## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

JANUARY 14, 1861.

Mr. Bigler asked, and by unanimous consent obtained, leave to bring in the following bill; which was read the first and second times, and ordered to be printed.

## A BILL

To provide for taking the sense of the people of the several States on certain proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Whereas the Union is in imminent danger of final dissolution, the consequence of a protracted strife and agitation about the institution of African slavery; and whereas it is believed that legislative remedies are insufficient to meet and remove the cause of this impending disaster; and as amendments to the Constitution can only be submitted by a vote of two thirds of both Houses of Congress, and owing to the unhappy divisions existing in those houses at present it is not believed that the assent of two thirds of the members of either can be had to such amendments to the Constitution as would reconcile the differences between the North and the South; and whereas it is a cardinal principle of our representative system that the representative shall obey the will of the people, it is deemed proper and necessary to ask the opinion and judgment of the people

of the several States on proposed amendments to the Constitution, with the view to their submission by a vote of two thirds of each branch of Congress for the ratification of the States, as provided in the Constitution, thereby restoring our distracted country to its accustomed peace and prosperity: Therefore,

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 That the citizens of the several States qualified to vote for
- 4 members of Congress are hereby requested to hold an elec-
- 5 tion on Tuesday, the twelfth day of February next, for the
- 6 purpose of deciding for or against the annexed proposed
- 7 amendments to the Constitution of the United States.
- 1 Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That those who are
- 2 for the proposed amendments to the Constitution shall vote
- 3 a ballot bearing the words "for the amendments," and those
- 4 opposed to the amendments shall vote a ballot bearing the
- 5 words "against the amendments."
- 1 Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, Said election shall be
- 2 held at the same places, in the same manner, and under the
- 3 same laws as the last election for President and Vice Presi-
- 4 dent of the United States, and be conducted by the same
- 5 judges, inspectors, and other officers.
- 1 Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, The return judges of
- 2 the several election districts for each county shall meet at
- 3 the county seat on the Thursday following the day of the

- 4 said election, and count up the returns for said county, set-
- 5 ting forth the whole number of votes cast for the amend-
- 6 ments, and the whole number of votes against the amend-
- 7 ments; one copy of which shall be forwarded by mail to the
- 8 Secretary of the Senate of the United States, and another
- 9 to the Governor of the State, and that sent to the governor
- 10 shall contain a statement of the actual and necessary ex-
- 11 penses of holding said election.
  - 1 Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That the compensa-
  - 2 tion of the officers holding said election, and the other
  - 3 expenses thereof, shall be the same as the compensation
  - 4 and expenses of holding the last election for President and
  - 5 Vice President of the United States, and shall be paid out
  - 6 of the United States Treasury in the manner hereinafter
  - 7 provided.
  - 1 Sec. 6. And be it further enacted, That the governors
  - 2 of the several States are hereby respectfully requested to
  - 3 cause to be made out, and forwarded to the Secretary of the
  - 4 Interior, a tabular statement of the amount of the expenses
  - 5 of holding said election in their respective States, exhibit-
  - 6 ing the amount due each county, attested under the seal
  - 7 of the State by the proper officers; and the Secretary of
  - 8 the Interior shall draw drafts on the United States Treasury
  - 9 in favor of the governors of the respective States for the
- 10 amounts due to the several counties, to be paid to the

- 11 parties in each county entitled to receive the same; and
- 12 the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and
- 13 required to pay the amount of said drafts out of any money
- 14 in the Treasury.
  - 1 Sec. 7. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the
  - 2 duty of the Secretary of the Senate to cause said election
  - 3 returns to be opened, counted, and filed as fast as received.
  - 4 and cause tabular statements to be made exhibiting the
  - 5 result in each State, one copy of which shall be delivered
  - 6 to the President of the Senate for the use of that body
  - 7 another to the Speaker of the House of Representatives for
  - 8 the use of that body; and it is hereby made the duty of
  - 9 each and all the clerks now in the employment of the Sen-
- 10 ate, in addition to their other duties, to assist the Secretary
- 11 in the performance of the duties hereby imposed upon him.
  - 1 Sec. 8. And be it further enacted, That the President
  - 2 of the United States is hereby authorized to issue a procla-
- 3 mation to the governors, and all others in civil authority,
- 4 and to the people of the several States, announcing to them
- 5 the day fixed for said election, presenting its general objects,
- 6 and requesting their cordial co-operation in the prompt
- 7 and faithful execution of the provisions of this act.
- 1 Sec. 9. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the
- 2 duty of the Secretary of the Interior, immediately after the
- 3 passage of this act, to cause accurate copies of the same to

- 4 be printed and forwarded by mail to the sheriff of the sev-
- 5 eral counties of each State, and the said sheriffs are hereby
- 6 requested to make proclamation, in not more than two
- 7 newspapers in each county, of the day of said election, and
- 8 setting forth the proposed amendments to be voted on, and
- 9 the expenses incurred under the provisions of this section
- 10 shall be paid as hereinafter provided for other expenses of
- 11 said election.
- 12 That the following articles be, and they are hereby,
- 13 proposed and submitted as amendments to the Constitution
- 14 of the United States, which shall be valid, to all intents and
- 15 purposes, as part of said Constitution, when ratified by the
- 16 conventions of three fourths of the States held for that
- 17 purpose.
- 18 Article 1. That the territory now held, or that may
- 19 hereafter be acquired, by the United States shall be divided
- 20 by a line from east to west on the parallel of thirty-six
- 21 degrees thirty minutes north latitude.
- 22 ARTICLE 2. That in all the territory north of said line
- 23 of latitude, involuntary servitude, except as a punishment
- 24 for crime, is prohibited, and in all the territory south of
- 25 said line involuntary servitude, as it now exists in the
- 26 States south of Mason and Dixon's line, is hereby recog-
- 27 nized, and shall be sustained and protected by all the
- 28 departments of the territorial governments; and when any

- 29 Territory north or south of said line, within such bounda-
- 30 ries as Congress may prescribe, shall contain the popula-
- 31 tion requisite for a member of Congress, according to the
- 32 then federal ratio of representation of the people of the
- 33 United States, it shall then be the duty of Congress to
- 34 admit such Territory into the Union on terms of equality
- 35 with the original States.
- 36 Article 3. Congress shall not have power to abolish
- 37 slavery in the places under its exclusive jurisdiction and
- 38 situate within the limits of States that permit the holding
- 39 of slaves, nor shall Congress have the power to abolish
- 40 slavery in the District of Columbia so long as it exists in
- 41 the States of Maryland and Virginia, or either of them, nor
- 42 without just compensation being first made to the owners
- 43 of such slaves.
- 44 Article 4. That, in addition to the provisions of the
- 45 third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article
- 46 of the Constitution of the United States, Congress shall
- 47 have power to provide by law, and it shall be its duty
- 48 so to provide, that the United States shall pay to the owner
- 49 who shall apply for it, the full value of his fugitive slave,
- 50 in all cases, when the marshal, or other officer, whose duty
- 51 it was to arrest said fugitive, was prevented from so doing
- 52 by violence or intimidation, or when, after arrest, said fugi-
- 53 tive was rescued by force, and the owner thereby prevented

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branches of Congress.

and obstructed in the pursuit of his remedy for the recovery of his fugitive slave, under the said clause of the 55 Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof; 56 57 and in all such cases, when the United States shall pay **58** for such fugitive, they shall have the right, in their own **59** name, to sue the county in which said violence, intimida-60 tion, or rescue was committed, and to recover from it, with 61 interest and damages, the amount paid by them for said 62 fugitive slave; and the said county, after it has paid said 63 amount to the United States, may, for its indemnity, sue and recover from the wrong-doers, or rescuers, by whom 64 65 the owner was prevented from the recovery of his fugitive 66 slave, in like manner as the owner himself might have sued 67 and recovered. 68 ARTICLE 5. Congress shall have no power to prohibit 69 or hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, or to a Territory in which slaves are by law per-70 71 mitted to be held, whether transportation be by land, **72** navigable rivers, or by sea; but the African slave trade shall

ARTICLE 6. Hereafter the President of the United States **75** shall hold his office during the term of six years, and shall **76** not be eligible to re-election. 77

never be revived, except by the unanimous consent of both

ARTICLE 7. The Constitution shall not be hereafter 78

amended so as to destroy the effect of the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the Constitution, nor the third paragraph of the section of the fourth article of the Constitution, nor so as to authorize Congress to interfere with or destroy any of the domestic institutions of the States, without the consent of all the States.

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20 Session. S

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