cited supports the whole passage. Sometimes it rests on all taken together. Sometimes the authority goes only to a part of the text, the residue being inferred from known rules and principles. For some of the most familiar forms no written authority is, or can be quoted: no writer having supposed it necessary to repeat what all were presumed to know. The statement of these must rest on their notoriety.

I am aware that authorities can often be produced in opposition to the rules which I lay down as parliamentary. An attention to dates will generally remove their weight. The proceedings of parliament in ancient times and for a long while, were crude, multiform, and embarrassing. They have been, however, constantly advancing towards uniformity and accuracy, and have now attained a degree of aptitude to their object beyond which little is to be desired or expected.

Yet I am far from the presumption of believing that I may not have mistaken the parliamentary practice in some cases, and especially in those minor forms, which, being practiced daily, are supposed known to every body, and therefore have not been committed to writing. Our resources, in this quarter of the globe, for obtaining information on that part of the subject, are not perfect. But I have begun a sketch, which those who come after me will successively correct and fill up, till a code of rules shall be formed for the use of the senate, the effects of which may be accuracy in business, economy of time, order, uniformity, and impartiality.

**NOTE**—The rules and practices peculiar to the **SENATE**, are printed between brackets [ ].

Those of **PARLIAMENT** are not so distinguished.

# A MANUAL

OF

## PARLIAMENTARY PRACTICE.

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### IMPORTANCE OF RULES.

#### SEC. 1—THE IMPORTANCE OF ADHERING TO RULES.

Mr. Onslow, the ablest among the speakers of the House of Commons, used to say, "it was a maxim he had often heard when he was a young man, from old and experienced members, that nothing tended more to throw power into the hands of administration, and those who acted with the majority of the House of Commons, than a neglect of, or departure from, the rules of proceeding: that these forms, as instituted by our ancestors, operated as a check and control on the actions of the majority, and that they were in many instances, a shelter and protection to the minority, against the attempts of power." So far the maxim is certainly true, and is founded in good sense, that as it is always in the power of the majority, by their numbers, to stop any improper measures proposed on the part of their opponents, the only weapons by which the minority can defend themselves against similar attempts from those in power, are the forms and rules of

proceeding, which have been adopted as they were found necessary, from time to time, and are become the law of the House; by a strict adherence to which, the weaker party can only be protected from those irregularities and abuses, which these forms were intended to check, and which the wantonness of power is but too often apt to suggest to large and successful majorities. 2 *Hats.* 171; 172.

And whether these forms be in all cases the most rational or not, is really not of so great importance. It is much more material that there should be a rule to go by, than what that rule is; that there may be a uniformity of proceeding in business, not subject to the caprice of the speaker, or captiousness of the members. It is very material that order, decency, and regularity be preserved in a dignified public body. 2. *Hats.* 149.

#### SEC. II.—LEGISLATURE.

[All legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives. *Constitution of the United States, Art. 1, Sect. 1.*]

[The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. *Constitution of the United States, Art. 1. Sect. 6.*]

[For the powers of Congress, see the following Articles and Sections of the Constitution of the United States. I. 4. 7. 8. 9. II. 1. 2. III. 3. IV. 1. 3. 5. and all the amendments.]



## SEC. III.—PRIVILEGE.

The Privileges of Members of Parliament, from small and obscure beginnings, have been advancing for centuries with a firm and never yielding pace. Claims seem to have been brought forward, from time to time, and repeated, till some example of their admission enabled them to build law on that example. We can only therefore state the points of progression at which they now are. It is now acknowledged, 1st. That they are at all times exempted from question elsewhere for any thing said in their own house; that during the time of privilege, 2d. Neither a member himself, his\* wife, or his servants, (*familiares sui*) for any matter of their own, may be† arrested on mesne process, in any civil suit: 3d. Nor be detained under execution, though levied before time of privilege; 4th. Nor impleaded, cited, or subpoenaed in any court: 5th. Nor summoned as a witness or juror: 6th. Nor may their lands or goods be distrained: 7th. Nor their persons assaulted, or characters traduced. And the period of time, covered, by privilege, before and after the session, with the practice of short prorogations under the connivance of the crown, amounts in fact to a perpetual protection against the course of justice. In one instance indeed it has been relaxed by the 10 G. 3, c. 50, which permits judiciary proceedings to go on against them. That these privileges must be continually progressive, seems to result from their rejecting all definition

\* Order of the house of commons, 1663, July, 16.

† *Elsynge* 217, 1 *Hats.* 21. 1 *Grey's Deb.* 133.

of them, the doctrine being that "their dignity and independence are preserved by keeping their privileges indefinite; and that 'the maxims upon which they proceed, together with the method of proceeding, rest entirely in their own breast, and are not defined and ascertained by any particular stated laws.'" 1 *Blackst.* 163, 164.

[It was probably from this view of the encroaching character of privilege, that the framers of our Constitution, in their care to provide that the laws shall bind equally on all and especially that those who make them shall not exempt themselves from their operation, have only privileged "senators and representatives" themselves from the single act of "arrest in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same, and from being questioned in any other place for any speech or debate in either house." *Const. U. S., Art. 1, Sec. 6.* Under the general authority "to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers given them," *Const. U. S., Art. 2, Sec. 8,* they may provide by law the details which may be necessary for giving full effect to the enjoyment of this privilege. No such law being as yet made, it seems to stand at present on the following ground, 1. The act of arrest is void *ab initio*.\* 2. The member arrested may be discharged on motion, 1 *Bl.* 166, 2 *Stra.* 990, or by habeas corpus under the federal or state authority, as the case may be; or by a writ of privilege out

\* 2 *Stra.* 989.

of the Chancery, 2. *Stra.* 989, in those states which have adopted that part of the laws of England.—*Orders of the House of Commons, 1550, February 20.* 3. The arrest being unlawful, is a trespass for which the officer and others concerned are liable to action or indictment in the ordinary courts of justice, as in other cases of unauthorised arrest. 4. The court before which the process is returnable is bound to act as in other cases of unauthorised proceeding, and liable also, as in other similar cases, to have their proceedings stayed or corrected by the superior courts.]

[The time necessary for going to, and returning from, congress, not being defined, it will, of course, be judged of in every particular case by those who will have to decide the case.] While privilege was understood in England to extend, as it does here, only to exemption from arrest, *cundo, morando, et redeundo*, the house of commons themselves decided that “a convenient time was to be understood.” (1580,) 1 *Hats.* 99, 100. Nor is the law so strict in point of time as to require the party to set out immediately on his return, but allows him time to settle his private affairs, and to prepare for his journey; and does not even scan his road very nicely, nor forfeit his protection for a little deviation from that which is most direct; some necessity perhaps constraining him to it. 2 *Stra.* 986, 987.

This privilege from arrest, privileges of course against all process the disobedience to which is punishable by an attachment of the person; as a *subpœna ad respondendum, or testificandum*, or a summons on a jury; and with reason; because

member has superior duties to perform in another place. [ When a representative is withdrawn from his seat by summons, the 40,000 people whom he represents lose their voice in debate and vote, as they do on his voluntary absence: when a senator is withdrawn by summons, his state loses half its voice in debate and vote, as it does on his voluntary absence. The enormous disparity of evil admits no comparison.]

[So far there will probably be no difference of opinion as to the privileges of the two houses of congress; but in the following cases it is otherwise. In December, 1795, the house of representatives committed two persons of the name of Randall and Whitney, for attempting to corrupt the integrity of certain members; which they considered as a contempt and breach of the privileges of the house; and the facts being proved, Whitney was detained in confinement a fortnight, and Randall three weeks, and was reprimanded by the speaker. In March, 1796, the house of representatives voted a challenge given to a member of their house to be a breach of the privileges of the house; but satisfactory apologies and acknowledgements being made, no further proceeding was had. The editor of the Aurora having in his paper of February 19, 1800, inserted some paragraphs defamatory of the senate and failed in his appearance, he was ordered to be committed. In debating the legality of this order, it was insisted, in support of it, that every man, by the law of nature, and every body of men, possesses the right of self-defence; that all public functionaries are essentially invested with the powers of self-preser-

vation ; that they have an inherent right to do all acts necessary to keep themselves in a condition to discharge the trusts confided to them ; that whenever authorities are given, the means of carrying them into execution are given by necessary implication ; that thus we see the British parliament exercise the right of punishing contempts ; all the state legislatures exercise the same power ; and every court does the same ; that, if we have it not, we sit at the mercy of every intruder who may enter our doors or gallery, and, by noise and tumult, render proceeding in business impracticable ; that if our tranquillity is to be perpetually disturbed by newspaper defamation, it will not be possible to exercise our functions with the requisite coolness and deliberation ; and that we must therefore have a power to punish these disturbers of our peace and proceedings. To this it was answered, that the parliament and courts of England have cognizance of contempts by the express provisions of their law ; that the state legislatures have equal authority, because their powers are plenary ; they represent their constituents completely, and possess all their powers, except such as their constitutions have expressly denied them ; that the courts of the several states have the same powers by the laws of their states, and those of the federal government by the same state laws adopted in each state, by a law of congress ; that none of these bodies, therefore, derive those powers from natural or necessary right, but from express law ; that congress have no such natural or necessary power, nor any powers but such as are given them by the Constitution ; that that has

given them, directly, exemption from personal arrest, exemption from question elsewhere for what is said in their house, and power over their own members and proceedings; for these no further law is necessary, the constitution being the law; that, moreover, by that article of the constitution which authorises them "to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by the constitution in them," they may provide by law for an undisturbed exercise of their function, e. g. for the punishment of contempts, of affrays or tumult in their presence, &c. but, till the law be made, it does not exist; and does not exist, from their own neglect; that, in the mean time, however, that they are not unprotected, the ordinary magistrates and courts of law being open and competent to punish all unjustifiable disturbances or defamations, and even their own serjeant, who may appoint deputies ad libitum to aid him, 3 *Grey*, 59, 147, 255, is equal to small disturbances; that in requiring a previous law, the constitution had regard to the inviolability of the citizen, as well as of the member; as should one house in the regular form of a bill, aim at too broad privileges, it may be checked by the other, and both by the president; and also as, the law being promulgated, the citizen will know how to avoid offence. But if one branch may assume its own privileges without control, if it may do it on the spur of the occasion, conceal the law in its own breast, and after the fact committed, make its sentence both the law and the judgment on that fact; if the offence is to be kept undefined, and to be declared only *ex re nata*, and accord-

ing to the passions of the moment, and there be no limitation either in the manner or measure of the punishment, the condition of the citizen will be perilous indeed. Which of these doctrines is to prevail, time will decide. Where there is no fixed law, the judgment on any particular case is the law of that single case only, and dies with it. When a new and even a similar case arises, the judgment which is to make, and at the same time apply the law, is open to question and consideration, as are all new laws. Perhaps congress, in the mean time, in their care for the safety of the citizen, as well as that for their own protection, may declare by law what is necessary and proper to enable them to carry into execution the powers vested in them, and thereby hang up a rule for the inspection of all, which may direct the conduct of the citizen, and at the same time test the judgments they shall themselves pronounce in their own case.]

Privilege from arrest takes place by force of the election; and before a return be made a member elected may be named of a committee, and is to every intent a member, except that he cannot vote until he is sworn. *Memor.* 107, 108. *D'Ewes*, 642, col. 2. 643, col. 1. *Pet. Miscel. Parl.* 119. *Lex. Parl. c.* 25. 2 *Hats.* 22, 62.

Every man must, at his peril, take notice who are members of either house returned of record. *Lex. Parl.* 23. 4 *inst.* 24.

On complaint of a breach of privilege, the party may either be summoned, or sent for in custody of the serjeant. 1 *Grey*, 88, 95.

The privilege of a member is the privilege of

the house. If the member waive it without leave, it is a ground for punishing him, but cannot in effect waive the privilege of the house. 3 *Grey*, 140, 222.

For any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place. *Const. U. S. I. 6. S. P. protest of the Commons to James I.* 1621. 2. *Rapin. No. 54. p. 211, 212.* But this is restrained to things done in the house in a parliamentary course. 1 *Rush. 663.* For he is not to have privilege contra morem parliamentarium, to exceed the bounds and limits of his place and duty. *Com. p.*

If an offence be committed by a member in the house, of which the house has cognizance, it is an infringement of their right for any person or court to take notice of it, till the house has punished the offender, or referred him to a due course. *Lex Parl. 63.*

Privilege is in the power of the house, and is a restraint to the proceeding of inferior courts; but not of the house itself. 2 *Nelson, 450, 2 Grey, 399.* For whatever is spoken in the house is subject to the censure of the house; and offences of this kind have been severely punished by calling the person to the bar to make submission, committing him to the tower, expelling the house, &c. *Scob. 72. L. Parl. c. 22.*

It is a breach of order for the speaker to refuse to put a question which is in order. 2 *Hats, 175, 6. 5 Grey, 133.*

And even in case of treason, felony and breach of the peace, to which privilege does not extend as to substance, yet in parliament a member is



privileged as to the mode of proceeding. The case is first to be laid before the house, that it may judge of the fact and of the grounds of the accusation, and how far forth the manner of the trial may concern their privilege. Otherwise it would be in the power of other branches of the government, and even of every private man, under pretence of treason, &c. to take any man from his service in the house, and so many, one after another, as would make the house what he pleaseth. *Dec. of the Com. on the King's declaring Sir John Hotham a traitor.* 4 *Rushw.* 586. So when a member stood indicted for felony, it was adjudged that he ought to remain of the house till conviction. For it may be any man's case; who is guiltless, to be accused and indicted of felony, or the like crime. 23 *El.* 1580 *D'Ewes*, 283. col. 1. *Lex Parl.* 133.

When it is found necessary for the public service to put a member under arrest, or when, on any public inquiry, matter comes out which may lead to effect the person of a member, it is the practice immediately to acquaint the house that they may know the reasons for such a proceeding, and take such steps as they think proper. 2 *Hats.* 259. Of which see many examples. *Ib.* 256, 257, 253. But the communication is subsequent to the arrest. 1 *Blackst.* 167.

It is highly expedient, says Hatsell, for the due preservation of the privileges of the separate branches of the legislature, that neither should encroach on the other, or interfere in any matter depending before them, so as to preclude, or even influence that freedom of debate, which is essential to a free council. They are therefore not to

take notice of any bills or other matters depending, or of votes that have been given, or of speeches which have been held, by the members of either of the other branches of the legislature, until the same have been communicated to them in the usual parliamentary manner. 2 *Hats.* 252, 4 *Inst.* 15, *Seld. Jud.* 53. Thus the king's taking notice of the bill, for suppressing soldier's, depending before the house? his proposing a provisional clause for a bill before it was presented to him by the two houses; his expressing displeasure against some persons for matters moved in parliament during the debate and preparation of a bill, were breaches of privilege; 2 *Nalson*, 743; and in 1783, December 17, it was declared a breach of fundamental privileges, &c. to report any opinion or pretended opinion of the king, on any bill or proceeding depending in either house of parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members. 2 *Hats.* 251, 6.

#### SECT. IV.—ELECTIONS.

[The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators. *Const.* I. 4.]

[Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members. *Const.* I. 5.]

## SECT. V.—QUALIFICATIONS.

[The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof for six years, and each senator shall have one vote.]

[Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the end of the 2d year; of the second class at the expiration of the 4th year; and of the third class at the expiration of the 6th year; so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.]

[No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of 30 years, and been 9 years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen. *Const. I. 3.*]

[The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.]

[No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of 25 years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and

who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.]

[Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers; which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and including Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative. *Constitution of the U. States 1. 2*]

The provisional apportionments of representatives made in the constitution in 1787, and afterwards by congress, were as follows :

STATES.	1787 <sup>a</sup>	1790 <sup>b</sup>	1800 <sup>c</sup>	1810 <sup>d</sup>	1820 <sup>e</sup>	1830 <sup>f</sup>
Maine ( <i>g</i> )	0	0	0	0	7	8
New Hampshire.	3	4	5	6	6	5
Massachusetts	8	14	17	20	13	12
Rhode Island	1	2	2	2	2	2
Connecticut	5	7	7	7	6	6
Vermont	0	2	4	6	5	5
New York	6	10	17	27	34	40
New Jersey	4	5	6	6	6	6
Pennsylvania	8	13	18	23	26	28
Delaware	1	1	1	2	1	1
Maryland	6	8	9	9	9	8
Virginia	10	19	22	28	22	21
North Carolina	5	10	12	13	13	13
South Carolina	5	6	8	9	9	9
Georgia	3	2	4	6	7	9
Kentucky	0	2	6	10	12	13
Tennessee ( <i>h</i> )	0	0	3	6	9	13
Ohio ( <i>i</i> )	0	0	0	6	14	19
Louisiana ( <i>k</i> )	0	0	0	0	3	3
Indiana ( <i>l</i> )	0	0	0	0	3	7
Mississippi ( <i>m</i> )	0	0	0	0	1	2
Illinois ( <i>n</i> )	0	0	0	0	1	3
Alabama ( <i>o</i> )	0	0	0	0	3	5
Missouri ( <i>p</i> )	0	0	0	0	0	2
Michigan ( <i>q</i> )	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arkansas ( <i>r</i> )	0	0	0	0	0	0

(a) As per constitution.

(b) As per act of April 14, 1792, one representative for 33,000, first census.

(c) As per act of January 14, 1802, one representative for 33,000, second census.

(d) As per act of December 21, 1811, one representative for 35,000, third census.

(e) As per act of March 7, 1822, one representative for 40,000, fourth census.

(f) As per act of May 22, 1832, one representative for 47,700, fifth census.

[When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies. I. 2.]

[No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emo-

(g) Previous to the 3d March, 1820, Maine formed a part of Massachusetts, and was called the *District of Maine*, and its representatives are numbered with those of Massachusetts. By compact between Maine and Massachusetts, Maine became a separate and independent state, and by act of congress of 3d March, 1820, was admitted into the Union as such; the admission to take place on the 15th of the same month. On the 7th of April, 1820, Maine was declared entitled to seven representatives, to be taken from those of Massachusetts.

(h) Admitted under act of congress of June 1st, 1796, with one representative,

(j) Admitted under act of congress of April 30, 1802, with one representative.

(k) Admitted under act of congress of April 8, 1812, with one representative.

(l) Admitted under act of congress of December 11, 1816, with one representative.

(m) Admitted under act of congress of December 10, 1817, with one representative.

(n) Admitted under act of congress of December, 3, 1818, with one representative.

(o) Admitted under act of congress of December 14, 1819, with one representative.

(p) Admitted under act of congress of March 2, 1821, with one representative.

(q) Admitted under act of congress of January 26, 1837, with one representative.

(r) Admitted under act of congress of June 15, 1836, with one representative.

luments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office. *Const.* I. 6.]

#### SEC. VI—QUORUM.

[A majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorised to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties, as each house may provide. *Const.* I. 5.]

In general, the chair is not to be taken till a quorum for business is present; unless after due waiting, such a quorum be despaired of, when the chair may be taken and the house adjourned. And whenever, during business, it is observed that a quorum is not present, any member may call for the house to be counted, and being found deficient, business is suspended. *2 Hats.* 125, 126.

[The president having taken the chair, and a quorum being present, the journal of the preceding day shall be read, to the end that any mistake may be corrected that shall have been made in the entries. *Rules of the Senate.*]

#### SEC. VII—CALL OF THE HOUSE.

On a call of the house, each person rises up as he is called and answereth; the absentees are then only noted, but no excuse to be made till the house be fully called over. Then the absentees are called a second time, and if still absent excuses are to be heard. *Ord. House of Commons,* 92.

They rise that their persons may be recognised ; the voice in such a crowd, being an insufficient verification of their presence. But in so small a body as the senate of the United States, the trouble of rising cannot be necessary.

Orders for calls on different days may subsist at the same time. 2 *Hats.* 72.

## SEC. VIII.—ABSENCE.

[No member shall absent himself from the service of the senate, without leave of the senate first obtained. And in case a less number than a quorum of the senate shall convene, they are hereby authorised to send the serjeant-at-arms, or any other person or persons by them authorised, for any or all absent members, as the majority of such members present shall agree, at the expense of such absent members respectively, unless such excuse for non-attendance shall be made, as the senate, when a quorum is convened, shall judge sufficient: and in that case the expense shall be paid out of the contingent fund. And this rule shall apply as well to the first convention of the senate, at the legal time of meeting, as to each day of the session, after the hour is arrived, to which the senate stood adjourned. *Rule 8.*]

## SEC. IX.—SPEAKER.

[The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided. *Constitution, I. 3*]

[The senate shall choose their officers, and also a president pro tempore in the absence of the vice-



president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States. *Constitution*, I. 3.]

[The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers. *Const.* I. 2.]

When but one person is proposed, and no objection made, it has not been usual in parliament to put any question to the house; but without a question, the members proposing him conduct him to the chair. But if there be objection, or another proposed, a question is put by the clerk. 2 *Hats.* 158. As are also questions of adjournment. 6 *Grey*, 406. Where the house debated and exchanged messages and answers with the king for a week, without a speaker, till they were prorogued. They have done it *de die in diem* for 14 days. 1 *Chand.* 331, 335.

[In the senate, a president pro tempore in the absence of the vice-president is proposed and chosen by ballot. His office is understood to be determined on the vice-president's appearing and taking the chair, or at the meeting of the senate after the first recess.]

Where the speaker has been ill, other speakers pro tempore have been appointed. Instances of this, are 1 *H.* 4. Sir John Cheyney, and for Sir William Sturton, and in 15 *H.* 6. Sir John Tyrrel, in 1656, January 27, 1658. March 9, 1659. January 13.

Sir Job Charlton ill, Seymour chosen 1673, Feb. 18.

Seymour being ill, Sir Robert Sawyer chosen, 1678, April 15.

Sawyer being ill, Seymour chosen.

} Not merely  
pro tempore  
1 *Chand.* 169  
276, 277.

Thorpe in execution, a new speaker chosen.—  
31 *H. VI.* 3 *Grey*, 11, and Mar. 14 1694, Sir  
John Trevor chosen. There have been no later  
instances. 2 *Hats.* 161. 4 *Inst.* 8 *L. Parl.*  
263.

A speaker may be removed at the will of the  
house, and a speaker pro tempore appointed.\* 2  
*Grey*, 186. 5 *Grey*, 134.

## SEC. X.—ADDRESS.

[The president shall, from time to time, give to  
the congress information of the state of the Union,  
and recommend to their consideration such mea-  
sures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.  
*Const.* II. 3.]

A joint address of both houses of parliament  
is read by the speaker of the House of Lords.—  
It may be attended by both houses in a body, or  
by a committee from each house; or by the two  
speakers only. An address of the House of Com-  
mons only, may be presented by the whole house,  
or by the speaker, 9 *Grey*, 473. 1 *Chandler.* 298,  
301; or by such particular members as are of the  
privy council. 2 *Hats.* 278.

## SEC. XI.—COMMITTEES.

Standing Committees, as of privileges and elec-  
tions, &c. are usually appointed at the first meet-  
ing, to continue through the session. The person  
first named is generally permitted to act as chair-

\* **RULE 23.** The vice-president or president of the senate,  
pro tempore, shall have the right to name a member to per-  
form the duties of the chair; but such substitution shall not  
extend beyond an adjournment.

man. But this is a matter of courtesy; every committee having a right to elect their own chairman, who presides over them, puts questions, and reports their proceedings to the house. 4 *Inst.* 11 12 *Scob.* 9. 1 *Grey*, 122.

At these committees the members are to speak standing, and not sitting: though there is reason to conjecture it was formerly otherwise. *D'Ewes*, 630. col. 1. 4 *Parl. Hist.* 440. 2 *Hats.* 77.

Their proceedings are not to be published, as they are of no force till confirmed by the house. *Rushw. part 3, vol. 2*, 74. 3 *Grey*, 401. *Scob.* 39. Nor can they receive a petition but through the house. 9 *Grey*, 412.

When a committee is charged with an inquiry, if a member prove to be involved, they cannot proceed against him, but must make a special report to the house: whereupon the member is heard in his place, or at the bar, or a special authority is given to the committee to inquire concerning him. 9 *Grey*, 523.

So soon as the house sits, and a committee is notified of it, the chairman is in duty bound to rise instantly, and the members to attend the service of the house. 2 *Nals.* 319

It appears that on joint committees of the lords and commons, each committee acted integrally in the following instances: 7 *Grey*, 261, 278, 285, 338. 1 *Chandler*, 357, 462. In the following instances it does not appear whether they did or not; 6 *Grey*, 129. 7 *Grey*, 213, 229, 321.\*

\* **RULE 33.** The following standing committees, to consist of five members each, shall be appointed at the commence-

## SEC. XII.—COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE.

The speech, messages, and other matters of great concernment, are usually referred to a committee of the whole house, 6 *Grey*, 311, where general principles are digested in the form of resolutions, which are debated and amended till they get into a shape which meets the approbation of a majority. These being reported and confirmed by the house, are then referred to one or more select committees, according as the subject divides itself into one or more bills. *Scob.* 36. 44. Propositions for any  
 ment of each session, with leave to report by bill or otherwise.

A Committee on Foreign Relations.

A Committee on Finance.

A Committee on Commerce.

A Committee on Manufactures.

A Committee on Agriculture.

A Committee on Military Affairs.

A Committee on the Militia.

A Committee on Naval Affairs.

A Committee on Public Lands.

A Committee on Private Land Claims.

A Committee on Indian Affairs.

A Committee of Claims.

A Committee on the Judiciary.

A Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

A Committee on Pensions.

A Committee on the District of Columbia.

A Committee of three members, whose duty it shall be to audit and control the contingent expenses of the Senate,

And a Committee, consisting of three members, whose duty it shall be to examine all bills, amendments, resolutions, or motions, before they go out of the possession of the Senate, and to make report that they are correctly engrossed; which report shall be entered on the Journal.

charge on the people are especially to be first made in a committee of the whole. 3 *Hats*. 127. The sense of the whole is better taken in committee, because in all committees every one speaks as often as he pleases. *Scob*. 49. They generally acquiesce in the chairman named by the speaker; but, as well as all other committees, have a right to elect one, some member, by consent, putting the question. *Scob*. 36. 3 *Grey*, 301. The form of going from the House into committee, is for the speaker, on motion, to put the question that the house do now resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take under consideration such a matter, naming it. If determined in the affirmative, he leaves the chair, and takes a seat elsewhere, as any other member; and the person appointed chairman seats himself at the clerk's table. *Scob*. 36. Their quorum is the same as that of the house; and if a defect happens, the chairman, on a motion and question, rises, the speaker resumes the chair, and the chairman can make no other report than to inform the house of the cause of their dissolution. If a message is announced during a committee, the speaker takes the chair, and receives it, because the committee cannot. 2 *Hats*. 125, 126.

In a committee of the whole, the tellers on a division, differing as to numbers, great heats and confusion arose, and danger of a decision by the sword. The speaker took the chair, the mace was forcibly laid on the table; whereupon, the members retiring to their places, the speaker told the house "he had taken the chair without an order, to bring the house into order." Some excepted against it; but it was generally approved as the

only expedient to suppress the disorder. And every member was required, standing up in his place, to engage that he would proceed no further in consequence of what had happened in the grand committee, which was done. 3 *Grey*, 128.

A committee of the whole being broken up in disorder, and the chair resumed by the speaker, without an order, the house was adjourned. The next day the committee was considered as thereby dissolved, and the subject again before the house; and it was decided in the house, without returning into committee. 3 *Grey*, 130.

No previous question can be put in a committee; nor can this committee adjourn as others may; but if their business is unfinished, they rise, on a question, the house is resumed, and the chairman reports that the committee of the whole, have, according to order, had under their consideration such a matter, and have made progress therein; but not having had time to go through the same, have directed him to ask leave to sit again. Whereupon a question is put on their having leave, and on the time the house will again resolve itself into a committee. *Scob.* 38. But if they have gone through the matter referred to them, a member moves that the committee may rise, and the chairman reports their proceeding to the house; which being resolved, the chairman rises, the speaker resumes the chair, the chairman informs him that the committee have gone through the business referred to them, and that he is ready to make report when the house shall think proper to receive it. If the house have time to receive it, there is usually a cry of "now, now," whereupon he makes the

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report : but if it be late, the cry is “to-morrow, to-morrow,” or “on Monday, &c.,” or a motion is made to that effect, and a question put that it be received to-morrow, &c. *Scob.* 38.

In other things the rules of proceeding are to be the same as in the house. *Scob.* 39.

#### SEC. XIII.—EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES.

Common fame is a good ground for the house to proceed by inquiry, and even to accusation. *Resolution, house commons, 1 Car.* 1625. *Rush. L. Parl.* 115. 1 *Grey*, 16—22, 92. 8 *Grey*, 21, 23, 27, 45.

Witnesses are not to be produced but where the house has previously instituted an inquiry, 2 *Hats.* 102, nor then are orders for their attendance given blank. 3 *Grey*, 51.

When any person is examined before a committee, or at the bar of the house; any member wishing to ask the person a question, must address it to the speaker or chairman, who repeats the question to the person, or says to him, “you hear the question, answer it.” But if the propriety of the question be objected to, the speaker directs the witness, counsel and parties, to withdraw ; for no question can be moved or put, or debated while they are there. 2 *Hats.* 108. Sometimes the questions are previously settled in writing before the witness enters. *Ib.* 106, 107. 8 *Grey*, 64. The question asked must be entered in the journals. 3 *Grey*, 81. But the testimony given in answer before the house is never written down ; but before a committee it must be, for the information of the house who are not present to hear it. 7 *Grey*, 52, 334.

If either house have occasion for the presence of a person in custody of the other, they ask the other their leave that he may be brought up to them in custody. 3 *Hats*. 52.

A member, in his place, gives information to the house of what he knows of any matter under hearing at the bar. *Jour. of H. C. Jan. 22, 1744-5*.

Either house may request, but not command the attendance of a member of the other. They are to make the request by message to the other house, and to express clearly the purpose of attendance, that no improper subject of examination may be tendered to him. The house then gives leave to the member to attend, if he choose it: waiting first to know from the member himself whether he chooses to attend, till which they do not take the message into consideration. But when the peers are setting as a court of criminal judicature, they may order attendance; unless where it be a case of impeachment by the commons. There it is to be a request. 3 *Hats*. 17. 9 *Grey*, 306, 406. 10 *Grey*, 133.

Counsel are to be heard only on private, not on public bills, and on such points of law only as the house shall direct. 10 *Grey*, 61.

#### SEC. XIV.—ARRANGEMENT OF BUSINESS.

The speaker is not precisely bound to any rules as to what bills or other matter shall be first taken up; but is left to his own discretion, unless the house on a question decide to take up a particular subject. *Hakew*. 136.

A settled order of business is, however, necessary for the government of the presiding person,



and to restrain individual members from calling up favourite measures, or matters under their special patronage, out of their just turn. It is useful also for directing the discretion of the house, when they are moved to take up a particular matter, to the prejudice of others having priority of right to their attention in the general order of business.

[In senate, the bills and other papers which are in possession of the house, and in a state to be acted on, are arranged every morning, and brought on in the following order.]

[1. Bills ready for a second reading are read, that they may be referred to committees, and so be put under way. But if, on their being read, no motion is made for commitment, they are then laid on the table in the general file, to be taken up in their just turn.]

[2. After twelve o'clock, bills ready for it are put on their passage.]

[3. Reports in possession of the house, which offer grounds for a bill, are to be taken up, that the bill may be ordered in.]

[4. Bills, or other matters before the house, and unfinished on the preceding day, whether taken up in turn, or on special order, are entitled to be resumed and passed on through their present stage.]

[These matters being despatched, for preparing and expediting business, the general file of bills and other papers is then taken up, and each article of it is brought on according to its seniority, reckoned by the date of its first introduction to the house. Reports on bills belong to the dates of their bills.]

[The arrangement of the business of the senate is now as follows:]

[1. Motions previously submitted.]

[2. Reports of committees previously made.]

[3. Bills from the House of representatives, and those introduced on leave, which have been read the first time, are read the second time; and, if not referred to a committee are considered in committee of the whole, and proceeded with as in other cases.]

[4. After twelve o'clock, engrossed bills of the senate, and bills of the house of representatives, on third reading, are put on their passage.]

[5. If the above are finished before one o'clock, the general file of bills, consisting of those reported from committees on the second reading, and those reported from committees after having been referred, are taken up in the order in which they were reported to the senate by the respective committees.]

[6. At one o'clock if no business be pending, or if no motion be made to proceed to other business, the special orders are called, at the head of which stands the unfinished business of the preceding day.]

[In this way we do not waste our time in debating what shall be taken up; we do one thing at a time; follow up a subject while it is fresh, and till it is done with; clear the house of business gradatim as it is brought on, and prevent, to a certain degree, its immense accumulation towards the close of the session.]

[Arrangement, however, can only take hold of matters in possession of the House. New matter

may be moved at any time, when no question is before the House. Such are original motions, and reports on bills. Such are bills from the other House, which are received at all times, and receive their first reading as soon as the question then before the House is disposed of; and bills brought in on leave, which are read first whenever presented. So messages from the other house, respecting amendments to bills, are taken up as soon as the house is clear of a question, unless they require to be printed, for better consideration. Orders of the day may be called for, even when another question is before the House.]

SEC. XV.—ORDER.

[Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings; punish its members for disorderly behaviour; and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member. *Const.* l. 5.

In parliament, “instances make order,” per speaker Onslow. 2 *Hats.* 141. But what is done only by one parliament, cannot be called custom of parliament, by Prynne. 1 *Grey*, 52.

SEC. XVI.—ORDER RESPECTING PAPERS.

The clerk is to let no journals, records, accounts, or papers, be taken from the table, or out of his custody. 2 *Hats.* 193, 194.

Mr. Prynne having at a committee of the whole amended a mistake in a bill without order or knowledge of the committee, was reprimanded. 1 *Chand.* 77.

A bill being missing, the House resolved that a protestation should be made and subscribed by the members, “before Almighty God, and this

honourable House, that neither myself, nor any other, to my knowledge, have taken away, or do at this present conceal a bill entitled," &c. 5 *Grey*, 202.

After a bill is engrossed, it is put into the Speaker's hands, and he is not to let any one have it to look into. *Town. col.* 209.

SEC XVII.—ORDER IN DEBATE.

When the Speaker is seated in his chair, every member is to sit in his place. *Scob.* 6. *Grey.* 403.

When any member means to speak, he is to stand up in his place, uncovered, and to address himself, not to the House, or any particular member, but to the Speaker, who calls him by his name, that the House may take notice who it is that speaks. *Scob.* 6. *D'Ewes*, 487. *Col.* 1. 2 *Hats.* 77. 4 *Grey*, 66. 8 *Grey*, 108. But members who are indisposed may be indulged to speak sitting. 2 *Hats.* 75, 77. 1 *Grey*, 195.

[In Senate, every member, when he speaks, shall address the Chair standing in his place, and when he has finished, shall sit down. *Rule* 3.]

When a member stands up to speak, no question is to be put, but he is to be heard, unless the House overrule him. 4 *Grey*, 390. 5 *Grey*, 6, 143.

If two or more rise to speak nearly together, the Speaker determines who was first up, and calls him by name, whereupon he proceeds, unless he voluntarily sits down and gives way to the other. But sometimes the House does not acquiesce in the Speaker's decision, in which case the question is put, "which member was first up?" 2 *Hats.* 76. *Scob* 7. *D'Ewes*, 434. *col.* 1, 2.

[In the Senate of the United States, the president's decision is without appeal. Their rule is in these words: *when two members rise at the same time, the president shall name the person to speak: but in all cases, the member who shall first rise and address the chair, shall speak first. Rule 5.*]

No man may speak more than once to the same bill on the same day; or even on another day, if the debate be adjourned. But if it be read more than once in the same day, he may speak once at every reading. *Co. 12, 115. Hakew. 148. Scob. 58. 2 Hats. 75.* Even a change of opinion does not give a right to be heard a second time. *Smyth Comw. L. 2, c. 3. Arcan. Parl. 17.*

[The corresponding rule of Senate is in these words: no member shall speak more than twice, in any one debate, on the same day, without leave of the Senate. *Rule 4.*]

But he may be permitted to speak again to clear a matter of fact. *3 Grey, 357, 416.* Or merely to explain himself, *2 Hats. 73,* in some material part of his speech, *Ib. 75,* or to the manner or words of the question, keeping himself to that only, and not travelling into the merits of it; *Memorials in Hakew. 29;* or to the orders of the House, if they be transgressed, keeping within that line, and not falling into the matter itself. *Mem. Hakew. 30, 31.*

But if the Speaker rises to speak, the member standing up ought to sit down, that he may be first heard. *Town. col. 205. Hale parl. 133. Mem. in Hakew. 30, 31.* Nevertheless, though the Speaker may of right speak to matters of or-

der, and be first heard, he is restrained from speaking on any other subject, except where the House have occasion for facts within his knowledge; then he may, with their leave, state the matter of fact. 3 *Grey*, 38.

No one is to speak impertinently or beside the question, superfluously or tediously. *Scob.* 31, 33. 2 *Hats.* 166, 168. *Hale parl.* 133.

No person is to use indecent language against the proceedings of the House, no prior determination of which is to be reflected on by any member, unless he means to conclude with a motion to rescind it. 2 *Hats.* 169, 170. *Rushw. p. 3. v. 1. fol.* 42. But while a proposition under consideration is still in fieri, though it has even been reported by a committee, reflections on it are no reflections on the House. 9 *Grey*, 508.

No person in speaking, is to mention a member then present, by his name; but to describe him by his seat in the House, or who spoke last, or on the other side of the question, &c. *Men. in Hakew.* 3 *Smyth Comw. L. 2, c. 3*, nor to digress from the matter to fall upon the person; *Scob.* 31. *Hale parl.* 133. 2 *Hats*, 166, by speaking, reviling, nipping, or unmannerly words against a particular member. *Smyth Comw. L. 2, c. 3*. The consequences of a measure may be reprobated in strong terms; but to arraign the motives of those who propose to advocate it, is a personality, and against order. *Qui digreditur a materia ad personam*, Mr. Speaker ought to suppress. *Ord. Com.* 1604, *Apr.* 19.

[When a member shall be called to order by the president, or a senator, he shall sit down; and

every question of order shall be decided by the president, without debate, subject to an appeal to the senate; and the president may call for the sense of the senate on any question of order. *Rule. 6.]*

[No member shall speak to another or otherwise interrupt the business of the senate, or read any printed paper while the journals or public papers are reading, or when any member is speaking in any debate. *Rule 2.]*

No one is to disturb another in his speech, by hissing, coughing, spitting, 6 *Grey*, 332. *Scob.* 8. *D'Ewes*, 332. *col.* 1. 640. *col.* 2, speaking or whispering to another, *Scob.* 6. *D'Ewes* 487. *col.* 1, nor to stand up or interrupt him; *Town.* *col.* 205. *Men. in Hakew.* 31, nor to pass between the speaker and the speaking member, nor to go across the house, *Scob.* 6. or to walk up and down it, or to take books or papers from the table, or write there. 2 *Hats.* 171.

Nevertheless, if a member finds that it is not the inclination of the house to hear him, and that by conversation or any other noise they endeavor to drown his voice, it is his most prudent way to submit to the pleasure of the house, and sit down; for it scarcely ever happens that they are guilty of this piece of ill manners without sufficient reason, or inattentive to a member who says any thing worth their hearing. 2 *Hats.* 77, 78.

If repeated calls do not produce order, the speaker may call by his name any member obstinately persisting in irregularity, whereupon the house may require the member to withdraw. He is then to be heard in exculpation, and to with-

draw. Then the speaker states the offence committed; and the house considers the degree of punishment they will inflict. 2 *Hats*, 167, 7, 8, 172.

For instances of assaults and affrays in the House of Commons, and the proceedings thereon, see 1 *Pet. Misc.* 82. 3 *Grey*, 128. 4. *Grey*, 328. 5 *Grey*, 382. 6 *Grey*, 254. 10 *Grey*, 8. Whenever warm words, or an assault, have passed between members, the house, for the protection of their members, requires them to declare in their places not to prosecute any quarrel, 3 *Grey*, 128, 293. 5 *Grey*, 289; or orders them to attend the speaker, who is to accommodate their differences and report to the house; 3 *Grey*, 419, and they are put under restraint if they refuse, or until they do. 9 *Grey*, 234, 312.

Disorderly words are not to be noticed till the member has finished his speech. 5 *Grey*, 356. 6 *Grey*, 60. Then the person objecting to them, and desiring them to be taken down by the clerk at the table, must repeat them. The speaker then may direct the clerk to take them down in his minutes. But if he thinks them not disorderly, he delays the direction. If the call becomes pretty general, he orders the clerk to take them down, as stated by the objecting member. They are then part of his minutes, and when read to the offending member, he may deny they were his words, and the house must then decide by a question whether they are his words or not. Then the member may justify them, or explain the sense in which he used them, or apologise. If the house is satisfied, no farther proceeding is necessary. But if two mem-



bers still insist to take the sense of the house, the member must withdraw, before that question is stated, and then the sense of the house is to be taken. 2 *Hats.* 199. 4 *Grey*, 170. 6 *Grey*, 59. When any member has spoken, or other business intervened, after offensive words spoken, they cannot be taken notice of for censure. And this is for the common security of all, and to prevent mistakes which must happen if words are not taken down immediately. Formerly they might be taken down at any time the same day. 2 *Hats.* 196. *Men. in Hawkew.* 71. 3 *Grey*, 48. 9 *Grey*, 514.

Disorderly words spoken in a committee must be written down as in the house; but the committee can only report them to the house for animadversion. 6 *Grey*, 46.

[The rule of the senate says,—If the member be called to order by a senator, for words spoken, the exceptionable words shall immediately be taken down in writing, that the president may be better enabled to judge of the matter. *Rule 7.*]

In parliament, to speak irreverently or seditiously against the king is against order. *Smith's Comw. L. 2. c. 3.* 2 *Hats.* 170.

It is a breach of order in debate to notice what has been said on the same subject in the other House, or the particular votes or majorities on it there: because the opinion of each House should be left to its own independency not to be influenced by the proceedings of the other; and the quoting them might beget reflections leading to a misunderstanding between the two Houses. 8 *Grey*, 22.

Neither House can exercise any authority over

a member or officer of the other, but should complain to the House of which he is, and leave the punishment to them. Where the complaint is of words disrespectfully spoken by a member of another house, it is difficult to obtain punishment, because of the rules supposed necessary to be observed (as to the immediate noting down of words) for the security of members. Therefore it is the duty of the House, and more particularly of the speaker, to interfere immediately, and not to permit expressions to go unnoticed, which may give a ground of complaint to the other house, and introduce proceedings and mutual accusations between the two houses, which can hardly be terminated without difficulty and disorder. 3 *Hats.* 51.

No member may be present when a bill or any business concerning himself is debating; nor is any member to speak to the merits of it till he withdraws. 2 *Hats.* 219. The rule is, that if a charge against a member arise out of a report of a committee, or examination of witnesses in the House, as the member knows from that to what points he is to direct his exculpation, he may be heard to those points, before any question is moved or stated against him. He is then to be heard, and withdraw before any question is moved. But if the question itself is the charge, as for breach of order, or matter arising in the debate; there the charge must be stated, that is, the question must be moved, himself heard, and then to withdraw. 2 *Hats.* 121, 122.

Where the private interests of a member are concerned in a bill or question, he is to withdraw.

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And where such an interest has appeared, his voice has been disallowed, even after a division. In a case so contrary, not only to the laws of decency, but to the fundamental principle of the social compact, which denies to any man to be a judge in his own cause, it is for the honour of the house that this rule, of immemorial observance, should be strictly adhered to. 2 *Hats.* 119, 121. 6 *Grey*, 368.

No member is to come into the House with his head covered, nor to remove from one place to another with his hat on, nor is to put on his hat in coming in, or removing, until he be set down in his place. *Scob.* 6.

A question of order may be adjourned to give time to look into precedents. 2. *Hats.* 118.

In parliament, all decisions of the speaker may be controlled by the House. 3 *Grey*, 319.

#### SEC. XVIII.—ORDERS OF THE HOUSE.

Of right, the door of the House ought not to be shut, but to be kept by porters, or serjeants-at-arms, assigned for that purpose. *Mod. ten. Parl.* 23.

[By the rules of the Senate, on motion made and seconded to shut the doors of the Senate, on the discussion of any business which may, in the opinion of a member, require secrecy, the president shall direct the gallery to be cleared, and during the discussion of such motion, the doors shall remain shut. *Rule 18.*]

[No motion shall be deemed in order to admit any person or persons whatever within the doors of the senate chamber, to present any petition,

memorial, or address, or to hear any such read.  
*Rule 19.*]

The only case where a member has a right to insist on any thing, is where he calls for the execution of a subsisting order of the House. Here, there having been already a resolution, any person has a right to insist that the speaker, or any other whose duty it is, shall carry it into execution; and no debate or delay can be had on it. Thus any member has a right to have the House or gallery cleared of strangers, an order existing for that purpose; or to have the House told when there is not a quorum present. 2 *Hats.* 87, 129. How far an order of the House is binding, see *Hakew.* 392.

But where an order is made that any particular matter be taken up on a particular day, there a question is to be put when it is called for, whether the House will now proceed to that matter? Where orders of the day are on important or interesting matter, they ought not to be proceeded on till an hour at which the House is usually full, [*which in Senate is at noon.*]

Orders of the day may be discharged at any time, and a new one made for a different day. 3 *Grey*, 48, 313.

When a session is drawing to a close, and the important bills are all brought in, the House, in order to prevent interruption by further unimportant bills, sometimes come to a resolution that no new bill be brought in, except it be sent from the other House. 3 *Grey*, 156.

All orders of the House determine with the session; and one taken under such an order may, af-

ter the session is ended, be discharged on a *habeas corpus*. *Raym.* 120. *Jacob's L. D. by Ruffhead. Parliament*, 1 *Lev.* 165, *Pritchard's case*.

[Where the constitution authorises each House to determine the rules of its proceedings, it must mean in those cases legislative, executive, or judiciary, submitted to them by the constitution, or in something relating to these, and necessary towards their execution. But orders and resolutions are sometimes entered in the journals, having no relation to these, such as acceptances of invitations to attend orations, to take part in processions, &c. These must be understood to be merely conventional among those who are willing to participate in the ceremony, and are therefore perhaps improperly placed among the records of the House.]

#### SEC. XIX.—PETITIONS.

A petition prays something. A remonstrance has no prayer. 1 *Grey*, 58.

Petitions must be subscribed by the petitioners. *Scob.* 87. *L. Parl. c.* 22. 9 *Grey*, 362, unless they are attending, 1 *Grey*, 401, or unable to sign, and averred by a member. 3 *Grey*, 418. But a petition not subscribed, but which the member presenting it affirmed to be all in the hand-writing of the petitioner, and his name written in the beginning, was on the question (March 14, 1800,) received by the Senate. The averment of a member, or of somebody without doors, that they know the hand-writing of the petitioners, is necessary if it be questioned. 6 *Grey*, 36. It must be presented by a member—not by the petitioners, and must be opened by him, holding it in his hand, 10 *Grey*, 57.

[Before any petition or memorial addressed to the Senate shall be received and read at the table, whether the same shall be introduced by the president or a member, a brief statement of the contents of the petition or memorial shall verbally be made by the introduction. *Rule 24.*]

Regularly a motion for receiving it must be made and seconded, and a question put whether it shall be received? But a cry from the House of "received," or even its silence, dispenses with the formality of this question. It is then to be read and disposed of.

#### SEC. XX.—MOTIONS.

When a motion has been made, it is not to be put to the question, or debated, until it is seconded. *Scob. 21.*

[The Senate say, No motion shall be debated until the same shall be seconded. *Rule 9.*]

It is then, and not till then, in possession of the House, and cannot be withdrawn but by leave of the House. It is to be put into writing, if the House or speaker require it, and must be read to the House by the speaker as often as any member desires it for his information. *2 Hats. 82.*

[The rule of the Senate is, when a motion shall be made and seconded, it shall be reduced to writing, if desired by the president or any member, delivered in at the table, and read by the president before the same shall be debated. *Rule 10.*]

It might be asked whether a motion for adjournment, or for the orders of the day, can be made by one member while another is speaking? It cannot. When two members offer to speak, he who

rose first is to be heard, and it is a breach of order in another to interrupt him unless by calling him to order if he departs from it. And the question of order being decided, he is still to be heard through. A call for adjournment, or for the order of the day, or for the question, by gentlemen from their seats, is not a motion. No motion can be made without rising and addressing the chair. Such calls are themselves breaches of order, which, though the member who has risen may respect, as an expression of impatience of the house against futher debate, yet, if he chooses, he has a right to go on.

#### SEC. XXI.—RESOLUTIONS.

When the House commands, it is by an "order." But fact, principles, and their own opinions and purposes, are expressed in the form of resolutions.

[A resolution for an allowance of money to the clerks, being moved, it was objected to as not in order, and so ruled by the chair. But on an appeal to the senate (i. e. a call for their sense by the president on account of doubt in his mind according to Rule 16,) the decision was overruled. *Jour. Sen. June 1, 1796.* I presume the doubt was whether an allowance of money could be made otherwise than by bill.]

#### SEC. XXII.—BILLS.

[Every bill shall receive three readings, previous to its being passed; and the president shall give notice at each whether it be 1st, 2d, or 3d; which readings shall be on three different days, unless the senate unanimously direct otherwise. *Rule 26.*]

## SEC. XXIII.—BILLS, LEAVE TO BRING IN.

[One day's notice, at least, shall be given of an intended motion for leave to bring in a bill. *Rule 25.*]

When a member desires to bring in a bill on any subject, he states to the house in general terms the causes for doing it, and concludes by moving for leave to bring in a bill entitled, &c. Leave being given, on the question, a committee is appointed to prepare and bring in the bill. The mover and seconder are always appointed of this committee, and one or more in addition. *Hakew. 132. Scob. 40.*

It is to be presented fairly written, without any erasure or interlineation or the speaker may refuse it. *Scob. 41. I Grey, 82, 84.*

## SEC. XXIV.—BILLS, FIRST READING.

When a bill is first presented, the clerk reads it at the table, and hands it to the speaker, who, rising, states to the House the title of the bill, that this is the first time of reading it, and the question will be whether it shall be read a second time? Then sitting down to give an opening for objections, if none be made, he rises again and puts the question whether it shall be read a second time? *Hakew. 137, 141.* A bill cannot be amended on the first reading; *6 Grey, 286*; nor is it usual for it to be opposed then; but it may be done, and rejected. *D'Ewes, 335, col. 1. 3 Hats. 198.*

## SEC. XXV.—BILLS, SECOND READING.

The second reading must regularly be on another day. *Hakew. 143.* It is done by the clerk



at the table, who then hands it to the speaker. The speaker, rising, states to the House the title of the bill, that this is the second time of reading it, and that the question will be, whether it shall be committed, or engrossed and read a third time? But if the bill came from the other House, as it always comes engrossed, he states, that the question will be, whether it shall be read a third time? and before he has so reported the state of the bill, no one is to speak to it. *Hakew.* 143, 146.

[In the senate of the United States, the president reports the title of the bill, that this is the second time of reading it, that it is now to be considered as in a committee of the whole, and the question will be, whether it shall be read a third time, or that it may be referred to a special committee ?]

#### SEC. XXVI.—BILLS, COMMITMENT.

If on motion and question it be decided that the bill shall be committed, it may then be moved to be referred to a committee of the whole House, or to a special committee. If the latter, the speaker proceeds to name the committee. Any member also may name a single person, and the clerk is to write him down as of the committee. But the House have a controlling power over the names and number, if a question be moved against any one, and may in any case put in and put out whom they please.

Those who take exception to some particulars in the bill, are to be of the committee. But none who speak directly against the body of the bill. For he that would totally destroy, will not amend

it. *Hakew.* 146. *Town. col.* 208. *D'Ewes*, 634. *col.* 2. *Scob.* 47, or as it is said, 5 *Grey*, 145, the child is not to be put to a nurse that cares not for it. 6 *Grey*, 373. It is therefore a constant rule, "that no man is to be employed in any matter who has declared himself against it." And when any member who is against the bill hears himself named of its committee, he ought to ask to be excused. Thus, March 7, 1606, Mr. Hadley was, on the question being put, excused from being of a committee, declaring himself to be against the matter itself. *Scob.* 46.

[No bill shall be committed or amended until it shall have been twice read, after which it may be referred to a committee. *Rule 27.*]

[In the appointment of the standing committees, the senate will proceed, by ballot, severally to appoint the chairman of each committee, and then, by one ballot, the other members necessary to complete the same; and a majority of the whole number of votes given shall be necessary to the choice of a chairman of a standing committee. All other committees shall be appointed by ballot, and a plurality of votes shall make a choice. When any subject or matter shall have been referred to a committee; any other subject or matter of a similar nature may, on motion, be referred to such committee. *Rule 34.*]

The clerk may deliver the bill to any member of the committee. *Town. col.* 138. But it is usual to deliver it to him who is first named.

In some cases the House has ordered a committee to withdraw immediately into the committee chamber, and act on, and bring back the bill, sitting the House. *Scob.* 48. A committee meets when

and where they please, if the House has not ordered time and place for them. 6. *Grey*, 370. But they can only act when together, and not by separate consultation and consent, nothing being the report of the committee but what has been agreed to in committee actually assembled.

A majority of the committee constitutes a quorum for business. *Elsynge's method of passing bills*, 11.

Any member of the House may be present at any select committee, but cannot vote, and must give place to all the committee, and sit below them. *Elsynge*, 12. *Scob.* 49.

The committee have full power over the bill, or other paper committed to them, except that they cannot change the title or subject. 8. *Grey*, 228.

The paper before a committee, whether select, or of the whole, may be a bill, resolutions, draught of an address, &c., and it may either originate with them, or be referred to them. In every case, the whole paper is read first by the clerk, and then by the chairman by paragraphs, *Scob.* 49, pausing at the end of each paragraph, and putting questions for amending if proposed. In the case of resolutions on distinct subjects, originating with themselves, a question is put on each separately, as amended or unamended, and no final question on the whole, 3 *Hats.* 276; but if they relate to the same subject, a question is put on the whole. If it be a bill, draught of an address, or other paper originating with them, they proceed by paragraphs, putting questions for amending, either by insertion or striking out, if proposed: but no question on agreeing to the paragraphs separately. This is

reserved to the close, when a question is put on the whole, for agreeing to it as amended, or unamended. But if it be a paper referred to them, they proceed to put questions of amendment, if proposed, but no final question on the whole: because all parts of the paper having been adopted by the House, stand of course, unless altered, or struck out by vote. Even if they are opposed to the whole paper, and think it cannot be made good by amendments, they cannot reject it, but must report it back to the House without amendments, and there make their opposition.

The natural order in considering and amending any paper is, to begin at the beginning, and proceed through it by paragraphs, and this order is so strictly adhered to in parliament, that when a latter part has been amended, you cannot recur back and make any alteration in a former part. 2 *Hats.* 90. In numerous assemblies, this restraint is doubtless important. [But in the Senate of the United States, though in the main we consider and amend the paragraphs in their natural order, yet recurrences are indulged: and they seem, on the whole, in that small body, to produce advantages overweighing their inconveniences.]

To this natural order of beginning at the beginning, there is a single exception found in parliamentary usage. When a bill is taken up in committee, or on its second reading, they postpone the preamble, till the other parts of the bill are gone through. The reason is, that on consideration of the body of the bill such alterations may therein be made as may also occasion the alteration of the preamble. *Scob.* 50. 7 *Grey*, 431.

On this head the following case occurred in the Senate, March 6, 1800: A resolution, which had no preamble, having been already amended by the House so that a few words only of the original remained in it, a motion was made to prefix a preamble, which having an aspect very different from the resolution, the mover intimated that he should afterwards propose a correspondent amendment in the body of the resolution. It was objected that a preamble could not be taken up till the body of the resolution is done with. But the preamble was received: because we are in fact through the body of the resolution, we have amended that as far as amendments have been offered, and indeed till little of the original is left. It is the proper time, therefore, to consider a preamble: and whether the one offered be consistent with the resolution, is for the House to determine. The mover indeed has intimated that he shall offer a subsequent proposition for the body of the resolution; but the House is not in possession of it; it remains in his breast, and may be withheld. The rules of the House can only operate on what is before them. [The practice of the Senate, too, allows recurrences backwards and forwards for the purposes of amendment, not permitting amendments in a subsequent, to preclude those in a prior part, or e converso.]

When the committee is through the whole, a member moves that the committee may rise, and the chairman reports the paper to the House, with or without amendments, as the case may be. 2 *Hats.* 289, 292. *Scob.* 53. 2 *Hats.* 290. 8. *Scob.* 50.

When a vote is once passed in a committee, it cannot be altered but by the House, their votes being binding on themselves. 1607, *June 4*.

The committee may not erase, interline, or blot the bill itself; but must, in a paper by itself, set down the amendments, stating the words which are to be inserted or omitted, *Scob. 50*, and where, by references to the page, line and word of the bill. *Scob. 50*.

#### SEC. XXVII.—REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

The chairman of the committee, standing in his place, informs the House that the committee, to whom was referred such a bill, have, according to order, had the same under consideration, and have directed him to report the same without any amendment, or with sundry amendments, (as the case may be,) which he is ready to do when the House pleases to receive it. And he, or any other, may move that it be now received. But the cry of "now, now," from the House, generally dispenses with the formality of a motion and question. He then reads the amendments, with the coherence in the bill, and opens the alterations, and the reasons of the committee for such amendments, until he has gone through the whole. He then delivers it at the clerk's table, where the amendments reported are read by the clerk without the coherence, whereupon the papers lie upon the table till the House at its convenience shall take up the report. *Scob. 52. Hakew. 148.*

The report being made, the committee is dissolved, and can act no more without a new power. *Scob. 51.* But it may be revived by a vote, and

the same matter re-committed to them. 4 *Grey*, 361.

SEC. XXVIII.—BILL, RECOMMITMENT.

After a bill has been committed and reported, it ought not, in an ordinary course, to be recommitted. But in cases of importance, and, for special reasons, it is sometimes recommitted, and usually to the same committee. *Hakew.* 151. If a report be recommitted before agreed to in the House, what has passed in committee is of no validity; the whole question is again before the committee, and a new resolution must be again moved, as if nothing had passed. 3 *Hats.* 131, *note*.

In Senate, January, 1800, the salvage bill was recommitted three times after the commitment.

A particular clause of a bill may be committed without the whole bill, 3 *Hats.* 131, or so much of a paper to one, and so much to another committee.

SEC. XXIX.—BILL, REPORT TAKEN UP.

When the report of a paper originating with a committee is taken up by the House, they proceed exactly as in committee. Here, as in committee, when the paragraphs have, on distinct questions, been agreed to seriatim, 5 *Grey*, 366. 6 *Grey*, 368. 8 *Grey*, 47, 104, 360. 1 *Torbuck's deb.* 125. 3 *Hats.* 348, no question needs be put on the whole report. 5 *Grey*, 381.

On taking up a bill reported with amendments, the amendments only are read by the clerk. The speaker then reads the first and puts it to the question, and so on till the whole are adopted or rejected, before any other amendment be admit-

ted, except it be an amendment to an amendment. *Elsynge's Mem.* 53. When through the amendments of the committee, the Speaker pauses, and gives time for amendments to be proposed in the House to the body of the bill: as he does also if it has been reported without amendments; putting no questions but on amendments proposed: and when through the whole, he puts the question whether the bill shall be read a third time?

SEC. XXX.—QUASI-COMMITTEE.

If on motion and question, the bill be not committed, or if no proposition for commitment be made then the proceedings in the Senate of the United States, and in parliament, are totally different. The former shall be first stated.

[The 28th rule of the Senate says, "All bills, on a second reading, shall first be considered by the Senate in the same manner as if the Senate were in committee of the whole, before they shall be taken up and proceeded on by the Senate, agreeably to the standing rules, unless otherwise ordered:" (that is to say, unless ordered to be referred to a special committee.) And when the Senate shall consider a treaty, bill, or resolution, as in committee of the whole, the Vice-President, or President pro tempore, may call a member to fill the chair, during the time the Senate shall remain in committee of the whole; and the chairman so called, shall, during such time, have the powers of a president, pro tempore.]

[The proceeding of the Senate, as in a committee of the whole, or in quasi-committee, is precisely as in a real committee of the whole, taking



no questions but on amendments. When through the whole, they consider the quasi-committee as risen, the House resumed, without any motion, question, or resolution to that effect, and the president reports that, "the House, acting as in a committee of the whole, have had under their consideration the bill entitled, &c., and have made sundry amendments which he will now report to the House." The bill is then before them, as it would have been if reported from a committee, and questions are regularly to be put again on every amendment; which being gone through, the president pauses to give time to the House to propose amendments to the body of the bill; and when through, puts the question whether it shall be read a third time.]

[After progress in amending a bill in quasi-committee, a motion may be made to refer it to a special committee. If the motion prevails, it is equivalent in effect to the several votes that the committee rise, the House resume itself, discharge the committee of the whole, and refer the bill to a special committee. In that case the amendments already made fall. But if the motion fails, the quasi-committee stands in statu quo.]

[How far does this 28th rule subject the House when in quasi-committee, to the laws which regulate the proceedings of committees of the whole?] The particulars in which these differ from proceedings in the House, are the following: 1. In a committee every member may speak as often as he pleases. 2. The votes of a committee may be rejected or altered when reported to the House. 3. A committee, even of the whole, cannot refer any

matter to another committee. 4. In a committee no previous question can be taken. The only means to avoid an improper discussion, is to move that the committee rise: and if it be apprehended that the same discussion will be attempted on returning into committee, the House can discharge them, and proceed itself on the business, keeping down the improper discussion by the previous question. 5. A committee cannot punish a breach of order in the House, or in the gallery. 9 *Grey*, 113. It can only rise and report it to the House, who may proceed to punish. [The 1st and 2d of these peculiarities attach to the quasi-committee of the Senate, as every day's practice proves, and seem to be the only ones to which the 28th rule meant to subject them. For it continues to be a House, and therefore, though it acts in some respects as a committee, in others it preserves its character as a House. Thus, 3. it is in the daily habit of referring its business to a special committee. 4. It admits of the previous question. If it did not, it would have no means of preventing an improper discussion; not being able as a committee is, to avoid it by returning into the House; for the moment it would resume the same subject there, the 28th rule declares it again a quasi-committee. 5. It would doubtless exercise its powers as a House on any breach of order. 6. It takes a question by yea and nay, as the House does. 7. It receives messages from the president and the other House. 8. In the midst of a debate it receives a motion to adjourn, and adjourns as a House, not as a committee.]

**SEC. XXXI.—BILL, SECOND READING IN THE HOUSE.**

In parliament, after the bill has been read a second time, if on the motion and question, it be not committed, or if no proposition for commitment be made, the speaker reads it by paragraphs, pausing between each, but putting no question but on amendments proposed; and when through the whole, he puts the question whether it shall be read a third time? if it came from the other House: or, if originating with themselves, whether it shall be engrossed and read a third time? The speaker reads sitting, but rises to put questions. The clerk stands while he reads.

\*[But the Senate of the United States is so much in the habit of making many and material amendments at the third reading, that it has become the practice not to engross a bill till it has passed.—An irregular and dangerous practice; because, in

\* The former practice of the Senate, referred to in this paragraph, has been changed by the following rule:

[The final question, upon the second reading of every bill, resolution, constitutional amendment, or motion, originating in the Senate, and requiring three readings previous to being passed, shall be, "Whether it shall be engrossed and read a third time?" and no amendment shall be received for discussion at the third reading of any bill, resolution, amendment, or motion, unless by unanimous consent of the members present; but it shall at all times be in order, before the final passage of any such bill, resolution, constitutional amendment, or motion, to move its commitment; and should such commitment take place, and any amendment be reported by the committee, the said bill, resolution, constitutional amendment, or motion, shall be again read a second time, and considered as in committee of the whole, and then the aforesaid question shall be again put. *Rule 29.*]

**this way, the paper which passes the Senate is not that which goes to the other House ; and that which goes to the other House as the act of the Senate, has never been seen in Senate. In reducing numerous, difficult, and illegible amendments into the text, the secretary may, with the most innocent intentions, commit errors, which can never again be corrected.]**

The bill being now as perfect as its friends can make it, this is the proper stage for those fundamentally opposed to make their first attack. All attempts at earlier periods are with disjointed efforts ; because, many who do not expect to be in favour of the bill ultimately, are willing to let it go on to its perfect state, to take time to examine it themselves, and to hear what can be said for it ; knowing that, after all, they will have sufficient opportunities of giving in their veto. Its two last stages, therefore, are reserved for this, that is to say, on the question whether it shall be engrossed and read a third time ? And lastly, whether it shall pass ? The first of these is usually the most interesting contest ; because, then the whole subject is new and engaging, and the minds of the members having not yet been declared by any trying vote, the issue is the more doubtful. In this stage, therefore, is the main trial of strength, between its friends and opponents : and it behoves every one to make up his mind decisively for this question, or he loses the main battle ; and accident and management may, and often do, prevent a successful rallying on the next and last question, whether it shall pass ?

When the bill is engrossed, the title is to be

endorsed on the back, and not within the bill. *Haker.* 250.

SEC. XXXII.—READING PAPERS.

Where papers are laid before the House, or referred to a committee, every member has a right to have them once read at the table, before he can be compelled to vote on them. But it is a great, though common error, to suppose that he has a right, toties quoties, to have acts, journals, accounts or papers on the table, read independently of the will of the House. The delay and interruption which this might be made to produce, evince the impossibility of the existence of such a right. There is, indeed, so manifest a propriety of permitting every member to have as much information as possible on every question on which he is to vote, that when he desires the reading, if it be seen that it is really for information, and not for delay, the speaker directs it to be read, without putting a question, if no one objects. But if objected to, a question must be put. 2 *Hats.* 117, 118.

It is equally an error to suppose that any member has a right, without a question put, to lay a book or paper on the table, or have it read, on suggesting that it contains matter infringing on the privileges of the House. *Ib.*

For the same reason a member has not a right to read a paper in his place, if it be objected to, without leave of the House. But this rigour is never exercised but where there is an intentional or gross abuse of the time and patience of the House.

A member has not a right even to read his own speech, committed to writing, without leave. This also is to prevent an abuse of time ; and therefore is not refused, but where that is intended. 2 *Grey*, 227.

A report of a committee of the Senate on a bill from the House of Representatives being under consideration, on motion that the report of the committee on the House of representatives on the same bill be read in Senate, it passed in the negative ; *Feb. 28, 1793.*

Formerly when papers were referred to a committee, they used to be first read : but of late, only the titles : unless a member insists they shall be read, and then nobody can oppose it. 2 *Hats.* 117.

#### SEC. XXXIII.—PRIVILEGED QUESTIONS.

\*[While a question is before the Senate, no motion shall be received, unless for an amendment, for the previous question, or for postponing the main question, or to commit it, or to adjourn.—*Rule 8.*]

It is no possession of a bill unless it be delivered to the clerk to be read, or the speaker reads

\*This rule has been modified so as to specify the questions entitled to preference.

The rule is now as follows :

[When a question is under debate, no motion shall be received but to adjourn, to lie on the table, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone to a day certain, to commit, or to amend ; which several motions shall have precedence in the order they stand arranged, and the motion for adjournment shall always be in order, and decided without debate.]

the title. *Lex. Parl.* 274. *Elsynge, Mem.* 85. *Ord. House of Commons*, 64.

It is a general rule that the question first moved and seconded shall be first put. *Scob.* 28, 22. 2 *Hats.* 81. But this rule gives way to what may be called privileged questions; and the privileged questions are of different grades among themselves.

A motion to adjourn simply takes place of all others; for otherwise the House might be kept sitting against its will, and indefinitely. Yet this motion cannot be received after another question is actually put, and while the House is engaged in voting.

Orders of the day take place of all other questions, except adjournment. That is to say, the question which is the subject of an order is made a privileged one, *pro hac vice*. The order is a repeal of the general rule as to this special case. When any member moves therefore for the order of the day to be read, no further debate is permitted on the question which was before the House, for if the debate might proceed, it might continue through the day and defeat the order. This motion, to entitle it to precedence, must be for the orders generally, and not for any particular one; and if it be carried on the question, "Whether the House will now proceed to the orders of the day," they must be read and proceeded on in the course in which they stand; 2 *Hats.* 83; for priority of order gives priority of right, which cannot be taken away but by another special order.

After these there are other privileged questions which will require considerable explanation.

It is proper that every parliamentary assembly should have certain forms of question so adapted as to enable them fitly to dispose of every proposition which can be made to them. Such are. 1. The previous question. 2. To postpone indefinitely. 3. To adjourn a question to a definite day. 4. To lie on the table. 5. To commit. 6. To amend. The proper occasion for each of these questions should be understood.

1. When a proposition is moved, which it is useless or inexpedient now to express or discuss, the previous question has been introduced for suppressing for that time the motion and its discussion. 3 *Hats.* 188, 189.

2. But as the previous question gets rid of it only for that day, and the same proposition may recur the next day; if they wish to suppress it for the whole of that session, they postpone it indefinitely. 3 *Hats.* 183. This quashes the proposition for that session, as an indefinite adjournment is a dissolution, or the continuance of a suit, sine die, is a discontinuance of it.

3. When a motion is made which it will be proper to act on, but information is wanted, or something more pressing claims the present time, the question or debate is adjourned to such day within the session as will answer the views of the House. 2 *Hats.* 81. And those who have spoken before may not speak again when the adjourned debate is resumed, 2 *Hats.* 73. Sometimes, however, this has been abusively used by adjourning it to a day beyond the session, to get rid of it altogether, as would be done by an indefinite postponement.

4. When the House has something else which



claims its present attention, but would be willing to reserve in their power to take up a proposition whenever it shall suit them, they order it to lie on their table. It may then be called for at any time.

5. If the proposition will want more amendment and digestion than the formalities of the House will conveniently admit, they refer it to a committee.

6. But if the proposition be well digested, and may need but few and simple amendments, and especially if these be of leading consequence, they then proceed to consider and amend it themselves.

The Senate, in their practice, vary from this regular gradation of forms. Their practice, comparatively with that of parliament, stands thus :

*For the Parliamentary*  
Postponement indefinite,

Adjournment,

Lying on the table

*The Senate uses*  
Postponement to a day beyond the session.

Postponement to a day within the session.

{ Postponement indefinite.  
{ Lying on the table.

In their 8th rule, therefore, which declares that while a question is before the Senate, no motion shall be received, unless it be for the *Pr. Qu.*, or to postpone, commit, or amend the main question, the term postponement must be understood according to their broad use of it, and not in the parliamentary sense. Their rule then establishes as privileged questions, the previous question, postponement, commitment, and amendment.

But it may be asked, have these questions any privilege among themselves? Or are they so equal that the common principle of the "first moved,

first put," takes place among them? This will need explanation. Their competitions may be as follow :

- |                                   |   |  |
|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. Previous Question and Postpone | } | In the 1st, 2d, and 3d, classes, and the first member of the 4th class, the rule "first moved first put," takes place. |
| Commit                            |   |  |
| Amend                             |   |  |
| 2. Postpone and Previous Question | } |  |
| Commit                            |   |  |
| Amend                             |   |  |
| 3. Commit and Previous Question   | } |  |
| Postpone                          |   |  |
| Amend                             |   |  |
| 4. Amend and Previous Question    | } |  |
| Postpone                          |   |  |
| Commit                            |   |  |

In the first class, where the *P. Q.* is first moved, the effect is peculiar. For it not only prevents the after motion to postpone or commit from being put to question before it, but also from being put after it. For, if the *P. Q.* be decided affirmatively, to wit, that the *M. Q.* shall *now* be put, it would of course be against the decision to postpone or commit. And if it be decided negatively, to wit, that the *M. Q.* shall not now be put, this puts the house out of possession of the *M. Q.* and consequently there is nothing before them to postpone or commit. So that neither voting for or against the *P. Q.* will enable the advocates for postponing or committing to get at their object.— Whether it may be amended shall be examined hereafter.

2d class. If postponement be decided affirmatively, the proposition is removed from before the House, and consequently there is no ground for the *Pr. Qu.* commitment, or amendment. But

P

if decided negatively, that it shall not be postponed, the *M. Q.* may then be suppressed by the *P. Q.*, or may be committed, or amended.

The 3d class is subject to the same observations as the 2d.

The 4th class. Amendment of the *M. Q.* first moved, and afterwards the *P. Q.*, the question of amendment shall be first put.

Amendment and postponement competing, postponement is first put, as the equivalent proposition to adjourn the *M. Q.* would be in parliament. The reason is that the question for amendment is not suppressed by postponing or adjourning the *M. Q.* but remains before the House whenever the *M. Q.* is resumed: and it might be that the occasion for other urgent business might go by, and be lost by length of debate on the amendment, if the House had it not in their power to postpone the whole subject.

Amendment and commitment. The question for committing, though last moved, shall be first put: because in truth it facilitates and befriends the motion to amend. *Scobell* is express. "On motion to amend a bill, any one may notwithstanding move to commit it, and the question for commitment shall be first put." *Scob.* 46.

We have hitherto considered the case of two or more of the privileged questions contending for privilege between themselves, when both were moved on the original or *M. Q.*, but now let us suppose one of them to be moved, not on the original primary question, but on the secondary one, *e. g.*

Suppose a motion to postpone, commit or amend

the *M. Q.*, and that it be moved to suppress that motion by putting a previous question on it. This is not allowed: because it would embarrass questions too much to allow them to be piled on one another several stories high; and the same result may be had in a more simple way, by deciding against the postponement, commitment or amendment. 2 *Hats.* 81, 2, 3, 4.

Suppose a motion for the previous question, or commitment or amendment of the main question, and that it be then moved to postpone the motion for the previous question, or for commitment or amendment of the main question. 1. It would be absurd to postpone the previous question, commitment or amendment, alone, and thus separate the appendage from its principal. Yet it must be postponed separately from its original, if at all: because the 8th rule of Senate says that when a main question is before the House no motion shall be received but to commit, amend or pre-question the original question, which is the parliamentary doctrine also. Therefore the motion to postpone the secondary motion for the previous question, or for committing or amending, cannot be received. 2. This is a piling of questions one on another, which, to avoid embarrassment, is not allowed. 3. The same result may be had more simply by voting against the previous question, commitment or amendment.

Suppose a commitment moved of a motion for the previous question, or to postpone or amend. The 1st, 2d and 3d reasons before stated all hold good against this.

Suppose an amendment moved to a motion for

the previous question. Answer. The previous question cannot be amended. Parliamentary usage, as well as the 9th rule of the Senate, has fixed its form to be "shall the main question be now put?" *i. e.* at this instant. And as the present instant is but one, it can admit of no modification. To change it to to-morrow, or any other moment, is without example, and without utility. But suppose a motion to amend a motion for postponement, as to one day instead of another; or to a special, instead of an indefinite time. The useful character of amendment gives it a privilege of attaching itself to a secondary and privileged motion. That is, we may amend a postponement of a main question. So we may amend a commitment of a main question, as by adding, for example, "with instructions to inquire, &c." In like manner, if an amendment be moved to an amendment, it is admitted. But it would not be admitted in another degree; to wit, to amend an amendment to an amendment, of a *M. Q.* This would lead to too much embarrassment. The line must be drawn somewhere, and usage has drawn it after the amendment to the amendment. The same result must be sought by deciding against the amendment to the amendment, and then moving it again as it was wished to be amended. In this form it becomes only an amendment to an amendment.

[When motions are made for reference of the same subject to a select committee, and to a standing committee, the question on reference to the standing committee shall be first put. *Rule 35.*]

[In filling a blank with a sum, the largest sum shall be first put to the question by the 13th rule

of the Senate,\*] contrary to the rule of parliament, which privileges the smallest sum and longest time. 5 *Grey*, 179. 2 *Hats*. 8, 83. 3 *Hats*. 132, 133. And this is considered to be not in the form of an amendment to the question, but as alternative or successive originals. In all cases of time or number, we must consider whether the larger comprehends the lesser, as in a question to what day a postponement shall be, the number of a committee, amount of a fine, term of an imprisonment, term of irredeemability of a loan, or the terminus in quiet, in any other case. Then the question must begin a maximo. Or whether the lesser includes the greater, as in questions on the limitation of the rate of interest, on what day the session shall be closed by adjournment, on what day the next shall commence, when an act shall commence, or the terminus a quo in any other case, where the question must begin a minimo. The object being not to begin at that extreme, which, and more, being within every man's wish, no one could negative it, and yet, if he should vote in the affirmative, every question for more would be precluded; but at that extreme which would unite few, and then to advance or recede till you get to a number which will unite a bare majority. 3 *Grey*, 376, 284, 385. "The fair question in this case is not that to which and more all will agree, but whether there shall be addition to the question." 1 *Grey*, 365.

Another exception to the rule of priority is when

\*In filling up blanks, the largest sum and longest time shall be first put. *Rule* 13.

a motion has been made to strike out, or agree to a paragraph. Motions to amend it are to be put to the question before a vote is taken on striking out, or agreeing to the whole paragraph.

But there are several questions, which, being incidental to every one, will take place of every one, privileged or not; to wit, a question of order arising out of any other question, must be decided before that question. 2 *Hats.* 88.

A matter of privilege arising out of any question, or from a quarrel between two members, or any other cause, supersedes the consideration of the original question, and must be first disposed of. 2 *Hats.* 88.

Reading papers relative to the question before the House. This question must be put before the principal one. 2 *Hats.* 83.

Leave asked to withdraw a motion. The rule of parliament being that a motion made and seconded is in the possession of the House, and cannot be withdrawn without leave, the very terms of the rule imply that leave may be given, and consequently may be asked and put to the question.

#### SEC. XXXIV.—THE PREVIOUS QUESTION.

When any question is before the House, any member may move a previous question, "whether that question (called the main question) shall now be put?" If it pass in the affirmative, then the main question is to be put immediately, and no man may speak any thing further to it, either to add or alter. *Memor. in Hakew.* 28. 4 *Grey,* 27.

The previous question being moved and seconded, the question from the chair shall be, "Shall

the main question be now put?" and if the nays prevail, the main question shall not then be put.

This kind of question is understood by Mr. Hatsell to have been introduced in 1604. 2 *Hats.* 80. Sir Henry Vane introduced it. 2 *Grey*, 113, 114. 3 *Grey*, 384. When the question was put in this form, "Shall the main question be put?" A determination in the negative suppressed the main question during the session; but since the words "now put" are used, they exclude it for the present only. Formerly indeed only till the present debate was over, 4 *Grey*, 43, but now for that day and no longer. 2 *Grey*, 113, 114.

Before the question "Whether the main question shall now be put?" any person might formerly have spoken to the main question, because otherwise he would be precluded from speaking to it at all. *Mem. in Hakew.* 28.

The proper occasion for the previous question, is when a subject is brought forward of a delicate nature as to high personages, &c., or the discussion of which may call forth observations which might be of injurious consequences. Then the previous question is proposed: and, in the modern usage, the discussion of the main question is suspended, and the debate confined to the previous question. The use of it has been extended abusively to other cases: but in these it has been an embarrassing procedure: its uses would be as well answered by other more simple parliamentary forms, and therefore it should not be favoured, but restricted within as narrow limits as possible.

Whether a main question may be amended after the previous question on it has been moved and seconded? 2 *Hats.* 88, says, if the previous ques-



tion has been moved and seconded, and also proposed from the chair, (by which he means stated by the speaker for debate,) it has been doubted whether an amendment can be admitted to the main question. He thinks it may, after the previous question moved and seconded; but not after it has been proposed from the chair. In this case, he thinks the friends to the amendment must vote that the main question be not now put; and then move their amended question, which being made new by the amendment, is no longer the same which has been just suppressed, and therefore may be proposed as a new one. But this proceeding certainly endangers the main question, by dividing its friends, some of whom may choose it unamended, rather than lose it altogether: while others of them may vote, as Hatsell advises, that the main question be not now put, with a view to move it again in an amended form. The enemies of the main question, by this manœuvre to the previous question, get the enemies to the amendment added to them on the first vote, and throw the friends of the main question under the embarrassment of rallying again as they can. To support his opinion, too, he makes the deciding circumstance, whether an amendment may or may not be made, to be, that the previous question has been proposed from the chair. But, as the rule is that the House is in possession of a question as soon as it is moved and seconded, it cannot be more than possessed of it by its being also proposed from the chair. It may be said, indeed, that the object of the previous question being to get rid of a question, which it is not expedient should be discussed, this object

may be defeated by moving to amend, and, in the discussion of that motion, involving the subject of the main question. But so may the object of the previous question be defeated, by moving the amended question, as Mr. Hatsell proposes, after the decision against putting the original question. He acknowledges, too, that the practice has been to admit previous amendments, and only cites a few late instances to the contrary. On the whole, I should think it best to decide it *ab inconvenienti*, to wit: which is most inconvenient, to put it in the power of one side of the House to defeat a proposition by hastily moving the previous question, and thus forcing the main question to be put unamended; or to put it in the power of the other side to force on, incidentally at least, a discussion which would be better avoided? Perhaps the last is the least inconvenience; inasmuch as the speaker, by confining the discussion rigorously to the amendment only, may prevent their going into the main question, and inasmuch also as so great a proportion of the cases in which the previous question is called for, are fair and proper subjects of public discussion, and ought not to be obstructed by a formality introduced for questions of a peculiar character.

SEC. XXXV.—AMENDMENTS.

On an amendment being moved, a member who has spoken to the main question may speak again to the amendment. *Scob. 23.*

If an amendment be proposed inconsistent with one already agreed to, it is a fit ground for its rejection by the House; but not within the competence of the speaker to suppress as if it were

against order. For were he permitted to draw questions of consistence within the vortex of order, he might usurp a negative on important modifications, and suppress, instead of subserving, the legislative will.

Amendments may be made so as totally to alter the nature of the proposition, and it is a way of getting rid of a proposition by making it bear a sense different from what it was intended by the movers, so that they vote against it themselves. 2 *Hats.* 79, 4, 82, 84. A new bill may be ingrafted by way of amendment on the words "Be it enacted, &c." 1 *Grey*, 190, 192.

If it be proposed to amend by leaving out certain words, it may be moved as an amendment to this amendment to leave out a part of the words of the amendment, which is equivalent to leaving them in the bill. 2 *Hats.* 80, 9. The parliamentary question is, always, whether the words shall stand part of the bill?

When it is proposed to amend by inserting a paragraph, or part of one, the friends of the paragraph may make it as perfect as they can by amendments, before the question is put for inserting it. If it be received, it cannot be amended afterwards, in the same stage; because the House has, on a vote, agreed to it in that form. In like manner if it is proposed to amend by striking out a paragraph, the friends of the paragraph are first to make it as perfect as they can by amendments, before the question is put for striking it out. If on the question it be retained, it cannot be amended afterwards: because a vote against striking out is equivalent to a vote agreeing to it in that form.

When it is moved to amend, by striking out

certain words, and inserting others, the manner of stating the question is first to read the whole passage to be amended as it stands at present, then the words proposed to be struck out, next those to be inserted, and lastly the whole passage as it will be when amended. And the question, if desired, is then to be divided, and put first on striking out. If carried, it is next on inserting the words proposed. If that be lost, it may be moved to insert others. 2 *Hats.* 80, 7.

A motion is made to amend by striking out certain words and inserting others in their place, which is negatived. Then it is moved to strike out the same words, and to insert others of a tenor entirely different from those first proposed. It is negatived. Then it is moved to strike out the same words and insert nothing, which is agreed to. All this is admissible; because to strike out and insert A, is one proposition. To strike out and insert B, is a different proposition. And to strike out and insert nothing, is still different. And the rejection of one proposition does not preclude the offering a different one. Nor would it change the case were the first motion divided by putting the question first on striking out, and that negatived. For as putting the whole motion to the question at once would not have precluded, the putting the half of it cannot do it.\*

\*In the case of a division of the question and a decision against striking out, I advance doubtfully the opinion here expressed. I find no authority either way; and I know it may be viewed under a different aspect. It may be thought that, having decided separately not to strike out the passage, the same question for striking out cannot be put over again,

But if it had been carried affirmatively to strike out the words and to insert A, it could not afterwards be permitted to strike out A, and insert B. The mover of B should have notified, while the insertion of A was under debate, that he would move to insert B. In which case those who preferred it would join in rejecting A.

After A is inserted, however, it may be moved to strike out a portion of the original paragraph, comprehending A, provided the coherence to be struck out be so substantial as to make this effectively a different proposition. For then it is resolved into the common case of striking out a paragraph after amending it. Nor does any thing forbid a new insertion, instead of A and its coherence.

In Senate, January 25, 1798, a motion to postpone until the second Tuesday in February some amendments proposed to the constitution; the words, "until the second Tuesday in February," were struck out by way of amendment. Then it was moved to add, "until the first day of June." Objected that it was not in order, as the question should be first put on the longest time; therefore, after a shorter time decided against, a longer cannot be put to question. It was answered that this rule takes place only in filling blanks for time.— But when a specific time stands part of a motion, that may be struck out as well as any other part

though with a view to a different insertion. Still I think it more reasonable and convenient to consider the striking out, and insertion, as forming one proposition; but should readily yield to any evidence that the contrary is the practice in parliament.

of the motion ; and when struck out, a motion may be received to insert any other. In fact, it is not until they are struck out, and a blank for the time thereby produced, that the rule can begin to operate, by receiving all the propositions for different times, and putting the questions successively on the longest. Otherwise it would be in the power of the mover, by inserting originally a short time, to preclude the possibility of a longer. For till the short time is struck out, you cannot insert a longer ; and if, after it is struck out, you cannot do it, then it cannot be done at all. Suppose the first motion had been to amend by striking out "the second Tuesday in February," and inserting instead thereof "the first of June," it would have been regular, then, to divide the question, by proposing first the question to strike out, and then that to insert. Now this is precisely the effect of the present proceeding ; only instead of one motion and two questions, there are two motions and two questions, to effect it : the motion being divided as well as the question.

When the matter contained in two bills might be better put into one, the manner is to reject the one, and incorporate its matter into another bill by way of amendment. So if the matter of one bill would be better distributed into two, any part may be struck out by way of amendment, and put into a new bill. If a section is to be transposed, a question must be put on striking it out where it stands, and another for inserting it in the place desired.

A bill passed by the one House with blanks. These may be filled up by the other by way of

amendments, returned to the first, as such, and passed. 3 *Hats.* 83.

The number prefixed to the section of a bill, being merely a marginal indication, and no part of the text of the bill, the clerk regulates that—the House or committee is only to amend the text.

SEC. XXXVI.—DIVISION OF THE QUESTION.

If a question contains more parts than one, it may be divided into two or more questions. *Mem. in Hakew.* 29. But not as the right of an individual member, but with the consent of the House. For who is to decide whether a question is complicated or not? where it is complicated? into how many propositions it may be divided? The fact is; that the only mode of separating a complicated question is by moving amendments to it; and these must be decided by the House, on a question; unless the House orders it to be divided; as on the question, Dec. 2, 1640, making void the election of the knights for Worcester, on a motion it was resolved to make two questions of it, to wit, one on each knight. 2 *Hats.* 85, 86. So wherever there are several names in a question, they may be divided and put one by one. 9 *Grey*, 444. So 1729, April 17, on an objection that a question was complicated, it was separated by amendment. 2 *Hats.* 79.

The soundness of these observations will be evident from the embarrassments produced by the 12th rule of the Senate, which says, “if the question in debate contain several points, any member may have the same divided.”

1798, May 30, the alien bill in quasi-committee.

To a section and proviso in the original, had been added two new provisos by way of amendment. On a motion to strike out the section as amended, the question was desired to be divided. To do this it must be put first on striking out either the former proviso, or some distinct member of the section. But when nothing remains but the last member of the section and the provisos, they cannot be divided so as to put the last member to question by itself; for the provisos might thus be left standing alone as exceptions to a rule when the rule is taken away; or the new provisos might be left to a second question, after having been decided on once before at the same reading; which is contrary to rule. But the question must be on striking out the last member of the section as amended. This sweeps away the exceptions with the rule, and relieves from inconsistency.— A question to be divisible, must comprehend points so distinct and entire, that one of them being taken away, the other may stand entire. But a proviso or exception, without an enacting clause, does not contain an entire point or proposition.

May 31. The same bill being before the Senate. There was a proviso that the bill should not extend, 1. To any foreign minister; nor 2. To any person to whom the president should give a passport; nor 3. To any alien merchant conforming himself to such regulations as the president shall prescribe; and a division of the question into its simplest elements was called for. It was divided into 4 parts, the 4th taking in the words “conforming himself” &c. It was objected that the words “any alien merchant” could not be separated from their modi-



fying words "conforming," &c., because these words, if left by themselves, contain no substantive idea, will make no sense. But admitting that the divisions of a paragraph into separate questions must be so made as that each part may stand by itself, yet the House having, on the question, retained the two first divisions, the words "any alien merchant" may be struck out, and their modifying words will then attach themselves to the preceding description of persons, and become a modification of that description.

When a question is divided, after the question on the 1st number, the 2d is open to debate and amendment: because it is a known rule that a person may rise and speak at any time before the question has been completely decided, by putting the negative as well as affirmative side. But the question is not completely put when the vote has been taken on the first member only. One half of the question, both affirmative and negative, remains still to be put. See *Execut. Journ. June. 25, 1795.* The same decision by President Adams.

#### SEC. XXXVII.—CO-EXISTING QUESTION.

It may be asked whether the House can be in possession of two motions or propositions at the same time? So that, one of them being decided, the other goes to question without being moved anew? The answer must be special. When a question is interrupted by a vote of adjournment, it is thereby removed from before the House, and does not stand ipso facto before them at their next meeting: but must come forward in the usual way. So, when it is interrupted by the order of the day such other privileged questions also as dispose of

the main question (*e. g.* the previous question, postponement or commitment) remove it from before the House. But it is only suspended by a motion to amend, to withdraw, to read papers, or by a question of order or privilege, and stands again before the House when these are decided. None but the class of privileged questions can be brought forward while there is another question before the House, the rule being that when a motion has been made and seconded, no other can be received, except it be a privileged one.

SEC. XXXVIII.—EQUIVALENT QUESTIONS.

If, on a question for rejection, a bill be retained, it passes of course to its next reading. *Hakew.* 141. *Scob.* 42. And a question for a second reading, determined negatively, is a rejection without farther question, 4 *Grey*, 149. And see *Elsynge's Memor.* 42, in what cases questions are to be taken for rejection.

Where questions are perfectly equivalent, so that the negative of the one amounts to the affirmative of the other, and leaves no other alternative, the decision of the one concludes necessarily the other. 4 *Grey*, 157. Thus the negative of striking out amounts to the affirmative of agreeing; and therefore to put a question on agreeing after that on striking out, would be to put the same question in effect twice over. Not so in questions of amendments between the two Houses. A motion to recede being negatived, does not amount to a positive vote to insist, because there is another alternative, to wit, to adhere.

A bill originating in one House, is passed by the other with an amendment. A motion in the originating House to agree to the amendment is negatived. Does there result from this a vote of disagreement, or must the question on disagreement be expressly voted? The questions respecting amendments from another House are, 1st, to agree; 2d, disagree; 3d, recede; 4th, insist; 5th, adhere.

1. To agree. } Either of these concludes the other  
 2. To disagree. } necessarily, for the positive of either  
                               } is exactly the equivalent of the negative of the other, and no other alternative remains. On either motion amendments to the amendment may be proposed; *e. g.* if it be moved to disagree, those who are for the amendment have a right to propose amendments, and to make it as perfect as they can, before the question of disagreeing is put.

3. To recede. } You may then either insist or adhere.  
 4. To insist. } \_\_\_\_\_ recede or adhere.  
 5. To adhere. } \_\_\_\_\_ recede or insist.

Consequently the negative of these is not equivalent to a positive vote, the other way. It does not raise so necessary an implication as may authorise the secretary by inference to enter another vote; for two alternatives still remain, either of which may be adopted by the House.

#### SEC. XXXIX.—THE QUESTION.

The question is to be put first on the affirmative side, and then on the negative.

After the speaker has put the affirmative part of the question, any member who has not spoken be-

fore to the question, may rise and speak before the negative be put. Because it is no full question till the negative part be put. *Scob.* 23. 2 *Hats.* 73.

But in small matters, and which are of course, such as receiving petitions, reports, withdrawing motions, reading papers, &c. the speaker most commonly supposes the consent of the House where no objection is expressed, and does not give them the trouble of putting the question formally. *Scob.* 22. 2 *Hats.* 87. 2. 87. 5 *Grey*, 129. 9 *Grey*, 301.

#### SEC. XL.—BILLS, THIRD READING.

To prevent bills from being passed by surprise, the House by a standing order, directs that they shall not be put on their passage before a fixed hour, naming one at which the House is commonly full. *Hakew.* 153.

[The usage of the Senate is not to put bills on their passage till noon.]

A bill reported and passed to the third reading cannot on that day be read the third time and passed. Because this would be to pass on two readings in the same day.

At the third reading the clerk reads the bill and delivers it to the speaker, who states the title, that it is the third time of reading the bill, and the question will be whether it shall pass? Formerly the speaker, or those who prepared a bill, prepared also a breviate or summary statement of its contents, which the speaker read when he declared the state of the bill, at the several readings. Sometimes, however, he read the bill itself,

especially on its passage. *Hakew.* 136, 137, 153. *Coke.* 22, 115. Latterly, instead of this, he, at the third reading, states the whole contents of the bill verbatim, only instead of reading the formal parts, "Be it enacted," &c. he states that "the preamble recites so and so—the 1st section enacts that, &c.; the 2d section enacts," &c.

[But in the Senate of the United States, both of these formalities are dispensed with; the breviatè presenting but an imperfect view of the bill, and being capable of being made to present a false one; and the full statement being a useless waste of time, immediately after a full reading by the clerk; and especially as every member has a printed copy in his hand.]

A bill on the third reading is not to be committed for the matter or body thereof; but to receive some particular clause or proviso, it hath been sometimes suffered, but as a thing very unusual, *Hakew.* 156; thus, 27 *El.* 1584, a bill was committed on the third reading, having been formerly committed on the 2d, but is declared not usual. *D'Ewes*, 337. *col.* 2, 414. *col.* 2.

When an essential provision has been omitted, rather than erase the bill, and render it suspicious, they add a clause on a separate paper, engrossed and called a rider, which is read and put to the question three times. *Elsynge's Memorials* 59. 6 *Grey*, 335. 1 *Blackst.* 183. For example of riders, see 3 *Hats.* 121, 122, 124, 126. Every one is at liberty to bring in a rider without asking leave. 10 *Grey*, 52.

It is laid down as a general rule, that amendments proposed at the second reading shall be

twice read, and those proposed at the third reading thrice read; as also all amendments from the other House. *Town. col.* 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.

It is with great and almost invincible reluctance, that amendments are admitted at this reading, which occasion erasures or interlineations. Sometimes a proviso has been cut off from a bill; sometimes erased. 9 *Grey*, 513.

This is the proper stage for filling up blanks; for if filled up before, and now altered by erasure, it would be peculiarly unsafe.

At this reading the bill is debated afresh, and for the most part is more spoken to, at this time, than on any of the former readings. *Hakew.* 153.

The debate on the question whether it should be read a third time? has discovered to its friends and opponents the arguments on which each side relies, and which of these appear to have influence with the House; they have had time to meet them with new arguments, and to put their old ones into new shapes. The former vote has tried the strength of the first opinion, and furnished grounds to estimate the issue; and the question now offered for its passage, is the last occasion which is ever to be offered for carrying or rejecting it.

When the debate is ended, the speaker, holding the bill in his hand, puts the question for its passage, by saying, "gentlemen, all you who are of opinion that this bill shall pass, say ay," and after the answer of the ayes, "all those of the contrary opinion say no."—*Hakew.* 154.

After the bill is passed, there can be no further alteration of it in any point. *Hakew.* 159.

## SEC. XLI.—DIVISION OF THE HOUSE.

The affirmative and negative of the question having been both put and answered, the speaker declares whether the yeas or nays have it by the sound, if he be himself satisfied, and it stands as the judgment of the House. But if he be not himself satisfied which voice is the greater, or if, before any other member comes into the House, or before any new motion made, (for it is too late after that,) any member shall rise and declare himself dissatisfied with the speaker's decision, then the speaker is to divide the House. *Scob.* 24. 2 *Hats.* 140.

When the House of Commons is divided, the one party goes forth, and the other remains in the House. This has made it important which go forth and which remain; because the latter gain all the indolent, the indifferent, and inattentive.—Their general rule, therefore, is, that those who give their vote for the preservation of the orders of the House, shall stay in; and those who are for introducing any new matter or alteration, or proceeding contrary to the established course, are to go out. But this rule is subject to many exceptions and modifications. 2 *Hats.* 134. 1 *Rush*, p. 3, fol 92. *Scob.* 43, 52. *Co.* 12, 116. *D'Ewes*, 505. col. 1. *Mem. in Hakew.* 25, 29, as will appear by the following statement of who go forth;

Petition that it be received,*	-	} Ayes.
Read,	- - - -	
Lie on the table,	- - - -	} Noes.
Rejected after refusal to lie on table,		

\* Noes. 9 Grey 365.

Referred to a committee, or farther proceeding, . . . . .	}	Ayes.
Bill, that it be brought in, . . . . .		}
Read first or second time, . . . . .		
Engrossed or read third time, . . . . .		
Proceeding on every other stage, . . . . .		
Committed, . . . . .		
To committee of the whole, . . . . .		Noes.
To a select committee, . . . . .		Ayes.
Report of bill to lie on table, . . . . .		Noes.
Be <i>now</i> read, . . . . .	}	Ayes.
Be taken into consideration three months hence, . . . . .		30, P. J. 251.
Amendments be read a second time, . . . . .		Noes.
Clause offered on report of bill be read second time, . . . . .	}	Ayes.
For receiving a clause, . . . . .		334
With amendments be engrossed, . . . . .		395
That a bill be <i>now</i> read a third time, . . . . .		Noes. 398
Receive a rider, . . . . .	}	260
Pass, . . . . .		Ayes. 259
Be printed, . . . . .		
Committees. That A take the chair, . . . . .	}	
To agree to the whole or any part of report, . . . . .		
That the House do <i>now</i> resolve into committee, . . . . .		
Speaker. That he now leave the chair after order to go into committee, . . . . .	}	Noes. 291
That he issue warrant for a new writ, . . . . .		
Member. That none be absent without leave, . . . . .	}	
Witness. That he be further examined, . . . . .		Ayes. 344



Previous question, . . . . .	Noes.
Blanks. That they be filled with the largest sum, . . . . .	} Ayes.
Amendments. That words stand part of	
Lords. That their amendment be read a second time, . . . . .	} Noes.
Messenger be received, . . . . .	
Orders of day to be now read, if before 2 o'clock, . . . . .	} Ayes.
If after 2 o'clock, . . . . .	
Adjournment. Till the next sitting day, if before 4 o'clock, . . . . .	} Ayes.
If after 4 o'clock, . . . . .	
Over a sitting day, (unless a previous resolution.) . . . . .	} Ayes.
Over the 30th of January, . . . . .	
For sitting on Sunday, or any other day, not being a sitting day, }	Ayes.

The one party being gone forth, the speaker names two tellers from the affirmative, and two from the negative side, who first count those sitting in the House, and report the number to the speaker. Then they place themselves within the door, two on each side, and count those who went forth, as they come in, and report the number to the speaker. *Men. in Hakew.* 26.

A mistake in the report of the tellers may be rectified after the report made. 2 *Hats.* 145, *note.*

[But in both Houses of Congress all these intricacies are avoided. The ayes first rise and are counted, standing in their places, by the president or speaker. Then they sit, and the noes rise and are counted in like manner.]

[In Senate, if they be equally divided, the vice-president announces his opinion, which decides.]

[The Constitution, however, has directed that "the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal." And again, that in all cases of reconsidering a bill, disapproved by the president, and returned with his objections, "the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill, shall be entered on the journals of each House respectively."]

[By the 16th and 17th rules of the Senate, when the yeas and nays shall be called for by one-fifth of the members present, each member called upon shall, unless for special reasons he be excused by the Senate, declare, openly and without debate, his assent or dissent to the question. In taking the yeas and nays, and upon the call of the House, the names of the members shall be taken alphabetically.]

[When the yeas and nays shall be taken upon any question, in pursuance of the above rule, no member shall be permitted, under any circumstances whatever, to vote after the decision is announced from the chair.]

[When it is proposed to take the vote by yeas and nays, the president or speaker states that "the question is whether, *e. g.* the bill shall pass? that it is proposed that the yeas and nays shall be entered on the journal. Those therefore, who desire it will rise." If he finds and declares that one-fifth have risen, he then states that "those who are of

opinion that the bill shall pass, are to answer in the affirmative; those of the contrary opinion in the negative." The clerk then calls over the names alphabetically, notes the yea and nay of each, and gives the list to the president or speaker, who declares the result. In Senate, if there be an equal division, the secretary calls on the vice-president, and notes his affirmative or negative, which becomes the decision of the House.]

In the House of Commons, every member must give his vote the one way or the other. *Scob.* 24. As it is not permitted to any one to withdraw who is in the House when the question is put, nor is any one to be told in the division who was not in when the question was put. 2 *Hats.* 140.

This last position is always true when the vote is by yeas and nays; where the negative as well as affirmative of the question is stated by the president at the same time, and the vote of both sides begins and proceeds *pari passu*. It is true also when the question is put in the usual way, if the negative has also been put. But if it has not, the member entering, or any other member, may speak, and even propose amendments, by which the debate may be opened again, and the question be greatly deferred. And as some who have answered aye, may have been changed by the new arguments, the affirmative must be put over again. If, then, the member entering may, by speaking a few words, occasion a repetition of the question, it would be useless to deny it on his simple call for it.

While the House is telling, no member may speak, or move out of his place; for if any mis-

take be suspected, it must be told again. *Mem. in Hakew.* 26. 2 *Hats.* 143.

If any difficulty arises in point of order during the division, the speaker is to decide peremptorily, subject to the future censure of the House if irregular. He sometimes permits old experienced members to assist him with their advice, which they do, sitting in their seats, covered, to avoid the appearance of debate; but this can only be with the speaker's leave, else the division might last several Hours. 2 *Hats.* 143.

The voice of the majority decides. For the *lex majoris partis* is the law of all councils, elections, &c., where not otherwise expressly provided.—*Hakew.* 93. But if the House be equally divided, “*semper presumatur pro negante;*” that is, the former law is not to be changed but by a majority. *Towns. col.* 134.

[But in the Senate of the United States, the vice-president decides, when the House is divided. *Const. U. S.* 1. 3.]

When, from counting the House, on a division, it appears that there is not a quorum, the matter continues exactly in the state in which it was before the division, and must be resumed at that point on any future day. 2 *Hats.* 126.

1606, May 1, on a question whether a member having said yea, may afterwards sit and change his opinion? a precedent was remembered by the speaker, of Mr. Morris, attorney of the wards in 39 *Eliz.* who in like case changed his opinion. *Mew. in Hakew* 27.

## SEC. XLII.—TITLES.

After the bill has passed, and not before, the title may be amended, and is to be fixed by a question; and the bill is then sent to the other House.

## SEC. XLIII.—RECONSIDERATION.

[When a question has been once made, and carried in the affirmative or negative, it shall be in order for any member of the majority to move for the reconsideration thereof, but no motion for the reconsideration of any vote shall be in order after a bill, resolution, message, report, amendment, or motion upon which the vote was taken, shall have gone out of the possession of the Senate, announcing their decision; nor shall any motion for reconsideration be in order, unless made on the same day on which the vote was taken, or within the two next days of actual session of the Senate thereafter.\* *Rule 20.*]

1798, Jan. A bill on its second reading being amended, and on the question whether it shall be read a third time, negatived, was restored by a decision to reconsider that question. Here the votes of negative and reconsideration, like positive and negative quantities in equation, destroy one another, and are as if they were expunged from the journals. Consequently, the bill is open for amendment, just so far as it was the moment preceding the question for the third reading: that is to say, all parts of the bill are open for amendment, except those on which votes have been al-

\* This part of the Rule has been added since the Manual was compiled.

ready taken in its present stage. So, also, it may be recommitted.]

\*[The rule permitting a reconsideration of a question, affixing to it no limitation of time or circumstance, it may be asked whether there is no limitation? If, after the vote, the paper on which it is passed has been parted with, there can be no reconsideration: as if a vote has been for the passage of a bill, and the bill has been sent to the other House. But where the paper remains, as on a bill rejected; when, or under what circumstances does it cease to be susceptible of reconsideration? This remains to be settled; unless a sense that the right consideration is a right to waste the time of the House in repeated agitations of the same question, so that it shall never know when a question is done with, should induce them to reform this anomalous proceeding.]

In parliament, a question once carried, cannot be questioned again, at the same session; but must stand as the judgment of the House. *Towns. col.* 67. *Mem. in Hakew.* 33. And a bill once rejected, another of the same substance cannot be brought in again the same session. *Hakew.* 158. 6 *Grey*, 392. But this does not extend to prevent putting the same question in different stages of a bill; because every stage of a bill submits the whole and every part of it to the opinion of the House, as open for amendment, either by insertion or omission, though the same amendment has been accepted or rejected in a former stage. So in reports of committees, *e. g.* report of an address, the

\*The Rule now fixes a limitation.

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same question is before the House, and open for free discussion. *Towns. col.* 26. 2 *Hats.* 98, 100, 101. So orders of the House, or instructions to committees, may be discharged. So a bill, begun in one House, and sent to the other, and there rejected, may be renewed again in that other, passed and sent back. *Ib.* 92. 3 *Hats.* 161. Or, if instead of being rejected, they read it once and lay it aside, or amend it, and put it off a month, they may order in another to the same effect, with the same or a different title. *Hakew.* 97, 98.

Divers expedients are used to correct the effects of this rule; as by passing an explanatory act, if any thing has been omitted or ill expressed, 3 *Hats.* 278, or an act to enforce, and make more effectual an act, &c., or to rectify mistakes in an act, &c., or a committee on one bill may be instructed to receive a clause to rectify the mistakes of another. Thus, June 24, 1685, a clause was inserted in a bill for rectifying a mistake committed by a clerk in engrossing a bill of supply. 2 *Hats.* 194, 6. Or the session may be closed for one, two, three, or more days, and a new one commenced. But then all matters depending must be finished, or they fall, and are to begin de novo. 2 *Hats.* 94, 98. Or a part of the subject may be taken up by another bill, or taken up in a different way. 6 *Grey,* 304, 316.

And in cases of the last magnitude, this rule has not been so strictly and verbally observed as to stop indispensable proceedings altogether. 2 *Hats.* 92, 98. Thus when the address on the preliminaries of peace in 1782 had been lost by a majority of one, on account of the importance of the ques-

tion, and smallness of the majority, the same question, in substance, though with some words not in the first, and which might change the opinion of some members, was brought on again and carried ; as the motives for it were thought to outweigh the objection of form. 2 *Hats.* 99, 100.

A second bill may be passed to continue an act of the same session ; or to enlarge the time limited for its execution. 2 *Hats.* 95, 98. This is not in contradiction to the first act.

SEC. XLIV.—BILLS SENT TO THE OTHER HOUSE.

[All bills passed in Senate, shall, before they are sent to the House of Representatives, be examined by a committee, consisting of three members, whose duty it shall be to examine all bills, amendments, resolutions, or motions, before they go out of the possession of the Senate, and to make report that they are correctly engrossed ; which report shall be entered on the journal. *Rule 33.*]

A bill from the other House is sometimes ordered to lie on the table. 2 *Hats.* 97.

When bills, passed in one House and sent to the other, are grounded on special facts requiring proof, it is usual, either by message, or at a conference, to ask the grounds and evidence ; and this evidence, whether arising out of papers, or from the examination of witnesses, is immediately communicated. 3 *Hats.* 48.

SEC. XLV.—AMENDMENTS BETWEEN THE HOUSES.

When either House, *e. g.* the House of Commons, send a bill to the other, the other may pass it with amendments. The regular progression in this case is, that the commons disagree to the



amendment ; the lords insist on it ; the commons insist on their disagreement ; the lords adhere to their amendment ; the commons adhere to their disagreement. The term of insisting may be repeated as often as they choose to keep the question open. But the first adherence by either renders it necessary for the other to recede or adhere also ; when the matter is usually suffered to fall. 10 *Grey*, 148. Latterly, however, there are instances of their having gone to a second adherence. There must be an absolute conclusion of the subject somewhere, or otherwise transactions between the Houses would become endless. 3 *Hats*. 268, 270. The term of insisting, we are told, by Sir John Trevor, was then (1679) newly introduced into parliamentary usage, by the lords. 7 *Grey*, 94. It was certainly a happy innovation, as it multiplies the opportunities of trying modifications which may bring the Houses to concurrence. Either House, however, is free to pass over the term of insisting, and to adhere in the first instance. 10 *Grey*, 146. But it is not respectful to the other. In the ordinary parliamentary course, there are two free conferences at least before an adherence. 10 *Gray*, 147.

Either House may recede from its amendment and agree to the bill ; or recede from their disagreement to the amendment, and agree to the same absolutely, or with an amendment. For here the disagreement and receding destroy one another, and the subject stands as before the disagreement. *Elsynge*, 23, 27. 9 *Grey*, 476.

But the House cannot recede from, or insist on its own amendment, with an amendment : for the

same reason that it cannot send to the other House an amendment to its own act after it has passed the act. They may modify an amendment from the other House by ingrafting an amendment on it, because they have never assented to it; but they cannot amend their own amendment, because they have, on the question, passed it in that form. 9 *Grey*, 363. 10 *Grey*, 240. In Senate, March 29, 1798. Nor where one House has adhered to their amendment, and the other agrees with an amendment, can the first House depart from the form which they have fixed by an adherence.

In the case of a money bill, the lords proposed amendments, become, by delay, confessedly necessary. The commons however refused them, as infringing on their privilege as to money bills; but they offered themselves to add to the bill a proviso to the same effect, which had no coherence with the lord's amendments; and urged that it was an expedient warranted by precedent, and not unparliamentary in a case become impracticable, and irremediable in any other way. 3 *Hats*. 256, 266, 270, 271. But the lords refused, and the bill was lost. 1 *Chand*. 288. A like case, 1 *Chand*. 311. So the commons resolve that it is unparliamentary to strike out at a conference any thing in a bill which hath been agreed and passed by both Houses. 6 *Grey*, 274. 1 *Chand*. 312.

A motion to amend an amendment from the other House, takes precedence of a motion to agree or disagree.

A bill originating in one House is passed by the other with an amendment.

The originating House agrees to their amend-

ment with an amendment. The other may agree to their amendment with an amendment; that being only the 2d and not the 3d degree. For, as to the amending House, the first amendment with which they passed the bill, is a part of its text; it is the only text they have agreed to. The amendment to that text by the originating House, therefore, is only in the 1st degree, and the amendment to that again by the amending House is only in the 2d, to wit, an amendment to an amendment, and so admissible. Just so, when, on a bill from the originating House, the other, at its 2d reading, makes an amendment; on the 3d reading this amendment is become the text of the bill, and if an amendment to it be moved, an amendment to that amendment may also be moved, as being only in the 2d degree.

#### SEC. XLVI.—CONFERENCES.

It is on the occasion of amendments between the Houses that conferences are usually asked: but they may be asked in all cases of difference of opinion between the two Houses on matters depending between them. The request of a conference, however, must always be by the House which is possessed of the papers. 3 *Hats.* 31. 1 *Grey*, 425.

Conferences may be either simple or free. At a conference simply, written reasons are prepared by the House asking it, and they are read and delivered without debate to the managers of the other House at the conference; but are not then to be answered. 4 *Grey*, 144. The other House then, if satisfied, vote the reasons satisfactory,

or say nothing: if not satisfied, they resolve them not satisfactory, and ask a conference on the subject of the last conference, where they read and deliver in like manner written answers to those reasons. 3 *Grey*, 183. They are meant chiefly to record the justification of each House to the nation at large, and to posterity, and in proof that the miscarriage of a necessary measure is not imputable to them. 3 *Grey*, 255. At free conferences, the managers discuss, viva voce and freely, and interchange propositions for such modifications as may be made in a parliamentary way, and may bring the sense of the two Houses together. And each party reports in writing to their respective Houses, the substance of what is said on both sides, and it is entered in their journals. 9 *Grey*, 220. 3 *Hats*. 280. This report cannot be amended or altered, as that of a committee may be. *Journ. Senate*, May 24, 1796.

A conference may be asked, before the House asking it has come to a resolution of disagreement, insisting or adhering. 3 *Hats* 269, 341. In which case the papers are not left with the other conferees, but are brought back to be the foundation of the vote to be given. And this is the most reasonable and respectful proceeding. For, as was urged by the lords on a particular occasion, "it is held vain, and below the wisdom of parliament, to reason or argue against fixed resolutions, and upon terms of impossibility to persuade." 3 *Hats*. 226. So the commons say, "an adherence is never delivered at a free conference, which implies debate." 10 *Grey*, 137. And on another occasion the lords made it an objection that the commons

had asked a free conference after they had made resolutions of adhering. It was then affirmed, however, on the part of the commons, that nothing was more parliamentary than to proceed with free conferences after adhering, 3 *Hats.* 269, and we do in fact see instances of conference, or of free conference, asked after the resolution of disagreeing, 3 *Hats.* 251, 253, 260, 286, 291, 316, 349, of insisting, *ib.* 280, 296, 299, 319, 322, 355; of adhering, 269, 270, 283, 300, and even of a second or final adherence. 3 *Hats.* 270. And in all cases of conference asked after a vote of disagreement, &c., the conferees of the House asking it, are to leave the papers with the conferees of the other: and in one case where they refused to receive them, they were left on the table in the conference chamber, *ib.* 271, 317, 323, 354. 10 *Grey*, 146.

After a free conference, the usage is to proceed with free conferences, and not to return again to a conference. 3 *Hats.* 270. 9 *Grey*, 229.

After a conference denied a free conference may be asked. 1 *Grey*, 45.

When a conference is asked, the subject of it must be expressed, or the conference not agreed to; *Ord. H. Com.* 89. 1 *Grey*, 425. 7 *Grey*, 31. They are sometimes asked to inquire concerning an offence or default of a member of the other House. 6 *Grey*, 181. 1 *Chand.* 304. Or the failure of the other House to present to the king a bill passed by both Houses, 8 *Grey*, 302. Or on information received, and relating to the safety of the nation, 10 *Grey*, 171. Or when the methods of parliament are thought by the one House to

have been departed from by the other, a conference is asked to come to a right understanding thereon. 10 *Grey*, 148. So when an unparliamentary message has been sent, instead of answering it, they ask a conference. 3 *Grey*, 155. Formerly an address or articles of impeachment, or a bill with amendments, or a vote of the House, or concurrence in a vote, or a message from the king, were sometimes communicated by way of conference. 6 *Grey*, 128, 300, 387. 7 *Grey*, 80. 8 *Grey*, 210, 255. 1 *Torbuck's Deb.* 278. 10 *Grey*, 293. 1 *Chandler*, 49, 287. But this is not the modern practice. 8 *Grey*, 255.

A conference has been asked after the first reading of a bill. 1 *Grey*, 194. This is a singular instance.

#### SEC. XLVII.—MESSAGES.

Messages between the Houses are to be sent only while both Houses are sitting. 3 *Hats.* 15. They are received during a debate without adjourning the debate. 3 *Hats.* 22.

[In Senate the messengers are introduced in any state of business, except, 1. While a question is putting. 2. While the yeas and nays are calling. 3. While the ballots are counting. *Rule* 46. The first case is short; the second and third are cases where any interruption might occasion errors difficult to be corrected. So arranged June 15, 1798.]

In the House of representatives, as in parliament, if the House be in committee when a messenger attends, the speaker takes the chair to receive the message, and then quits it to return into

committee without any question or interruption. 4 *Grey*, 226.

Messengers are not saluted by the members, but by the speaker for the House. 2 *Grey*, 253, 274.

If messengers commit an error in delivering their message, they may be admitted, or called in to correct their message. 4 *Grey*, 41. Accordingly, March 13, 1800, the Senate having made two amendments to a bill from the House of representatives, their secretary, by mistake, delivered one only; which being inadmissible by itself, that House disagreed, and notified the Senate of their disagreement. This produced a discovery of the mistake. The secretary was sent to the other House to correct his mistake, the correction was received, and the two amendments acted on de novo.

As soon as the messenger, who has brought bills from the other House, has retired, the speaker holds the bills in his hand, and acquaints the House "that the other House have by their messenger sent certain bills," and then reads their titles, and delivers them to the clerk, to be safely kept, till they shall be called for to be read. *Hakew.* 178.

It is not the usage for one House to inform the other by what numbers a bill has past. 10 *Grey*, 150. Yet they have sometimes recommended a bill, as of great importance, to the consideration of the House to which it is sent. 3 *Hats.* 25. Nor when they have rejected a bill from the other House, do they give notice of it; but it passes sub silentio, to prevent unbecoming altercations. 1 *Blackst.* 183.

[But in Congress the rejection is notified by message to the House in which the bill originated.]

A question is never asked by the one House of the other by way of message, but only at a conference; for this is an interrogatory, not a message. 3 *Grey*, 151, 181.

When a bill is sent by one House to the other, and is neglected, they may send a message to remind them of it. 3 *Hats*. 25. 5 *Grey*, 154. But if it be mere inattention, it is better to have it done informally, by communications between the speakers, or members of the two Houses.

When the subject of a message is of a nature that it can properly be communicated to both Houses of Parliament, it is expected that this communication should be made to both on the same day. But where a message was accompanied with an original declaration, signed by the party to which the message referred, its being sent to one House was not noticed by the other, because the declaration, being original, could not possibly be sent to both Houses at the same time. 2 *Hats*. 260, 261, 262.

The king, having sent original letters to the Commons, afterwards desires they may be returned, that he may communicate them to the lords. 1 *Chandler*, 303.

#### SEC. XLVIII.—ASSENT.

The House which has received a bill and passed it may present it for the king's assent, and ought to do it, though they have not by message notified to the other their passage of it. Yet the notifying by message is a form which ought to be ob-



served between the two Houses from motives of respect and good understanding. 2 *Hats.* 242. Were the bill to be withheld from being presented to the king, it would be an infringement of the rules of Parliament. *Ib.*

[When a bill has passed both Houses of Congress, the House last acting on it, notifies its passage to the other, and delivers the bill to the joint committee of enrolment, who see that it is truly enrolled in parchment.] When the bill is enrolled, it is not to be written in paragraphs, but solidly, and all of a piece, that the blanks between the paragraphs may not give room for forgery. 9 *Grey,* 143. [It is then put into the hands of the clerk of the House of Representatives to have it signed by the Speaker. The clerk then brings it by way of message to the Senate to be signed by their president. The Secretary of the Senate returns it to the committee of enrolment, who present it to the President of the United States. If he approve, he signs, and deposits it among the rolls in the office of the Secretary of State, and notifies by message the House in which it originated that he has approved and signed it; of which that House informs the other by message. If the president disapproves, he is to return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated; who are to enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the President's objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall be-

come a law. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted,) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law. *Const. U. S. I. 7.*]

[Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary, (except on a case of adjournment,) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and before the same shall take effect, it shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill. *Const. U. S. I. 7.*]

#### SEC. XLIX.—JOURNALS.

[Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy. *Const. U. S. I. 5.*]

[The proceedings of the Senate, when not acting as in a committee of the whole, shall be entered on the journals, as concisely as possible, care being taken to detail a true account of the proceedings. Every vote of the Senate shall be entered on the journals, and a brief statement of the contents of each petition, memorial, or paper presented to the Senate, be also inserted on the journal. *Rule 32.*]

[The titles of bills, and such parts thereof only

as shall be effected by proposed amendments, shall be inserted on the journals. *Rule 31.*]

If a question is interrupted by a vote to adjourn, or to proceed to the orders of the day, the original question is never printed in the journal, it never having been a vote, nor introductory to any vote: but when suppressed by the previous question, the first question must be stated, in order to introduce and make intelligible the second. 2 *Hats. 83.*

So also when a question is postponed, adjourned, or laid on the table, the original question, though not yet a vote, must be expressed in the journals; because it makes part of the vote of postponement, adjourning, or laying it on the table.

Where amendments are made to a question, those amendments are not printed in the journals, separated from the question; but only the question as finally agreed to by the House. The rule of entering in the journals only what the House has agreed to, is founded in great prudence and good sense; as there may be many questions proposed which it may be improper to publish to the world, in the form in which they are made. 2 *Hats. 25.*

[In both Houses of Congress, all questions whereon the yeas and nays are desired by one-fifth of the members present, whether decided affirmatively or negatively, must be entered in the journals. *Const. I. 5.*]

The first order for printing the votes of the House of Commons, was October 30, 1685. 1 *Chandler, 387.*

Some judges have been of opinion that the jour-

nals of the House of Commons are no records, but only remembrances. But this is not law. *Hob.* 110, 111, *Lex. Parl.* 114, 115, *Jour. H. C. Mar.* 17, 1592. *Hale. Parl.* 105. For the lords in their House have power of judicature, the commons in their House have power of judicature, and both Houses together have power of judicature; and the book of the clerk of the House of Commons is a record, as is affirmed by the act of Parl. 6 *H.* 8, c. 16. 4 *Inst.* 23, 24, and every member of the House of Commons hath a judicial place. 4 *Inst.* 15. As records they are open to every person, and a printed vote of either House is sufficient ground for the other to notice it. Either may appoint a committee to inspect the journals of the other, and report what has been done by the other in any particular case. 2 *Hats.* 261. 3 *Hats.* 27—30. Every member has a right to see the journals, and to take and publish votes from them.—Being a record, every one may see and publish them. 6 *Grey*, 118, 119.

On information of a mis-entry or an omission of an entry in the journal, a committee may be appointed to examine and rectify it, and report it to the House. 2 *Hats.* 194, 5.

#### SEC. L.—ADJOURNMENT.

The two Houses of Parliament have the sole, separate, and independent power of adjourning each their respective Houses. The king has no authority to adjourn them; he can only signify his desire, and it is in the wisdom and prudence of either House to comply with his requisition, or not as they see fitting. 2 *Hats.* 232. 1 *Blackstone*, 186. 5 *Grey*, 122.

[By the Constitution of the United States a smaller number than a majority may adjourn from day to day. I. 5. But "neither House, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting." I. 5. And in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, the president may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper. *Const.* II. 3.]

A motion to adjourn, simply, cannot be amended as by adding "to a particular day." But must be put simply "that this House do now adjourn?" and if carried in the affirmative, it is adjourned to the next sitting day, unless it has come to a previous resolution, "that at its rising it will adjourn to a particular day," and then the House is adjourned to that day, 2 *Hats.* 82.

Where it is convenient that the business of the House be suspended for a short time, as for a conference presently to be held, &c., it adjourns during pleasure, 2 *Hats.* 305. Or for a quarter of an hour. 5 *Grey*, 331.

If a question be put for adjournment, it is no adjournment till the speaker pronounces it. 5 *Grey*, 137. And from courtesy and respect, no member leaves his place till the speaker has passed on.

#### SEC. LI.—A SESSION.

Parliament have three modes of separation, to wit: by adjournment, by prorogation, or dissolution by the king, or by the efflux of the term for which they were elected. Prorogation or disso-

lution constitutes there what is called a session ; provided some act has passed. In this case all matters depending before them are discontinued, and at their next meeting, are to be taken up, de novo, if taken up at all. 1 *Blackst.* 186. Adjournment, which is by themselves, is no more than a continuance of the session from one day to another, or for a fortnight, a month, &c. ad libitum. All matters depending remain in statu quo, and when they meet again, be the term ever so distant, are resumed without any fresh commencement, at the point at which they were left. 1 *Lev.* 165. *Lex. Parl. c. 2.* 1 *Ro. Rep.* 29. 4 *Inst.* 7, 27, 28. *Hutt.* 61. 1 *Mod.* 252 *Ruff h. Jac. L. Dict. Parliament.* 1 *Blackst.* 186. Their whole session is considered in law but as one day, and has relation to the first day thereof. *Bro. Abr. Parliament,* 86.

Committees may be appointed to sit during a recess by adjournment, but not by prorogation. 5 *Grey,* 374. 9 *Grey,* 350. 1 *Chandler,* 50. Neither house can continue any portion of itself in any parliamentary function, beyond the end of the session, without the consent of the other two branches. When done, it is by a bill constituting them commissioners for the particular purpose.

[Congress separate in two ways only, to wit, by adjournment, or dissolution by the efflux of their time. What then constitutes a session with them? A dissolution closes one session, and the meeting of the new congress begins another. The constitution authorises the president, "on extraordinary occasions, to convene both houses, or either of them." I. 3. If convened by the presi-

dent's proclamation, this must begin a new session, and of course determine the preceding one to have been a session. So if it meets under the clause of the constitution, which says," the congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day." I. 4 This must begin a new session. For even if the last adjournment was to this day, the act of adjournment is merged in the higher authority of the constitution, and the meeting will be under that, and not under their adjournment. So far we have fixed landmarks for determining sessions. In other cases it is declared by the joint vote authorising the president of the senate and the speaker to close the session on a fixed day, which is usually in the following form: "Resolved, by the senate and house of representatives, that the president of the senate and the speaker of the house of representatives be authorised to close the present session by adjourning their respective houses on the — day of —."

When it was said above that all matters depending before parliament were discontinued by the determination of the session, it was not meant for judiciary cases, depending before the house of lords, such as impeachments, appeals and writs of error. These stand continued, of course, to the next session. *Raym.* 120, 381. *Ruff. h. Jac.L. D. Parliament.*

[Impeachments stand in like manner, continued before the Senate of the United States.]

## SEC. LIII.—TREATIES.

[The president of the United States has power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur. *Const U. S.* II. 2.]

[Resolved, that all confidential communications made by the president of the United States to the Senate, shall be, by the members thereof, kept secret; and that all treaties, which may hereafter be laid before the Senate, shall also be kept secret; until the Senate shall, by their resolution, take off the injunction of secrecy. *Rule 38.*]

Treaties are legislative acts. A treaty is the law of the land. It differs from other laws only as it must have the consent of a foreign nation, being but a contract with respect to that nation. In all countries, I believe, except England, treaties are made by the legislative power: and there also, if they touch the laws of the land, they must be approved by parliament. *Ware v. Hylton*. 3 *Dallas Rep.* 223. It is acknowledged, for instance, that the king of Great Britain cannot, by a treaty, make a citizen of an alien. *Vattel*. b. 1, c. 19 sec. 214. An act of parliament was necessary to validate the American treaty of 1783. And abundant examples of such acts can be cited. In the case of the treaty of Utrecht, in 1712, the commercial articles required the concurrence of parliament. But a bill brought in for that purpose was rejected. France, the other contracting party, suffered these articles, in practice, to be not insisted on, and adhered to the rest of the treaty.



4 *Russel's Hist. Mod. Europe*, 457. 2 *Smollet*, 242, 246.

[By the constitution of the United States, this department of legislation is confided to two branches only of the ordinary legislature ; the president originating, and the Senate having a negative. To what subjects this power extends, has not been defined in detail by the constitution ; nor are we entirely agreed among ourselves. 1. It is admitted that it must concern the foreign nation, party to the contract, or it would be a mere nullity, *res inter alios acta*. 2. By the general power to make treaties, the constitution must have intended to comprehend only those subjects which are usually regulated by treaty, and cannot be otherwise regulated. 3. It must have meant to except out of these the rights reserved to the States ; for surely the president and Senate cannot do by treaty what the whole government is interdicted from doing in any way. 4. And also to except those subjects of legislation in which it gave a participation to the House of representatives. This last exception is denied by some, on the ground that it would leave very little matter for the treaty power to work on. The less the better say others. The constitution thought it wise to restrain the executive and Senate from entangling and embroiling our affairs with those of Europe. Besides, as the negotiations are carried on by the executive alone, the subjecting to the ratification of the representatives, such articles as are within their participation, is no more inconvenient than to the Senate. But the ground of this exception is denied as unfounded. For examine, e. g. the treaty of com-

merce with France, and it will be found that, out of 31 articles, there are not more than small portions of two or three of them which would not still remain as subjects of treaties, untouched by these exceptions.]

[Treaties being declared, equally with the laws of the United States, to be the supreme law of the land, it is understood that an act of the legislature alone can declare them infringed and rescinded. This was accordingly the process adopted in the case of France in 1798.]

[It has been the usage for the executive, when it communicates a treaty to the Senate for their ratification, to communicate also the correspondence of the negotiators. This having been omitted in case of the Prussian treaty, was asked by a vote of the House, of Feb. 12, 1800, and was obtained. And in December, 1800, the convention of that year between the United States and France, with the report of the negotiations by the envoys, but not their instructions, being laid before the Senate, the instructions were asked for and communicated by the President.]

[The mode of voting on questions of ratification is by nominal call.]

[Whenever a treaty shall be laid before the Senate for ratification, it shall be read a first time for information only; when no motion to reject, ratify, or modify the whole, or any part, shall be received. Its second reading shall be for consideration, and on a subsequent day, when it shall be taken up as in a committee of the whole, and every one shall be free to move a question on any particular article in this form, "Will the Senate advise

and consent to the ratification of this article?" or to propose amendments thereto, either by inserting or by leaving out words, in which last case the question shall be, "Shall the words stand part of the article?" And in every of the said cases, the concurrence of two-thirds of the Senators present shall be requisite to decide affirmatively. And, when through the whole, the proceedings shall be stated to the House, and questions be again severally put thereon for confirmation, or new ones proposed, requiring in like manner a concurrence of two-thirds for whatever is retained or inserted.]

[The votes so confirmed shall, by the House, or a committee thereof, be reduced into the form of a ratification, with or without modifications, as may have been decided, and shall be proposed on a subsequent day, when every one shall again be free to move amendments, either by inserting or leaving out words; in which last case the question shall be, "shall the words stand part of the resolution?" And in both cases the concurrence of two-thirds shall be requisite to carry the affirmative; as well as on the final question to advise and consent to the ratification in the form agreed to. *Rule 37.*]

[When any question may have been decided by the Senate, in which two-thirds of the members present are necessary to carry the affirmative, any member who voted on that side which prevailed in the question, may be at liberty to move for a reconsideration; and a motion for reconsideration shall be decided by a majority of votes. *Rule 44.*]

## SEC. LIII.—IMPEACHMENT.

[The House of Representatives shall have the sole power of impeachment. *Const. U. S. I. 3.*]

[The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust or profit under the United States. But the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law. *Const. I. 3.*]

[The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors. *Const. II. 4.*]

[The trial of crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury. *Const. III. 2.*]

These are the provisions of the Constitution of the United States on the subject of impeachments. The following is a sketch of some of the principles and practices of England on the same subject.

**Jurisdiction.** The lords cannot impeach any to themselves, nor join in the accusation, because they are the judges. *Seld. Judic. in Parl.* 12, 63. Nor can they proceed against a commoner but on complaint of the commons. *Id.* 84. The

lords may not, by law, try a commoner for a capital offence, on the information of the king or a private person; because the accused is entitled to a trial by his peers generally; but on accusation by the House of Commons, they may proceed against the delinquent, of whatsoever degree, and whatsoever be the nature of the offence; for there they do not assume to themselves trial at common law. The commons are then instead of a jury, and the judgment is given on their demand, which is instead of a verdict. So the lords do only judge, but not try the delinquent. *Id.* 6, 7. But Wooddeson denies that a commoner can now be charged capitally before the lords, even by the commons; and cites Fitzharris's case, 1681, impeached of high treason, where the lords remitted the prosecution to the inferior court, 8 *Grey's Deb.* 325-7. 2 *Wooddeson*, 601, 576. 3 *Seld.* 1610, 1619, 1641. 4 *Blackst.* 257. 3 *Seld.* 1604, 1618. 9, 1656.

**Accusation.** The commons, as the grand inquest of the nation, become suitors for penal justice. 2 *Wood.* 597. 6 *Grey*, 356. The general course is to pass a resolution containing a criminal charge against the supposed delinquent, and then to direct some member to impeach him by oral accusation, at the bar of the House of Lords, in the name of the commons. The person signifies that the articles will be exhibited, and desires that the delinquent may be sequestered from his seat, or be committed, or that the peers will take order for his appearance. *Sachev, Trial*, 825. 2 *Wood.* 602, 605. *Lord's Journ.* 3 June, 1701. 1 *Wms.* 616. 6 *Grey*, 235.

**Process.** If the party do not appear, proclamations are to be issued, giving him a day to appear. On their return they are strictly examined. If any error be found in them, a new proclamation issues, giving a short day. If he appear not, his goods may be arrested, and they may proceed. *Seld. Jud.* 98, 99.

**Articles.** The accusation, (articles,) of the commons is substituted in place of an indictment. Thus, by the usage of parliament, in impeachment for writing or speaking, the particular words need not be specified. *Sach. Tr.* 325. 2 *Wood.* 602, 605. *Lords' Journ.* 3 June, 1701. 1 *Wms.* 616.

**Appearance.** If he appears, and the case be capital, he answers in custody: though not if the accusation be general. He is not to be committed but on special accusations. If it be for a misdemeanour only, he answers, a lord in his place, a commoner at the bar, and not in custody, unless, on the answer, the lords find cause to commit him, till he find sureties to attend, and lest he should fly. *Seld. Jud.* 98, 99. A copy of the articles is given him, and a day fixed for his answer. *T. Ray.* 1 *Rushw.* 268. *Fost.* 232. 1 *Clar. Hist. of the Reb.* 379. On a misdemeanour, his appearance may be in person, or he may answer in writing, or by attorney. *Seld. Jud.* 100. The general rule on an accusation for a misdemeanour, is, that in such a state of liberty or restraint as the party is when the commons complain of him, in such he is to answer. *Id.* 101. If previously committed by the commons, he answers as a prisoner. But this may be called in some sort *judicium parium suorum*. *Id.* In misdemeanours the party has a right

to counsel by the common law, but not in capital cases. *Seld. J. d.* 102—5.

Answer. The answer need not observe great strictness of form. He may plead guilty as to part, and defend as to the residue; or, saving all exceptions, deny the whole, or give a particular answer to each article separately. 1 *Rush.* 274. 2. *Rush.* 1374. 12 *Parl. Hist.* 442. 3 *Lords' Journ.* 13 Nov. 1643. 2 *Wood.* 607. But he cannot plead a pardon in bar to the impeachment. 2 *Wood.* 615. 2 *St. Tr.* 735.

Replication, Rejoinder, &c. There may be a replication, rejoinder, &c. *Sel. Jud.* 114. 8 *Grey's Deb.* 233. *Sach. Tr.* 15. *Jour. H. of Commons*, 6 March, 1640, 1.

Witnesses. The practice is to swear the witnesses in open House, and then examine them there; or a committee may be named, who shall examine them in committee, either on interrogatories agreed on in the House, or such as the committee in their discretion shall demand. *Seld. Jud.* 120, 123.

Jury. In the case of Alice Pierce, 1 *R.* 2, a jury was empannelled for her trial before a committee. *Seld. Jud.* 123. But this was on a complaint, not on impeachment by the commons.—*Seld. Jud.* 163. It must also have been for a misdemeanour only, as the lords spiritual sat in the case, which they do on misdemeanours, but not in capital cases. *Id.* 148. The judgment was a forfeiture of all her lands and goods. *Id.* 188. This, Selden says, is the only jury he finds recorded in parliament for misdemeanours: but he makes no doubt, if the delinquent doth put himself on the

trial of his country, a jury ought to be empannelled, and he adds that it is not so on impeachment by the commons; for they are in loco proprio, and there no jury ought to be empannelled. *Id.* 124. The *Ld. Berkeley*, 6 *E.* 3, was arraigned for the murder of *L.* 2, on an information on the part of the king, and not on impeachment of the commons; for then they had been patria sua. He waived his peerage, and was tried by a jury of Gloucestershire and Warwickshire. *Id.* 125. In 1 *H.* 7, the commons protest that they are not to be considered as parties to any judgment given, or hereafter to be given in parliament. *Id.* 133. They have been generally, and more justly considered, as is before stated, as the grand jury. For the conceit of Selden is certainly not accurate, and they are the patria sua of the accused, and that the lords do only judge, but not try. It is undeniable that they do try. For they examine witnesses as to the facts, and acquit or condemn, according to their own belief of them. And Lord Hale says, “the peers are judges of law as well as of fact.” 2 *Hale*, *P. C.* 275. Consequently of fact as well as of law.

Presence of commons. The commons are to be present at the examination of witnesses. *Seld. Jud.* 124. Indeed they are to attend throughout, either as a committee of the whole House, or otherwise, at discretion, appoint managers to conduct the proofs. *Rushw. Tr. of Straff.* 37. *Com. Journ.* 4 *Feb.* 1709—10. 2 *Woodd.* 614. And judgment is not to be given till they demand it. *Seld. Jud.* 124. But they are not to be present on impeachment when the lords consider of the

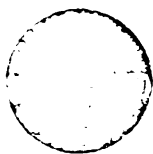


answer or proofs, and determine of their judgment. Their presence, however, is necessary at the answer and judgment in cases capital. *Id.* 58. 159, as well as not capital, 162. The lords debate the judgment among themselves. Then the vote is first taken on the question of guilty or not guilty; and if they convict, the question, or particular sentence, is out of that which seemeth to be most generally agreed on. *Seld. Jud.* 167. 2 *Woodd.* 612.

**Judgment.** Judgments in parliament, for death, have been strictly guided per legem terræ, which they cannot alter; and not at all according to their discretion. They can neither omit any part of the legal judgment, nor add to it. Their sentence must be secundum, non ultra legem. *Seld. Jud.* 168—171. This trial, though it varies in external ceremony yet differs not in essentials from criminal prosecutions before inferior courts. The same rules of evidence, the same legal notions of crimes and punishments, prevail. For impeachments are not framed to alter the law, but to carry it into more effectual execution against too powerful delinquents. The judgment, therefore, is to be such as is warranted by legal principles or precedents. 6 *Sta. Tr.* 14. 2 *Woodd.* 611. The chancellor gives judgment in misdemeanours; the lord high steward formerly in cases of life and death. *Seld. Jud.* 180. But now the steward is deemed not necessary. *Fost.* 144. 2 *Woodd.* 613. In misdemeanours the greatest corporal punishment hath been imprisonment. *Seld. Jud.* 184. The king's assent is necessary in capi-

tal judgments, (but 2 *Wood*. 614, contra) but not in misdemeanours. *Seld. Jud.* 136.

Continuance. An impeachment is not discontinued by the dissolution of parliament; but may be resumed by the new parliament. *T. Ray.* 383. *4 Com. Journ.* 23 Dec. 1790. *Lords' Jour.* May 16, 1791. 2 *Woodd.* 618.

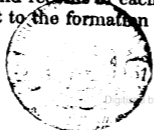


I N D E X,  
TO THE  
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

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	<i>Art.</i>	<i>Sec.</i>	<i>Pa.</i>
<i>Arts and Sciences</i> , to be promoted	1	8	15
<i>Acts</i> , records, and judicial proceedings of each state entitled to faith and credit in other states	4	1	24
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do. made			29
<i>Appointments</i> , to be made by President	2	2	21
<i>Apportionment</i> of Representatives	1	2	10
<i>Appropriations</i> by law	1	9	17
<i>Appropriation for Army</i> , not to exceed two years	1	8	16
<i>Armies</i> , Congress to raise and support	1	8	16
<i>Arms</i> , right of the people to keep and bear			29
<i>Assemble</i> , people may			29
<i>Attainder</i> , bill of, prohibited to Congress	1	9	17
prohibited to the States	1	10	18
<i>Attainder</i> , of treason, shall not work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted	3	3	24
<i>Bail</i> , excessive, not required			30
<i>Bankruptcy</i> laws to be uniform	1	8	15
<i>Bills</i> for raising revenue, shall originate in the House of Representatives	1	7	13
before they become laws, shall be passed by both Houses, and approved by President;			
or, if disapproved, shall be passed by two-thirds of each House	1	7	13
not returned in ten days, unless an adjournment intervene, shall be laws	1	7	14
<i>Borrow money</i> , Congress may,	1	8	15
<i>Capitation tax</i> , apportionment of,	1	9	17

	<i>Art.</i>	<i>Sec.</i>	<i>Pa.</i>
<i>Census</i> , or enumeration, to be made every ten years	1	2	10
<i>Citizens</i> of each State shall be entitled to the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States	4	2	24
<i>Claims</i> , no prejudice to certain	4	3	25
<i>Claims</i> of the United States, or of the several States, not to be prejudiced by any construction of the Constitution	4	3	25
<i>Coasting trade</i> , regulations respecting	1	8	15
same same	1	9	17
<i>Coins</i> , Congress fix value of foreign	1	8	15
<i>Commerce</i> , Congress to regulate	1	8	15
regulations respecting, to be equal and uniform	1	9	17
<i>Commissions</i> , to be granted by the President	2	3	22
<i>Common law</i> , recognised and established, 7th amendment			30
<i>Congress</i> , vested with power	1	1	9
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may provide for cases of removal, death, &c: of President and Vice President	2	1	20
may determine the time of choosing electors of President and Vice President	2	1	20
may invest the appointment of inferior officers in the President alone, in the courts of law, or the Heads of Departments	2	2	21
may establish courts inferior to the Supreme Court	3	1	22
may declare the punishment of treason	3	3	24
may prescribe the manner of proving the acts and records of each State	4	1	24
to assent to the formation of new States	4	3	25



	<i>Art.</i>	<i>Sec.</i>	<i>Pa.</i>
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to regulate commerce	1	8	15
to establish uniform laws of bankruptcy and naturalization	1	8	15
to coin money, regulate the value of coin, and fix a standard of weights and mea- sures	1	8	15
to punish counterfeiting	1	8	15
to establish post offices and post roads	1	8	15
to authorise patents to authors and invent- ors	1	8	15
to constitute tribunals <i>inferior</i> to the Su- preme Court	1	8	15
to define and punish piracies, felonies on the high seas, and offences against the laws of nations	1	8	15
to declare war, grant letters of marque, and make rules concerning captures	1	8	15
to raise and support Armies	1	8	16
to provide and maintain a Navy	1	8	16
to make rules for the government of the Army and Navy	1	8	16
to call out the militia in certain cases	1	8	16
to organize, arm, and discipline militia	1	8	16
to exercise exclusive legislation over seat of Government	1	8	16
to pass laws necessary to carry the enume- rated powers into effect	1	8	16
to dispose of, and make rules concerning the territory or other property of the United States	4	3	26
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<i>Constitution</i> , how amended	5	1	22
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<i>Contracts</i> , no law impairing	1	10	18
<i>Conventions</i> , for proposing amendments to Constitution	5	1	26
<i>Counterfeiting</i> , Congress to provide for punishment	1	8	15
<i>Court</i> , Supreme, its original and appellate jurisdiction	3	2	20
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<i>Crimes</i> , persons accused of, fleeing from justice, may be demanded	4	2	25
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<i>Criminal prosecutions</i> , proceedings in cases of			30
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<i>Exports</i> , not to be taxed	1	9	17

	<i>Art.</i>	<i>Sec.</i>	<i>Pa.</i>
<i>Exports</i> , and imports, States prohibited from laying duties on	1	10	18
<i>Ex post facto Law</i> , none shall be passed	1	9	17
prohibited to States	1	10	18
<i>Fines</i> , excessive—prohibited			30
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<i>Habeas Corpus</i> , writ of, can only be suspended in case of rebellion or invasion	1	9	17
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<i>Impeachment</i> , to be brought by House of Representatives	1	2	10
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<i>Judiciary</i> , tribunals inferior to Supreme Court may be created	1	8	15
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of the Senate, shall be chosen by the Se- nate	1	3	11
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COMPILED BY AN OFFICER OF THE SENATE.

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