

Mr. BOEHNER. Mr. Clerk, before we proceed with the nominations for Speaker of the House, on behalf of Republican Members of the House, we want to thank you for your 35 years of service to this institution, and your 35 years of service to the American people. You have done your job ably on behalf of all Members on both sides of the aisle.

And to the other officers of the House, who have served the House so ably and the American people so ably, we want to thank them as well for their service in this House.

Farewell, and best wishes from all of us.

Mr. [Victor] FAZIO [of California]. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOEHNER. I yield to my friend, the gentleman from California [Mr. FAZIO].

Mr. FAZIO. I appreciate my friend yielding.

I, too, would like to add a few words of tribute to our friend.

When the 103d Congress came to an official close on noon Tuesday, the House literally lived on for the next 24 hours in the person of the gentleman from Sacramento, CA, the Clerk of the House, Donald K. Anderson. In serving as the first presiding officer for the purpose of organizing the 104th Congress, he fulfilled his last ministerial duty to this institution. After four successive terms as Clerk and a career with the House that began as a Page when Dwight Eisenhower was President and Sam Rayburn sat in the Speaker's chair, Donn Anderson now leaves a distinguished career of public service.

On a personal level for many of us in this Chamber, it was only natural for Donn Anderson to have been the thread of continuity from one Congress to the next. For over 30 years, Donn has embodied every good virtue of this House. He has been its memory, its defender, its champion and often its conscience. He understood perhaps better than anyone here the meaning of the word "bipartisanship" and he lived it daily in his work with the Members. In his 8 years as the second highest-ranking officer of the House, he worked tirelessly to move the House into the information age and so greatly benefited our constituents, the American people.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Legislative Appropriations, I looked forward to our annual ritual of hearings knowing that I could always count on the Clerk for the most splendid testimony. Although Donn himself admitted to his preference for Victorian manners, there was nothing old-fashioned about the direction of his office. He was thoroughly modern in his vision for the future of the House, and he fought hard to keep us current with the times. Just as Donn could explain the artistic nuances of paintings in the Rotunda, he could just as easily give you the technical lowdown of cameras in this Chamber and on this floor. As the House moves forward today with the institutional reforms and the reorganization, we do so with the solid foundation left behind by Donn Anderson.

Perhaps in parting we can borrow a phrase from our late and great Speaker Tip O'Neill. He simply said on so many occasions, "So long, old pal."

Thank you, Donn Anderson.

§ 4. Election of Speaker

Following the initial quorum call of Members-elect, the House proceeds immediately to the election of the Speaker of the House. The election of Speaker is a matter of the highest privilege and has precedence over virtually any other business that could occur. For example, the election of

Speaker takes precedence over a resolution raised as a question of the privileges of the House.⁽¹⁾ Until 1839, the House elected the Speaker by ballot, but current practice is a roll call vote with tellers in which Members–elect are called in alphabetical order by surname and orally announce their choice for Speaker. The electronic voting system has never been used to elect a Speaker. A majority vote of Members–elect, a quorum being present, is necessary to elect a Speaker. Delegates–elect and the Resident Commissioner–elect are ineligible to vote for Speaker.⁽²⁾ By unanimous consent, the House may permit Members–elect lacking certificates of election to vote for Speaker.⁽³⁾

The election of Speaker begins with formal nominations from the floor. Traditionally, the chairs of the respective party caucus or conference will be recognized by the Clerk to place each party’s selection in nomination. However, there is no prohibition on other Members–elect nominating additional candidates for the office.⁽⁴⁾ After the roll call vote, the Clerk announces to the House which candidate has been elected, and appoints a committee of Members–elect to escort the Speaker–elect to the Chair. By custom, the Minority Leader presents the Speaker–elect to the body, bestows upon the Speaker–elect the Chair’s gavel, and the Speaker–elect requests the “Dean of the House” (the Member–elect with the longest continuous service in the House) to administer the oath of office to the Speaker.⁽⁵⁾

If the speakership becomes vacant during a Congress, due to the death, resignation, or incapacity of the Speaker, the election of a new Speaker follows the same basic procedures as are used on opening day of a new Congress. However, pursuant to clause 8(b) of rule I,⁽⁶⁾ a previously–designated Speaker pro tempore (rather than the Clerk) would perform the duties of the Chair.⁽⁷⁾ The last Speaker to die in office was Speaker Sam Rayburn

1. See § 4.1, *infra*. See also § 3.4, *supra*.

2. See § 4.2, *infra*. See also § 3.5, *supra*.

3. See § 4.3, *infra*. See also § 3.6, *supra*.

4. See, e.g., 161 CONG. REC. H3–H7 [Daily Ed.], 114th Cong. 1st Sess. (Jan. 6, 2015).

5. The statutorily–prescribed oath is the same taken by all Members–elect. 5 U.S.C. § 3331. For more on the oath of office, see Deschler’s Precedents Ch. 2 and Precedents (Wickham) Ch. 2.

6. Pursuant to clause 8(b)(3)(B) of rule I, the Speaker delivers to the Clerk a list of Members designated to preside as Speaker pro tempore in the case of a vacancy in the office of Speaker. *House Rules and Manual* § 632 (2017).

7. *Parliamentarian’s Note*: Since 1869, only two individuals have resigned from the office of Speaker. Speaker James Wright of Texas resigned the office on June 6, 1989, and Speaker Boehner resigned the office on October 29, 2015. See § 4.6, *infra*; and Precedents (Wickham) Ch. 6. In each case, the resigning Speaker presided over the election of his successor (the resignation becoming effective upon election of a new Speaker).

of Texas in 1961.⁽⁸⁾ Under the procedures then in place, the Clerk convened the House on the next scheduled legislative day (which happened to be opening day of the second session of the 87th Congress) and presided over both the initial quorum call for that session⁽⁹⁾ and the election of a new Speaker.⁽¹⁰⁾

Although there is no rule requiring newly-elected Speakers to resign their committee assignments, Speakers have traditionally done so upon their election.⁽¹¹⁾

Precedence

§ 4.1 The election of the Speaker has long been recognized as a matter of high privilege related to the organization of the House, and the election of Speaker takes precedence over a resolution raised as a question of the privileges of the House.

On January 7, 1997,⁽¹²⁾ during organization of the 105th Congress, the Clerk ruled on a point of order regarding the priority of business. The ruling (which was sustained on appeal) cited both statute and precedent for the proposition that the election of Speaker is a matter of high privilege and takes precedence over a resolution raised as a question of the privileges of the House. For the *Congressional Record* excerpt of these proceedings, see § 3.4, *supra*.

Voting by Delegates

§ 4.2 Only Members-elect are eligible to cast votes in the election of the Speaker, and, in response to parliamentary inquiries, the Clerk confirmed that Delegates-elect may not vote in the election of Speaker.

On January 6, 1999,⁽¹³⁾ during the election of Speaker for the 106th Congress, the Clerk answered parliamentary inquiries regarding the inability of

Thus, as of this writing, the provisions of clause 8(b)(3)(A) of rule I have not yet been utilized.

8. *Parliamentarian's Note*: Four Speakers prior to Speaker Rayburn also died in office: Speaker Michael Kerr of Indiana in 1876, Speaker Henry Rainey of Illinois in 1934, Speaker Joseph Byrns, Jr. of Tennessee in 1936, and Speaker William Bankhead of Alabama in 1940. In the latter two instances, a new Speaker was elected by resolution. See Deschler's Precedents Ch. 1 § 6.3.
9. See Deschler's Precedents Ch. 1 § 6.8.
10. See Deschler's Precedents Ch. 1 § 6.6.
11. Deschler's Precedents Ch. 1 § 6.5. See also 161 CONG. REC. H7340 [Daily Ed.], 114th Cong. 1st Sess. (Oct. 29, 2015).
12. 143 CONG. REC. 114–20, 105th Cong. 1st Sess.
13. 145 CONG. REC. 41–45, 106th Cong. 1st Sess. See also 163 CONG. REC. H3 [Daily Ed.], 115th Cong. 1st Sess. (Jan. 3, 2017).

Delegates–elect (and the Resident Commissioner–elect) to vote for Speaker. For the *Congressional Record* excerpt of these proceedings, see § 3.5, *supra*.

Voting by Members–elect Lacking Certificates

§ 4.3 By unanimous consent, the House may permit Members–elect lacking official certificates of election to be recorded during the initial quorum call and to vote in the election of Speaker.⁽¹⁴⁾

On January 7, 2003,⁽¹⁵⁾ during organization of the 108th Congress, the House agreed (by unanimous consent) to allow a Member–elect from the state of Hawaii lacking a certificate of election to be counted in the initial quorum call and to vote for Speaker:

This being the day fixed by the 20th amendment to the Constitution of the United States and Public Law 107–328 for the meeting of the Congress of the United States, the Members–elect of the 108th Congress met in their Hall, and at noon were called to order by the Clerk of the House of Representatives, Hon. Jeff Trandahl. . . .

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The CLERK.⁽¹⁶⁾ The Members–elect and their guests will please remain standing and join in the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag.

The Clerk led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

The CLERK. Representatives–elect, this is the day fixed by the 20th amendment to the Constitution and Public Law 107–328 for the meeting of the 108th Congress and, as the law directs, the Clerk of the House has prepared the official roll of the Representatives–elect.

Certificates of election covering 434 seats in the 108th Congress have been received by the Clerk of the House, and the names of those persons whose credentials show that they were regularly elected as Representatives in accordance with the laws of their respective States or of the United States will be called.

The Clerk lays before the House a facsimile of a communication from the Chief Election Officer of the State of Hawaii.

JANUARY 5, 2003.

Hon. JEFF TRANDAHL,
Clerk, House of Representatives,

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14. For more on certificates of election and the administration of the oath of office, see Deschler's Precedents Ch. 2 and Precedents (Wickham) Ch. 2. See also Deschler's Precedents Ch. 8 §§ 15–17.
 15. 149 CONG. REC. 1, 108th Cong. 1st Sess. See also Precedents (Wickham) Ch. 2 § 2.2. For similar proceedings, see § 3.6, *supra*.
 16. Jeff Trandahl.

Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. TRANDAHL: This is to advise you that the unofficial results of the Special Election held on Saturday, January 4, 2003 for Representative in Congress from the Second Congressional District of Hawaii show that Ed Case (D) received 33,002 of votes of the total number cast for that office.

It would appear from the unofficial results that Ed Case (D) was elected Representative from the Second Congressional District of Hawaii. We are unaware of any election contest at this time.

As soon as the official results are certified, an official Certificate of Election will be transmitted as required by law . . .

Very truly yours,

DWAYNE D. YOSHINA,
Chief Election Officer. . . .

The CLERK. Without objection, the Representative-elect from the Second District of the State of Hawaii will be allowed to record his presence and also to vote on the election of the Speaker.

There was no objection.

Procedure for Election of Speaker

§ 4.4 After establishing a quorum at the organizational session of a new Congress, the Clerk: (1) recognizes for nominations for the office of Speaker (typically by the chairs of the major party caucuses); (2) appoints tellers for the election of Speaker; (3) calls the roll of Members-elect (in which they indicate their choices by surname); (4) announces the result of the vote; and (5) appoints a committee to escort the Speaker-elect to the Chair.

On January 3, 2013,⁽¹⁷⁾ the election of Speaker for the 113th Congress proceeded as follows:

ELECTION OF SPEAKER

The CLERK.⁽¹⁸⁾ Pursuant to law and precedent, the next order of business is the election of the Speaker of the House of Representatives for the 113th Congress.

Nominations are now in order.

The Clerk recognizes the gentlewoman from Washington (Mrs. MCMORRIS RODGERS). Mrs. [Cathy] MCMORRIS RODGERS [of Washington]. Madam Clerk, the 113th Congress gives us a chance to try once again to make a better America than the one we inherited from our parents—and from the 112 Congresses that came before us. That is the hope of every Member here, on both sides of the aisle: to restore this land of freedom and opportunity for our families and our children. . . .

¹⁷ 159 CONG. REC. H2–H4 [Daily Ed.], 113th Cong. 1st Sess. For an earlier example of the procedure for electing the Speaker of the House, see Deschler's Precedents Ch. 1 § 6.1.

¹⁸ Karen Haas.

So it is with great optimism and hope for the great work that we can accomplish together that, as chair of the Republican Conference—on a unanimous vote of the conference—I present for election to the Office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives for the 113th Congress the name of the Honorable JOHN A. BOEHNER.

The CLERK. The Clerk now recognizes the gentleman from California (Mr. BECERRA).

Mr. [Xavier] BECERRA [of California]. Madam Clerk, this is the people's House, and every 2 years the populace of this country gives those duly-elected Representatives of the people an opportunity to decide who will lead here in the Chamber of the people's House. . . .

I am tasked, as chairman of the Democratic Caucus, through the vote of that caucus, to present for election to the Office of Speaker of the House of Representatives to the 113th Congress the name of the Right Honorable NANCY PELOSI, a Representative for the people, duly elected from the State of California.

The CLERK. The names of the Honorable JOHN A. BOEHNER, a Representative-elect from the State of Ohio, and the Honorable NANCY PELOSI, a Representative-elect from the State of California, have been placed in nomination.

Are there further nominations?

There being no further nominations, the Clerk appoints the following tellers:

The gentlewoman from Michigan (Mrs. MILLER);

The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. BRADY);

The gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR); and

The gentlewoman from Florida (Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN).

The tellers will come forward and take their seats at the desk in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

The roll now will be called, and those responding to their names will indicate by surname the nominee of their choosing.

The Reading Clerk will now call the roll.

The tellers having taken their places, the House proceeded to vote for the Speaker.

The following is the result of the vote:

[Roll No. 2] . . .

The CLERK. The tellers agree in their tallies that the total number of votes cast is 426, of which the Honorable JOHN A. BOEHNER of the State of Ohio has received 220 votes, and the Honorable NANCY PELOSI of the State of California has received 192 votes, the Honorable Raul Labrador of the State of Idaho has received 1, the Honorable JOHN LEWIS of the State of Georgia has received 1, the Honorable ERIC CANTOR of the State of Virginia has received 3, the Honorable ALLEN WEST has received 2, Colin Powell has received 1, the Honorable JIM JORDAN of the State of Ohio has received 1, David Walker has received 1, the Honorable JIM COOPER of the State of Tennessee has received 2, the Honorable JUSTIN AMASH of the State of Michigan has received 1, the Honorable JOHN DINGELL of the State of Michigan has received 1, with 1 recorded as "present."

Therefore, the Honorable JOHN A. BOEHNER of the State of Ohio, having received a majority of the votes cast, is duly elected Speaker of the House of Representatives for the 113th Congress.

Administration of Oath

§ 4.5 At the beginning of a new Congress, the Clerk serves as interim presiding officer and presides over the election of the Speaker of

the House, after which the oath of office is administered to the Speaker-elect by the Dean of the House (the Member-elect with the longest continuous service in the House).

On January 3, 2013,⁽¹⁹⁾ after Members-elect had concluded voting for Speaker, the following occurred:

The CLERK.⁽²⁰⁾ The tellers agree in their tallies that the total number of votes cast is 426, of which the Honorable JOHN A. BOEHNER of the State of Ohio has received 220 votes, and the Honorable NANCY PELOSI of the State of California has received 192 votes, the Honorable Raul Labrador of the State of Idaho has received 1, the Honorable JOHN LEWIS of the State of Georgia has received 1, the Honorable ERIC CANTOR of the State of Virginia has received 3, the Honorable ALLEN WEST has received 2, Colin Powell has received 1, the Honorable JIM JORDAN of the State of Ohio has received 1, David Walker has received 1, the Honorable JIM COOPER of the State of Tennessee has received 2, the Honorable JUSTIN AMASH of the State of Michigan has received 1, the Honorable JOHN DINGELL of the State of Michigan has received 1, with 1 recorded as “present.”

Therefore, the Honorable JOHN A. BOEHNER of the State of Ohio, having received a majority of the votes cast, is duly elected Speaker of the House of Representatives for the 113th Congress.

The Clerk appoints the following committee to escort the Speaker-elect to the chair:

The gentleman from Virginia (Mr. CANTOR)

The gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI)

The gentleman from California (Mr. MCCARTHY)

The gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER)

The gentlewoman from Washington (Mrs. MCMORRIS RODGERS)

The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN)

The gentleman from Oregon (Mr. WALDEN)

The gentleman from California (Mr. BECERRA)

The gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. LANKFORD)

The gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY)

The gentlewoman from Kansas (Ms. JENKINS)

The gentleman from New York (Mr. ISRAEL)

The gentlewoman from North Carolina (Ms. FOXX)

The gentlewoman from Connecticut (Ms. DELAURO)

The gentlewoman from Missouri (Ms. WAGNER)

The gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ANDREWS)

The gentleman from Texas (Mr. SESSIONS)

The gentleman from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN)

The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ROSKAM)

The gentlewoman from New Mexico (Ms. LUJAN GRISHAM)

19. 159 CONG. REC. H4–H5 [Daily Ed.], 113th Cong. 1st Sess. For earlier examples of the Minority Leader presenting the Chair’s gavel to the newly-elected Speaker and the administration of the oath by the Dean of the House, see Deschler’s Precedents Ch. 1 §§ 6.2, 6.4.

20. Karen Haas.

And the Members of the Ohio delegation:

Ms. KAPTUR

Mr. TIBERI

Mr. RYAN

Mr. TURNER

Mr. LATTA

Mr. JORDAN

Ms. FUDGE

Mr. CHABOT

Mr. GIBBS

Mr. JOHNSON

Mr. RENACCI

Mr. STIVERS

Ms. BEATY

Mr. JOYCE, and

Mr. WENSTRUP

The committee will retire from the Chamber to escort the Speaker-elect to the chair.

The Sergeant at Arms announced the Speaker-elect of the House of Representatives of the 113th Congress, who was escorted to the chair by the Committee of Escort.

Ms. [Nancy] PELOSI [of California]. To my fellow Members of the House of Representatives, it is a high honor to welcome you to the 113th Congress.

To our newest Members of Congress, it is a special privilege and honor to welcome you and your families and extend congratulations to the newest Members of Congress. Welcome. . . .

With respect for our Constitution, with faith in the American people, with hope for the future of our country, I present the people's gavel to the Speaker of the House, JOHN BOEHNER.

May God bless you.

May God bless you, Speaker BOEHNER. May God bless this Congress. May God always bless the United States of America.

My colleagues, the Speaker of the House, JOHN BOEHNER.

Mr. [John] BOEHNER [of Ohio]. Leader PELOSI, thank you for your kind words . . .

I am now ready to take the oath of office.

I ask the Dean of the House of Representatives, the Honorable JOHN D. DINGELL of Michigan, to administer the oath of office.

Mr. DINGELL then administered the oath of office to Mr. BOEHNER of Ohio, as follows:

Do you solemnly swear or affirm that you will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that you will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that you take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that you will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which you are about to enter, so help you God.

(Applause, the Members rising.)

Mr. [John] DINGELL [of Michigan]. Congratulations, Mr. Speaker.

Resignation of Speaker

§ 4.6 The Speaker, having previously announced to the House his intention to resign the office upon election of his successor, recognized nominations from the floor for the office of Speaker and presided over the election of a new Speaker of the House.

On June 6, 1989,⁽²¹⁾ the following occurred:

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER.⁽²²⁾ Will all Members rise and permit the Chair to lead us in the Pledge of Allegiance to our flag.

The Speaker, Mr. WRIGHT, led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

ELECTION OF SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the Speaker's announcement of Wednesday, May 31, 1989,⁽²³⁾ the Chair will receive nominations for the Office of Speaker.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GRAY].

Mr. [William] GRAY [of Pennsylvania]. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Democratic Caucus, I am directed by the unanimous vote of that caucus to present for election to the Office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives the name of the Honorable THOMAS S. FOLEY, a Representative from the State of Washington.

The SPEAKER. The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. LEWIS].

(Mr. LEWIS of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. [Jerry] LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Republican Conference, I am directed by the unanimous vote of that conference to present for election to the Office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives the name of the Honorable ROBERT H. MICHEL, a Representative from the State of Illinois.

Mr. Speaker, it is a time of great tribulation and turbulence as this House celebrates its 200th anniversary. Radical changes in the structure of power are always that. But it is a credit to the strength of this institution that in the midst of this upheaval, we are all joined together in the common goal of determining who will lead us. . . .

The SPEAKER. The Honorable THOMAS S. FOLEY, a Representative from the State of Washington, and the Honorable ROBERT H. MICHEL, a Representative from the State of Illinois, have been placed in nomination.

Are there any further nominations?

There being no further nominations, the Chair will appoint tellers.

The Chair appoints the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO]; the gentleman from California [Mr. THOMAS]; the gentlewoman from Colorado [Mrs. SCHROEDER]; and the gentlewoman from Nebraska [Mrs. SMITH].

The tellers will come forward and take their seats at the desk in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

21. 135 CONG. REC. 10800–803, 101st Cong. 1st Sess. See also Deschler's Precedents Ch. 37 §9.1. For Speaker Boehner's resignation from the office in the 114th Congress, see Precedents (Wickham) Ch. 6.

22. James Wright (TX).

23. For the text of the Speaker's remarks (made under a question of personal privilege), see 135 CONG. REC. 10431–41, 101st Cong. 1st Sess. (May 31, 1989).

The roll will now be called, and those responding to their names will indicate by surname the nominee of their choice.

The reading clerk will now call the roll.

The tellers having taken their places, the House proceeded to vote for the Speaker.

The following is the result of the vote:

[Roll No. 73] . . .

The SPEAKER. The tellers agree in their tallies that the total number of votes cast is 417, of which the Honorable THOMAS S. FOLEY, of Washington, has received 251 and the Honorable ROBERT H. MICHEL, of Illinois, has received 164, with 2 voting "present."

Therefore, the Honorable THOMAS S. FOLEY, of Washington, is duly elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, having received a majority of the votes cast.

The Chair appoints the following committee to escort the Speaker-elect to the chair: The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GRAY], the gentleman from California [Mr. LEWIS], the gentleman from Washington [Mr. DICKS], the gentleman from Washington [Mr. SWIFT], the gentleman from Washington [Mr. MORRISON], the gentleman from Washington [Mr. CHANDLER], the gentleman from Washington [Mr. MILLER], the gentleman from Washington [Mr. MCDERMOTT], and the gentleman from Washington [Mrs. UNSOELD].

The committee will retire from the Chamber to escort the Speaker-elect to the chair.

The Doorkeeper announced the Speaker-elect of the House of Representatives of the 101st Congress, who was escorted to the chair by the committee of escort.

Mr. [Robert] MICHEL [of Illinois]. Mr. Speaker-elect, my colleagues, guests of the House.

Once again, I hold in my hand—temporarily, alas—a symbol of the authority of the Speaker of the House.

We are taught it is better to give than receive. I believe that. When it comes to Speaker's gavels, I have become distressingly expert at it, having now gone down to defeat for the sixth time on a straight party-line vote.

I look forward to the day when someone on the other side of the aisle learns the joys of such selfless behavior.

My colleagues, I know you are anxious to hear from the Speaker, but before formally presenting him to you, I would ask your forbearance that I might make a few comments of my own.

During the recent past we have taken part in a number of ceremonies commemorating the bicentennial of the House of Representatives.

We had a marvelous celebration on this floor in which many of us got the chance to say what we believe about this great institution.

But in a curious irony of history—some might say a tragedy of history—the very year in which we celebrated the great traditions and the glories of the House, it has been blighted by unprecedented crises, personal and institutional.

Today we have that rare, most precious and improbable of gifts—a second chance for comprehensive, bipartisan institutional reform that will set the course for a new century.

Let me turn to my friends on the other side of the aisle for a moment—and I hope that you will take what I have to say in the spirit in which it is intended.

First, no political party—no man or woman in the House, no faction, no ideology—has a monopoly on virtue. Human folly is an equal-opportunity employer.

No, there is no monopoly on virtue, but for over 35 years there has been a monopoly of power in the House.

Thirty-five years of uninterrupted power can act like a corrosive acid upon the restraints of civility and comity.

Those who have been kings of the Hill for so long may forget that majority status is not a divine right—and minority status is not a permanent condition.

At the heart of our crises are not personal faults of individual Members. After 32 years as a Member and over 40 years on the Hill, it is my belief that the personal integrity of the overwhelming number of Members of this institution is and has been as good or better than that of any group in our society—especially those who criticize the most. [Applause.]

I believe that the processes of the House, as established to deal with ethics cases, have to proceed.

The former Speaker said in his farewell address to the House that “this mindless cannibalism has got to stop.”

Now, it is a catchy phrase, but the distinguished members of the committee on ethics, equally divided from both parties, are neither mindless nor cannibals. [Applause.]

In fact, it is their reasoned judgment, under extraordinary pressure, that stands between us and the cannibalism which the Speaker referred to.

I am all for putting an end to bitterness.

I am all in favor of putting our House in order—but we do not do so by sweeping things under the rug.

This House is in a convulsive state. We have experienced some really dark days, but I take heart in the strengths that are built into this institution to cope with the times.

I also take heart from the fact that TOM FOLEY, for whom I have the greatest admiration, will be the new Speaker and, yes, we are going to have our marked differences. That is the nature of this place, but that need not intrude upon the mutual respect and the trust that we have for one another as leaders.

TOM FOLEY, coming from the great Pacific Northwest, reminds me of the line of poetry that says:

“But westward, look, the land is bright.”

Congratulations, Mr. Speaker-elect. Let me hand over to you this symbol of the great power and the great responsibilities you have just been given by the House.

Ladies and gentlemen of the House, what a privilege for me to present to you the new Speaker-elect of the House of Representatives.

[Applause, Members rising.]

The SPEAKER. Mr. Speaker, BOB MICHEL, my fellow Members, friends, guests, ladies and gentlemen, article I, section 2 of the Constitution of the United States states simply that the House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers. Those are simple words, but there are no simple words that can convey my deep gratitude to you for having chosen me to be the Speaker of this House.

It is also a great honor to be presented by the distinguished Republican leader and my good friend, BOB MICHEL. We have two great political parties that have nourished our political tradition and served it so well throughout our history. The Republican Party could not choose a more able or talented or distinguished a leader than the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL]. [Applause.]

He would make a great Speaker himself, but I prefer him as the Republican leader.

Although I know and expect that BOB MICHEL will, as he has been in the past, be an outspoken leader and champion for his party, for its programs and its philosophy, I am confident that whatever disagreements arise between us over policy will never interfere with our friendship or with the deep and abiding respect I have for you, BOB. I look forward to working with you in a spirit of cooperation and increased consultation as we address the problems facing this House and the Nation.

It has been the proudest accomplishment of my life to represent the people of the Fifth Congressional District of Washington, and I must say a word of gratitude and thankfulness to them for having allowed me to serve for so many years in their behalf.

There are so many people to whom I am grateful, but first and foremost is my wife and my loving companion for 24 years, 21 years, will be 24. [Applause.]

No words can express my love and gratitude to you.

To my surviving mother and sister and love of my family, to the staff of all of the offices I have held here in the Congress for so many years who have been a part of everything that I have tried to do in public life, to my teachers, to my friends, to those who first inspired me to public service, most of all my father who convinced me that public service was a great trust and the highest possible calling; to those who gave me an opportunity for public service, to people like Henry M. Jackson and Warren G. Magnuson, who taught me that the public office can contribute so much to the public good. To the Speakers with whom I have served, John McCormack and Carl Albert and Tip O'Neill, who served longer than any Speaker of this House in continuous service, and to you, Mr. Speaker, because I believe that the great accomplishments of the last Congress will go down in history as a tribute to your leadership and dedication. [Applause.]

And to the great Republican leaders, Gerald R. Ford, who left this place to assume the Presidency of the United States as a healing President at a difficult time in our country's history. I was in the Democratic Cloakroom when Gerald Ford took the oath of office as President of the United States. You may remember he asked the country to pray for him, and in the silence of the Democratic Cloakroom, a single voice said, "We will, Jerry. God bless you."

To John Rhodes, who I had the pleasure of seeing this last week, and to BOB MICHEL, with whom I look forward to the closest cooperation, and to all of you, all of my colleagues, who though you have different visions for the future of this country, share a common commitment to public service, a common concern for the public good, and a love of this House.

We are proud to call this the People's House, the fundamental institution of American democracy. Although it is not the oldest parliament in the world, it has existed longer as an independent, popularly elected legislature than any other in the history of mankind.

And as we watch the remarkable struggles of the Chinese people, as we see the growing aspirations of those in the Soviet Union and in Poland and elsewhere, we can take pride that the values that gave this institution its birth and have sustained it for 200 years now sweep round the world.

This body reflects most closely the Nation at large. It is not, as many have suggested, a fixed, unchangeable body. We have even been called the House of Lords. The fact of the matter is that there is constantly a refreshment from every part of the country as new Members come from all quarters, from every background, of every race and creed and color and commitment to serve here.

Since 1965, when I first came, 93 percent of this body have changed. Since 1974, 81 percent have changed, and in the years since 1980, fully 55 percent of the House has changed its membership.

We benefit by this infusion of new ideas, new personalities, new principles. But it remains ultimately the choice of the American electorate.

We need to strengthen this House. I do not share the views of some that we should attempt to tear it down. On the contrary, I think we must strengthen and build it. [Applause.]

And in that task I pledge to all of you, Democrats and Republicans, Members from every part of the country, that I understand the responsibility of the Speaker of the House, as other Speakers have understood it and practiced it, to be a responsibility to the whole House and to each and every individual Member, undivided by that center aisle. [Applause.]

I take great pride, as all of you do, in our public service. I have spent 25 years in the Congress, and it has been for me the great and abiding pride of my life. I believe that public service is a free gift of a free people, and a challenge for all of us in public life to do what we can to make that service useful for those who have sent us here.

I am confident, as is BOB MICHEL, in the fundamental honesty and integrity of the Members who serve here. I believe the standard of public conduct is higher and the performance of that standard is better in this House today than at any other time in the history of our Nation. But questions must be discussed and answered.

I have asked BOB MICHEL to join with me in asking the bipartisan task force on ethics reform to report at an early date their recommendations to us and to the House so that the House may consider what recommendations they may make and other recommendations and proposals in this session of Congress this year.

I am a proud Democrat, but I appeal specifically to our friends on the Republican side that we should come together and put away bitterness and division and hostility. We need to debate public issues vigorously sometimes, even passionately sometimes, and decide for the country what should be done; but we need to debate and decide with reason and without rancor. I will do what I can, and every day that I serve in this office, to insure that the rights and privileges of each Member of the House are respected and to insure that the procedure is fair for all.

I applaud the desire of the President of the United States to work with the Congress and with both parties, and we extend, warmly, our offer of cooperation with him.

We have elections every 4 years, but we have one President at a time, and he who does not wish the President of the United States, President Bush, well is no friend of the Republic. We wish him well. We wish to work with him. We wish to serve the common interests of this country and its interests abroad.

A dozen years ago my great friend and yours, Thomas O'Neill, stood here to take the oath of office as Speaker for the first time. In his speech he reminded us in a paraphrased way of the words of Henry Clay, a great and former Speaker of the House. In promising to be prompt and impartial in deciding parliamentary questions, he pledged to be patient, good-tempered, and courteous toward individual Members. He pledged his best to employ the talent, the great talent of this House for full and fair consideration of those issues that come before it. He pledged in those moments of agitation from which no assembly is entirely exempt to remain cool and unshaken, gathering the permanent laws and rules of the House and guarding them from being sacrificed to temporary passions, prejudices, or interests. I repeat that pledge.

You have bestowed upon me a great honor and a great responsibility. I will devote every ability I have to justify and maintain your confidence and the integrity of this House of Representatives and protect the rights and welfare of all Members so that we can fulfill our high responsibility in representing the people of this Nation.

With God’s help, with your understanding and support, I am now prepared to take the oath of office.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

The SPEAKER–ELECT.⁽²⁴⁾ Will the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN] please come forward to administer the oath of office?

Mr. [Jamie] WHITTEN [of Mississippi] then administered the oath of office to Mr. FOLEY of Washington.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

§ 5. Speaker as Presiding Officer

Once the Speaker has been elected and the oath of office administered, the Speaker presides over the completion of other organizational steps at the beginning of a new Congress. These steps proceed pursuant to constitutional and statutory requirements and occur in a prescribed order that derives from precedents and customs established over the course of many decades of prior practice. Three matters of organizational business are required by the Constitution. First, the Speaker must administer the oath of office to Members–elect.⁽¹⁾ Second, the Speaker presides over the election of other officers of the House.⁽²⁾ Third, the House must formally adopt the standing rules to govern proceedings for that Congress.⁽³⁾ Another organizational step that is required by statute (rather than the Constitution) is the administration of the oath of office to the newly–elected officers of the House.⁽⁴⁾

Finally, other organizational business occurs traditionally as a matter of custom or precedent. For example, the House will formally notify the Senate that a quorum of the House has assembled and that officers of the House have been elected.⁽⁵⁾ The House will also notify the President that a quorum

24. Thomas Foley (WA).

1. “The Senators and Representatives before mentioned...shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution...” U.S. Const. art. VI, cl. 3; *House Rules and Manual* § 196–206 (2017). The form of the oath of office is provided by law. 5 U.S.C. § 3331.
2. “The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers...” U.S. Const. art. I, § 2, cl. 5; *House Rules and Manual* § 26–30 (2017).
3. “Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings...” U.S. Const. art. I, § 5, cl. 2; *House Rules and Manual* § 58 (2017).
4. *Parliamentarian’s Note*: Officers of the House take the same oath as Members of the House. 5 U.S.C. § 3331. Technically, the law only requires the Speaker to administer the oath of office to the Clerk of the House (2 U.S.C. § 26), but by long custom the oath is administered to all officers of the House. 1 Hinds’ Precedents § 81. For more on the administration of the oath of office to officers of the House, see Deschler’s Precedents Ch. 6 § 17 and Precedents (Wickham) Ch. 6.
5. See, e.g., 163 CONG. REC. H6 [Daily Ed.], 115th Cong. 1st Sess. (Jan. 3, 2017).