

House of representatives.

Spirit of laws Vol. 1181 is as important to regulate in a republic in what manner by whom to whom and concerning what suffrage are to be given in this in a monarchy to know who is the prince and after what manner he is to govern.

12 Law which determines the manner of giving the suffrage fundam. By new constitution the time, place and manner of holding elections to be fixed by state legislation, but may be changed by Congress.

Time place and manner are left open by constitution of state and no change can arise from giving Congress a right to alter them so long as the constitution fixes with precision by whom, to whom and concerning what the suffrages are to be given.

Many weighty reasons why Congress should have power to change or direct the Bank of S. George.

174 might say to secure liberty that supplies should depend on the representatives but that they give for a short time - here they have the appropriation also.

175 The English government will perish when the legislature becomes corrupted - from the manner of their being chosen they cannot be corrupted unless the body of the people are so.

3 B of the government being composed of two parts the legislative and the executive the country will be divided into the favourers of the one or the other and the bulk of the people will side with the legislative.

In Holme 33. House of common first called by legal authority in 1295 was in Edw. 1st

They had only a right to grant supplies when settled by King and Lords. Under Edw. 2? They began to annex petitions to the bills by which they granted subsidies.

Under Edw. 3? They declared they would not in future acknowledge any law to which they had not assented.

In the same reign they impeached some of the ministers of the crown. Under Henry the fourth they refused supplies before an answer had been given to their petitions.

and in succeeding reigns have so increased their weight by the means of having the purse at their disposal that they direct all operations.

Here power and compare the power they now possess with what they had when first called into parliament -

and from so small a beginning, opposed by monarchs hoping and unlimited prosecution they had been able to effect such success what may we not expect from a house of representatives of persons only to be impeached, when they possess the full power of the commons at this day.

Altho' House of commons at diff. periods have from diff. causes favored too much the claims of the crown, yet in the end every reign has returned right. As the act of Henry 4th declaring King's prerogative - and the English history affords but one example the signal of the true or at least of a continued repeal of a law for the amendment of the constitution.

to grant or withhold subsidies by commons place of safety

is no danger to the power of house of representatives from the right of the monarch to amend money bills as the constitution expressly prohibits them from originating them - In England the Lords dispute this point with the Commons and the latter are obliged to dispute every part of their right for fear as the claim is uncertain they might by degrees get an equality in originating.

of such a power in the Senate - difference between originating and amending - the exercise of the power

93 Great might that the power of impeachment given the commons - there can only impeach the servants here the master.

171 or no objection that they have no share in the executive, this division essential to liberty (see little Prerogative).

218 In every government it is the object of a few to govern the rest and the advantage they have from the smallness of their number and the consequent union and consistency with which they can act cannot be counteracted by the people at large in one way by trusting the care of their rights to a few representatives; thus as their power consists in their number they will be opposed by a similar number.

Representatives being exclusively charged with the care of public liberty will be animated by a sense of the greatness of the trust reposed in them, distinguished from the rest of the people and forming a separate assembly they will exert the rights of which they are guardians with the diligence of interested men.

Their consequences will depend on the ability and perseverance with which they encounter the arts and designs of those who govern:

and as it will be opposed by every means of their authority, the people at large may safely rely on them as the most watchful guardians of their rights and liberties.

219 All attempts of the body of the people to the right the power of a few in any other way have proved destructive to liberty.

220 When the power of the people is lodged with a few. Non practicality will then be the govern might decline. The people must be laid aside for they then have to deal with people who are their equals in knowledge.

221 From such a house of representatives each member is to propose and carry on as he thinks necessary the right want and desire of the people as he can be better acquainted the remedy is then in the hands of those who feel the disorder.

222 When we add to these reasons that the members of the house of representatives are individually in their persons families and fortunes affected by the public measures we find the most perfect security in confiding in them.

223 The short term too for which they are elected with secure their fidelity and attention for they cannot without them expect to be re-elected and if they return to the mass of the people their interests then are their own with theirs.

224 Representatives so chosen are the trustees of the people, not their masters.

225 They having the confidence of the people will ever prevail in any dispute with the executive.

226 The experience of the English history proves this; in all other free states the public departments have terminated by providing for the interest of a few while the convenience of the many were disregarded.

227 As from the revolution brought about by the expulsion of King James their power to two consuls the trial of the plebeians to the monarch established the new office of tribune; and another violent disposition was settled by making the rich to be able and capable of marrying into the patrician families and of being elected consuls.

228 In England all revolutions have terminated in making such provisions as at orders of people were to enjoy the benefit of.

229 Magna Charta contains only stipulations for the good of the whole so also were all the confirmations of it and the new charters granted upon different monarchs were all in favour of the whole body of the people; of the same nature was the petition of rights under Charles 1st.

230 The declaration of rights was in the same manner; and the habeas corpus act under Charles 2nd and the declaration of rights under William and Mary.

231 This owing to the legislature having no share in the executive (subject) this the care with the house of representatives as a body and the house which a few members might have of setting officers by the nomination of the president would no more influence the body than that of the king or the commons; and the power of exercising in the president would be less than that of the king so would his influence be proportionably less too.

232 When we may conclude they will be both willing and able to offer mainly to serve the best with advantage in their power from the supposition.

233 1st Black: 140 If there is all things expectations must depend on the rights of magistracy: which is justifiable on this principle that in any dispublic there is a society at large and any magistracy vested with powers delegated by that society. It can only be directed by the voice of the people themselves, and if the magistracy does not submit to that voice they have a right to remove them to conform them to it.

234 2nd Black: 214 The magistracy is a branch of the executive power and as such is subject to the control of the people.

Black: 169. Hous. of commons consist of 558.

245. usurpation and oppression from the sovereign power cannot be altogether unopposed, but left to be resisted by the people who are not to be reasoned out of their feeling, nor with sacrifice their liberty by a scrupulous adherence to that maxim which was established to preserve it.

246. The constitution of England hath grown out of occasion and emergency, from the various policy of different ages, the contrary success of interests and opportunities of different orders and parties of men in the community.

247. It will be sufficient to secure a due attention to the interest of the people, that every citizen should be capable of being elected into the legislature, and every member the right of proposing whatever law he pleases.

248. Land being a necessary qualification for all voters will afford a certainty that the landed interest will be sufficiently guarded.

249. There will be such an intermixture of representation and consent that they cannot propose or impose any burden in which they will not share, and as they are a greater security, they cannot relapse into an advantage or regulation, by which their own interest will not participate of the advantage.

250. The year and day, sufficient to make known not only the conduct of the whole but of each particular member.

251. The representation is so entirely dependent on the people for his office, and his political importance rests so much on public favour, that every representative will find that his most ready way to advance himself in the state, will be by contributing and patronizing laws of public utility.

252. Prosecutions by impeachment sufficient to check upon the power of the grand jury in the crown to prevent it from protecting its servants, in a criminal subjection to the master's dominion.

253. 200 of the house of commons are chosen by 7000 electors two members are nominated frequently by one man or half of them are elected by the people the other half obtain their seats by purchase or the nomination of the owners of great estates.

254. Even in this assembly the representation is so mixed with the interests of the people, by a society of interest and passion, that the will of the people when it is determined, permanent and general almost always at length prevails.

255. Without the influence of the crown the house of commons could not obtain a compliance with its resolutions from the other part of the legislature, or just to change the constitution, by a refusal of the annual grants of money, for the support of the necessary functions of government - here there being no such counter balance the representation will be all powerful.

Argument delivered in
the Com^{ns} in favor
of the House of Repres^{ts}.